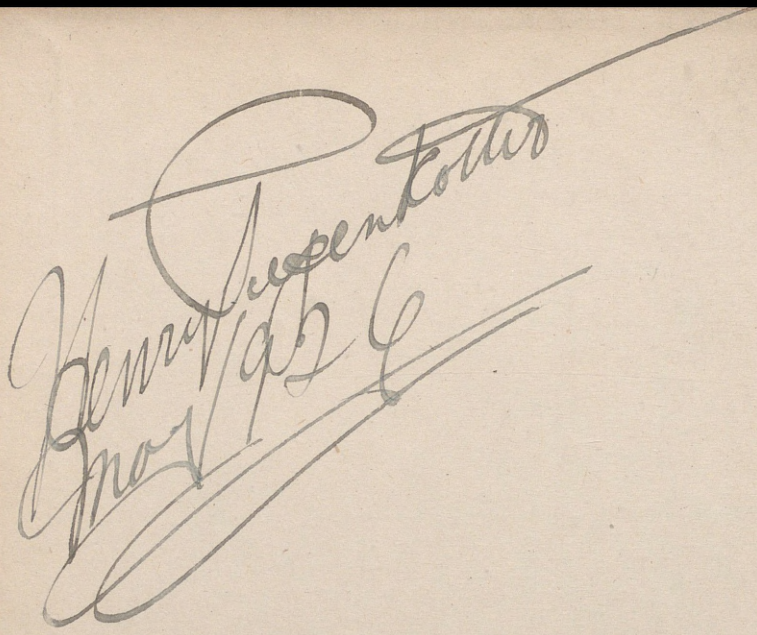

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SOCIOLOGICAL ESSAYS

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SOCIOLOGICAL ESSAYS

By

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"INTRODUCTION TO HOLY SCRIPTURE"
"HARMONIZED EXPOSITION OF THE FOUR GOSPELS"
"DIARY OF MY LIFE IN THE HOLY LAND"
"A DAUGHTER OF MEXICO"

VOLUME I +.1

ROCHESTER, N. Y.
JOHN P. SMITH PRINTING COMPANY
1922

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33709/2

ZBIORNICA
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304
B832s
vol. 1.

Essays of Volume I

INTRODUCTORY . . . . . XI-XII
DEFINITIONS OF SOCIALISM 1-64
SOCIALISM AND RELIGION 65-108
SOCIALISM IN POLITICS 109-122
EVOLUTION 123-169
IMMIGRATION 171-180
LABOR AND SOCIALISM 181-218
SOCIALISM AND THE STATE 219-344
MATERIALISM 345-408
INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM . . . 409-484
THE STATE 485-528

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Imprimatur:

† S. G. MESSMER

January 2, 1922

Introductory

It is a sad fact of human life that in the age-long fight against error, truth is handicapped by an inherent defect in human nature.

By that great mystery called original sin man finds himself in a state of contradiction to the very end for which he is created.

Man is destined for a closer approach to the Supreme Being; for a perfect order of life and happiness in that nearer approach; and yet by nature, if unaided by divine grace, man tends away from his ultimate end.

This conflict of contrary forces in man is attested by pagan philosophers and by inspired writers.

St. Paul but reechoes the poet Ovidius when he declares that by his spiritual sense he recognizes the good; but that, contrary to that spiritual sense, he follows the **natural man** to practice the evil. (Romans VII. 14-23.) Goodness therefore would fail were it not supplemented by a divine power, which enables a man to triumph over nature.

This unhappy dualism in man presents a strong obstacle to man's reception of truth. Christ encountered this opposition. With awful pathos he declares (John VIII. 45): "But because I say the truth ye believe me not."

If Jesus had flattered the vanity of the Jews; if he had closed his eyes to their sins, and pandered to their sensual cravings, they would have followed him. But Jesus preferred truth to temporal success. He offered the people the true spiritual ideal, and they crucified him. Pope Leo XIII. offered Capital and Labor a just solution of their differences, a just program which would promote the welfare of both sides. It was scarcely noticed by those whom it concerned. Pope Benedict XV. offered the warring world a perfect treaty of peace. The nations threw it away, excluded the Pope from the Peace Conference, and went on and destroyed thirteen million lives and three hundred and thirty-seven billions of property.

The sophists, who appeal to the vulgar passions of the masses of the people, will often find a readier hearing than the messengers of truth. The masses of the people lack judgment. They are very apt to judge issues by present material success. The truth and high purpose of Moses' leadership could not hold a hungry and thirsty people faithful

to him in the wanderings of the exodus. He had to give them food and drink. The multitudes who followed Christ the miracle-maker turned away from Christ the cross-bearer. Spiritual insight and foresight are not the qualities of the masses of the people. When the Socialist tells them that "in virtue of the present system they can not have coats and shoes because the capitalists have made too many coats and shoes; and that they can not have food because there is too much food," they are caught by the appeal, and turn to Socialism as the remedy of the economic evil.

It would be fatal to civilization to dethrone the aristocracy of the rich and set up the dictatorship of the mob.

The predominating impulses of the promiscuous masses of humanity are selfish, greedy, sensual, materialistic. The Creator himself gives us an analysis of these impulses. Surveying His creation wrecked by man's sin, the Creator declares (Genesis VIII. 21): "The thought of man's heart is evil from his youth."

The only plan which can justly be offered for the right ordering of society is a plan which presupposes God's grace to man, and man's obedience to the Creator.

In our last census 60% of our citizens disclaimed any religious affiliation. Of the remaining 40% it is safe to estimate that one-half are merely nominally affiliated, and that their religious faith influences but little or not at all their conduct.

How then shall we present to such a public our appeal, which rests upon an immutable divine moral code? We shall be idle dreamers if we believe that the great selfish world will listen to and obey our call.

But yet no word of truth was ever spoken in vain. The words spoken by the Redeemer to a blaspheming public have remained a divine seed, and some men of all ages and nations have found life through them.

By believing the truth, by professing the truth, by defending the truth, and by teaching the truth we align ourselves with the forces that are on the side of God. In this combat we are cheered and encouraged by that sense of solidarity that binds us, if our lives be true, to the world of the elect of all time.

Those who flatter the vulgar passions and vices of the living and the dust of the unworthy dead may find a readier hearing, but their success can only be ephemeral: truth alone is immortal; error may please for a time, but it must, at last, die amidst her worshippers.

Definitions of Socialism

SOCIALISM

What is Socialism? It is hard to define. It is an elusive system with more forms than Proteus. It presents one program to the Bolshevist, another to the social reformer. To the unbeliever it presents its absolute materialism; to the Catholic it offers a merely economic system, indifferent to religion. It recruits its ranks chiefly from the proletarians, the homeless laborers, who by the wreck of existing institutions hope to better their lot. Another element of its membership is made up of cunning men, who use the mob to attain to political offices, and draw large salaries and acquire wealth, while declaring to their deluded followers that man has no right to private ownership.

CATHOLIC DEFINITIONS OF SOCIALISM

"We call Socialism a system of political economy, not as if it did not also lead to many social and political changes, but because the gist of Socialism consists in the nationalization of property and in the public administration of all goods" (*Cathrein*).

"The principle of Socialism is that the means of production are morally the property not of individuals but of the State; that in the hands of individuals, however, widely diffused, such property exploits the labor of others, and that such exploitation is wrong" (*Belloc*).

SOCIALIST DEFINITIONS OF SOCIALISM

"Socialism advocates the transfer of ownership in the social tools of production—the land, factories, machinery, railroads, mines, etc.—from the individual capitalist, to be operated for the benefit of all" (*Hillquit*).

"Socialism may be completely understood only when viewed in its broader sense, as first, an economic belief; second, a plan or prophecy for a future commonwealth, and third,

a working method for the allotment of this commonwealth . . . . (in the United States). It is itself not a science, but is a basis for an ultimate program, a series of immediate demands, and a summons of the working class to either constructive or revolutionary action" (*Hughan*).

The process by which Socialism would supersede the present order is thus described by Marx:

"More likely, the process of transformation shall be complicated and diversified, and shall be marked by a series of economic and social reforms, and legislative measures tending to divest the ruling classes of their monopolies, privileges and advantages, step by step, until they are practically shorn of their power to exploit their fellows; that is, until all the important means of production have passed into collective ownership, and all the principal industries are reorganized on the basis of socialist co-operation."—*Hillquit*, "Socialism in Theory and Practice."

Belloc ("The Servile State") truthfully declares:

"It is impossible by any jugglery to 'buy out' the universality of the means of production without confiscation."

Pope Leo XIII. declared that the main tenet of Socialism was "community of goods."

"Hence it is clear that the main tenet of Socialism, community of goods, must be utterly rejected, since it only injures those whom it pretends to benefit. It is directly contrary to the natural rights of mankind, and would introduce confusion and disorder into human society. The first and most fundamental principle, therefore, if one would undertake to alleviate the condition of the masses, must be the inviolability of private property." (*Encyclical, Rerum Novarum.*)

All Socialism is a development of the vagaries of Karl Marx. "The Socialism that inspires hopes and fears today is of the school of Marx. No one is seriously apprehensive of any other so-called Socialistic movement, and no one is seriously inclined to criticize or refute the doctrines set forth by any other school of 'Socialists.' " (*Thorstein Veblen.*)

Marx's chief work, "Das Kapital," is a vast incoherent mass of reveries of a pessimistic dreamer. It was never finished by him or by anyone else. Engels tried to bring the chaotic mass into order, but failed. It begins nowhere and tends no whither. Mr. H. G. Wells calls it "a cadence of wearisome volumes about such phantom realities as bourgeoisie, and proletariat, a book forever meandering away into tedious secondary discussions, a monument of pretentious pedantry."

The most complete life of Marx that has appeared is that of the Socialist, Achille Loria.

"Marx's ancestry was Jewish, but his father, an employe in the German state service, became a convert to Christianity, and the entire family were baptized when Karl was five years old. As Karl grew up, he was welcomed in the best homes, and one of his closest friends was Edgar von Westphalen, an aristocrat to the core. In 1843 Marx married Westphalen's sister, the beautiful and brilliant Jenny, destined to suffer great hardships with her husband in foreign lands. Thus by origin Marx belonged to an extremely ancient stock devoted to the accumulation of wealth, whilst his marriage united him to the German aristocracy."

In London Marx wrote his celebrated work, whose main thesis is the rise, development, and fall of Capitalism. The foundation is, that economic conditions determine the various stages of civilization. Hence his theory is called economic determinism, or the materialistic conception of history. Of this latter theory Loria, *ibid*, speaks as follows:

"The most inexorable criticisms should recognize in Marx the supreme merit of having been the first to introduce the evolutionary concept into the domain of sociology, the first to introduce it in the only form appropriate to social phenomena and social institutions; not as the unceasing and gradual upward-movement outlined by Spencer, but as the succession of age-long cycles rhythmically interrupted by revolutionary explosions, proceeding in accordance with the manner sketched by Lyell for geological evolution, and in our own time by de Vries for biological evolution."

One of the most fantastic notions of Marx's cryptic maze of absurdities is his famous theory of values. It is a dreary expanse of arbitrary false assertions with no proof or probability. Though the theory is discarded by all right thinking men, a brief notice of it is here presented.

In Vol. I. of "Das Kapital" (pp. 41-213) he outlines his theory:

"A commodity is, in the first place, an object outside us, a thing that by its properties satisfies human wants of some sort or another. The nature of such wants, whether, for instance, they spring from the stomach or from fancy, makes no difference. Neither are we here concerned to know how the object satisfies these wants, whether directly as means of subsistence, or indirectly as means of production.

"Every useful thing, as iron, paper, etc., may be looked at from the two points of view of quality and quantity. It is

an assemblage of many properties, and may therefore be of use in various ways. To discover the various use of things is the work of history. So also is the establishment of socially-recognized standards of measure for the quantities of these useful objects. The diversity of these measures has its origin partly in the diverse nature of the objects to be measured, partly in convention.

"The utility of a thing makes it a use-value. But this utility is not a thing of air. Being limited by the physical properties of the commodity, it has no existence apart from that commodity. A commodity, such as iron, corn, or a diamond, is, therefore, so far as it is a material thing, a use-value, something useful. This property of a commodity is independent of the amount of labor required to appropriate its useful qualities. When treating of use-value, we always assume to be dealing with definite quantities, such as dozens of watches, yards of linen, or tons of iron. The use-values of commodities furnish the material for a special study, that of the commercial knowledge of commodities. Use-values become a reality only by use or consumption; they also constitute the substance of all wealth, whatever may be the social form of that wealth. In the form of society we are about to consider, they are, in addition, the material depositories of exchange value.

"Exchange value, at first sight, presents itself as a quantitative relation, as the proportion in which values in use of one sort are exchanged for those of another sort, a relation constantly changing with time and place. Hence exchange value appears to be something accidental and purely relative, and consequently an intrinsic value, *i. e.*, an exchange value that is inseparably connected with, inherent in commodities, seems a contradiction in terms. Let us consider the matter a little more closely.

"A given commodity, *e. g.*, a quarter of wheat is exchanged for x blacking, y silk, or z gold, etc.—in short, for other commodities in the most different proportions. Instead of one exchange value, the wheat has, therefore, a great many. But since x blacking, y silk, or z gold, etc., each represent the exchange value of one quarter of wheat, x blacking, y silk, z gold, etc., must as exchange values be replaceable by each other, or equal to each other. Therefore, first: the valid exchange values of a given commodity express something equal; secondly, exchange value, generally, is only the mode of expression, the phenomenal form, of something contained in it, yet distinguishable from it.

"Let us take two commodities, *e. g.*, corn and iron. The proportions in which they are exchangeable, whatever those proportions may be, can always be represented by an equation in which a given quantity of corn is equated to some quantity of iron: *e. g.*, 1 quarter corn=x cwt. iron. What does this equation tell us? It tells us that in two different things—in 1 quarter of corn and x cwt. of iron, there exists in equal quantities something common to both. The two things must therefore be equal to a third, which in itself is neither the one nor the other. Each of them, so far as it is exchange value, must therefore be reducible to this third.

"A simple geometrical illustration will make this clear. In order to calculate and compare the areas of rectilinear figures, we decompose them into triangles. But the area of the triangle itself is expressed by something totally different from its visible figure, namely, by half the product of the base into the altitude. In the same way the exchange values of commodities must be capable of being expressed in terms of something common to them all, of which thing they represent a greater or less quantity.

"This common 'something' cannot be either a geometrical, a chemical, or any other natural property of commodities. Such properties claim our attention only in so far as they affect the utility of those commodities, make them use-values. But the exchange of commodities is evidently an act characterized by a total abstraction from use-value. Then one use-value is just as good as another, provided only it be present in sufficient quantity. Or, as old Barbon says, 'one sort of wares is as good as another, if the values be equal. There is no difference or distinction in things of equal value. . . . . An hundred pounds' worth of lead or iron, is of as great value as one hundred pounds' worth of silver or gold.' As use-values, commodities are, above all, of different qualities, but as exchange values they are merely different quantities, and consequently do not contain an atom of use-value.

"If then we leave out of consideration the use-value of commodities, they have only one common property left, that of being products of labor. But even the product of labor itself has undergone a change in our hands. If we make abstraction from its use-value, we make abstraction at the same time from the material elements and shapes that make the product a use-value; we see in it no longer a table, a house, yarn, or any other useful thing. Its existence as a material thing is put out of sight. Neither can it any longer

be regarded as the product of the labor of the joiner, the mason, the spinner, or of any other definite kind of productive labor. Along with the useful qualities of the products themselves, we put out of sight both the useful character of the various kinds of labor embodied in them, and the concrete forms of that labor; there is nothing left but what is common to them all; all are reduced to one and the same sort of labor, human labor in the abstract.

"Let us now consider the residue of each of these products; it consists of the same unsubstantial reality in each, a mere congelation of homogeneous human labor, of labor-power expended without regard to the mode of its expenditure. All that these things now tell us is, that human labor-power has been expended in their production, that human labor is embodied in them. When looked at as crystals of this social substance, common to them all, they are—Values.

"We have seen that when commodities are exchanged, their exchange value manifests itself as something totally independent of their use-value. But if we abstract from their use-value, there remains their Value as defined above. Therefore, the common substance that manifests itself in the exchange value of commodities, whenever they are exchanged, is their value. The progress of our investigation will show that exchange value is the only form in which the value of commodities can manifest itself or be expressed. For the present, however, we have to consider the nature of value independently of this, its form.

"A use-value, or useful article, therefore, has value only because human labor in the abstract has been embodied or materialised in it. How, then, is the magnitude of this value to be measured? Plainly, by the quantity of the value-creating substance, the labor, contained in the article. The quantity of labor, however, is measured by its duration, and labor-time in its turn finds its standard in weeks, days, and hours.

"Some people might think that if the value of a commodity is determined by the quantity of labor spent on it, the more idle and unskillful the laborer, the more valuable would his commodity be, because more time would be required in its production. The labor, however, that forms the substance of value, is homogeneous human labor, expenditure of one uniform labor-power. The total labor-power of society, which is embodied in the sum total of the values of all commodities produced by that society, counts here as one homogeneous mass of human labor-power, composed though

it be of innumerable individual units. Each of these units is the same as any other, so far as it has the character of the average labor-power of society, and takes effect as such; that is, so far as it requires for producing a commodity, no more time than is needed on an average, no more than is socially necessary. The labor-time socially necessary is that required to produce an article under the normal conditions of production, and with the average degree of skill and intensity prevalent at the time. The introduction of power looms into England probably reduced by one half the labor required to weave a given quantity of yarn into cloth. The hand-loom weavers, as a matter of fact, continued to require the same time as before; but for all that, the product of one hour of their labor represented after the change only half an hour's social labor, and consequently fell to one-half its former value.

"We see then that that which determines the magnitude of the value of any article is the amount of labor socially necessary, or the labor-time socially necessary for its production. Each individual commodity, in this connection, is to be considered as an average sample of its class. Commodities, therefore, in which equal quantities of labor are embodied, or which can be produced in the same time, have the same value. The value of one commodity is to the value of any other, as the labor-time necessary for the production of the one is to that necessary for the production of the other. 'As values, all commodities are only definite masses of congealed labor-time.' "

"A thing can be a use-value, without having value. This is the case whenever its utility to man is not due to labor. Such are air, virgin soil, natural meadows, etc. A thing can be useful, and the product of human labor, without being a commodity. Whoever directly satisfies his wants with the produce of his own labor, creates, indeed, use-values, but not commodities. In order to produce the latter, he must not only produce use-values, but use-values for others, social use-values. Lastly, nothing can have value, without being an object of utility. If the thing is useless, so is the labor contained in it; the labor does not count as labor, and therefore creates no value."

"We know that the value of each commodity is determined by the quantity of labor expended on and materialized in it, by the working-time necessary, under given social conditions,

for its production. This rule also holds good in the case of the product that accrued to our capitalist, as the result of the labor-process carried on for him. Assuming this product to be 10 lbs. of yarn, our first step is to calculate the quantity of labor realized in it.

"For spinning the yarn, raw material is required; suppose in this case 10 lbs. of cotton. We have no need at present to investigate the value of this cotton, for our capitalist has, we will assume, bought it at its full value, say of ten shillings. In this price the labor required for the production of the cotton is already expressed in terms of the average labor of society. We will further assume that the wear and tear of the spindle, which, for our present purpose, may represent all other instruments of labor employed, amounts to the value of 2s. If, then, twenty-four hours' labor, or two working days, are required to produce the quantity of gold represented by twelve shillings, we have here, to begin with, two days' labor already incorporated in the yarn.

"We must not let ourselves be misled by the circumstance that the cotton has taken a new shape while the substance of the spindle has to a certain extent been used up. By the general law of value, if the value of 40 lbs. of yarn = the value of 40 lbs. of cotton + the value of a whole spindle, *i. e.*, if the same working time is required to produce the commodities on either side of this equation, then 10 lbs. of yarn are an equivalent for 10 lbs. of cotton, together with one-fourth of a spindle. In the case we are considering the same working time is materialized in the 10 lbs. of yarn on the one hand, and in the 10 lbs. of cotton and the fraction of a spindle on the other. Therefore, whether value appears in cotton, in a spindle, or in yarn, makes no difference in the amount of that value. The spindle and cotton, instead of resting quietly side by side, join together in the process, their forms are altered, and they are turned into yarn; but their value is no more affected by this fact than it would be if they had been simply exchanged for their equivalent in yarn.

"The labor required for the production of the cotton, the raw material of the yarn, is part of the labor necessary to produce the yarn, and is therefore contained in the yarn. The same applies to the labor embodied in the spindle, without whose wear and tear the cotton could not be spun. . . .

"The values of the means of production, *i. e.*, the cotton and the spindle, which values are expressed in the price of twelve shillings, are therefore constituent parts of the value of the yarn, or, in other words, of the value of the product.

"Two conditions must nevertheless be fulfilled. First, the cotton and spindle must concur in the production of a use-value; they must in the present case become yarn. Value is independent of the particular use-value by which it is borne, but it must be embodied in a use-value of some kind. Secondly, the time occupied in the labor of production must not exceed the time really necessary under the given social conditions of the case. Therefore, if no more than 1 lb. of cotton be requisite to spin 1 lb. of yarn, care must be taken that no more than this weight of cotton is consumed in the production of 1 lb. of yarn; and similarly with regard to the spindle. Though the capitalist have a hobby, and use a gold instead of a steel spindle, yet the only labor that counts for anything in the value of the yarn is that which would be required to produce a steel spindle, because no more is necessary under the given social conditions.

"We now know what portion of the value of the yarn is owing to the cotton and the spindle. It amounts to twelve shillings or the value of two days' work. The next point for our consideration is, what portion of the value of the yarn is added to the cotton by the labor of the spinner.

"We have now to consider this labor under a very different aspect from that which it had during the labor-process; there, we viewed it solely as that particular kind of human activity which changes cotton into yarn; there, the more the labor was suited to the work, the better the yarn, other circumstances remaining the same. The labor of the spinner was then viewed as specifically different from other kinds of productive labor, different on the one hand in its special aim, viz., spinning, different, on the other hand, in the special character of its operations, in the special nature of its means of production and in the special use-value of its product. For the operation of spinning, cotton and spindles are a necessity, but for making rifled cannon they would be of no use whatever. Here, on the contrary, where we consider the labor of the spinner only so far as it is value-creating, *i. e.*, a source of value, his labor differs in no respect from the labor of the man who bores cannon, or (what here more nearly concerns us), from the labor of the cotton-planter and spindle-maker incorporated in the means of production. It is solely by reason of this identity, that cotton planting, spindle making and spinning, are capable of forming the component parts, differing only quantitatively from each other, of one whole, namely, the value of the yarn. Here, we have nothing more to do with the quality, the nature and the specific

character of the labor, but merely with its quantity. And this simply requires to be calculated. We proceed upon the assumption that spinning is simple, unskilled labor, the average labor of a given state of society. Hereafter we shall see that the contrary assumption would make no difference.

"While the laborer is at work, his labor constantly undergoes a transformation; from being motion, it becomes an object without motion; from being the laborer working, it becomes the thing produced. At the end of one hour's spinning, that act is represented by a definite quantity of yarn; in other words, a definite quantity of labor, namely that of one hour, has become embodied in the cotton. We say labor, *i. e.*, the expenditure of his vital force by the spinner, and not spinning labor, because the special work of spinning counts here, only so far as it is the expenditure of labor-power in general, and not in so far as it is the specific work of the spinner.

"In the process we are now considering it is of extreme importance, that no more time be consumed in the work of transforming the cotton into yarn than is necessary under the given social conditions. If under normal, *i. e.*, average social conditions of production, *a* pounds of cotton ought to be made into *b* pounds of yarn by one hour's labor, then a day's labor does not count as 12 hours' labor unless 12 *a* pounds of cotton have been made into 12 *b* pounds of yarn; for in the creation of value, the time that is socially necessary alone counts.

"Not only the labor, but also the raw material and the product now appear in quite a new light, very different from that in which we viewed them in the labor-process pure and simple. The raw material serves now merely as an absorbent of a definite quantity of labor. By this absorption it is in fact changed into yarn, because it is spun, because labor-power in the form of spinning is added to it; but the product, the yarn, is now nothing more than a measure of the labor absorbed by the cotton. If in one hour 1⅔ lbs. of cotton can be spun into 1⅔ lbs. of yarn, then 10 lbs. of yarn indicate the absorption of 6 hours' labor. Definite quantities of product, these quantities being determined by experience, now represent nothing but definite quantities of labor, definite masses of crystallized labor-time. They are nothing more than the materialization of so many hours or so many days of social labor.

"We are here no more concerned about the facts, that the labor is the specific work of spinning, that its subject is cotton

and its product yarn, than we are about the fact that the subject itself is already a product and therefore raw material. If the spinner, instead of spinning, were working in a coal mine, the subject of his labor, the coal, would be supplied by Nature; nevertheless, a definite quantity of extracted coal, a hundred weight, for example, would represent a definite quantity of absorbed labor.

"We assumed, on the occasion of its sale, that the value of a day's labor-power is three shillings, and that six hours' labor are incorporated in that sum; and consequently that this amount of labor is requisite to produce the necessaries of life daily required on an average by the laborer. If now our spinner by working for one hour, can convert 1⅔ lbs. of cotton into 1⅔ lbs. of yarn, it follows that in six hours he will convert 10 lbs. of cotton into 10 lbs. of yarn. Hence, during the spinning process, the cotton absorbs six hours' labor. The same quantity of labor is also embodied in a piece of gold of the value of three shillings. Consequently by the mere labor of spinning, a value of three shillings is added to the cotton.

"Let us now consider the total value of the product, the 10 lbs. of yarn. Two and a half days' labor have been embodied in it, of which two days were contained in the cotton and in the substance of the spindle worn away, and half a day was absorbed during the process of spinning. This two and a half days' labor is also represented by a piece of gold of the value of fifteen shillings. Hence, fifteen shillings is an adequate price for the 10 lbs. of yarn, or the price of one pound is eighteen-pence.

"Our capitalist stares in astonishment. The value of the product is exactly equal to the value of the capital advanced. The value so advanced has not expanded, no surplus-value has been created, and consequently money has not been converted into capital. The price of the yarn is fifteen shillings, and fifteen shillings were spent in the open market upon the constituent elements of the product, or, what amounts to the same thing, upon the factors of the labor-process; ten shillings were paid for the cotton, two shilling for the substance of the spindle worn away, and three shillings for the labor-power. The swollen value of the yarn is of no avail, for it is merely the sum of the values formerly existing in the cotton, the spindle, and the labor-power; out of such a simple addition of existing values, no surplus-value can possibly arise. These separate values are now all concentrated in one thing; but so they were also in the sum of

fifteen shillings, before it was split up into three parts, by the purchase of the commodities."

Marx's reasoning takes a plain concept, value, that the common sense of humanity well understands, and involves it in such a maze of false elaborate formulas that the confused mind is in danger of serious deception. Marx falsely asserts that use value has no part in determining exchange value. Nothing can have an exchange value unless it has a use value. We may not say that everything that has a use value has an exchange value. Air has a use value, but in ordinary circumstances has no exchange value, owing to the fact of its abundant supply without the medium of labor. But the converse is true. Everything that has an exchange value must have a use value, for the exchange value is created out of the conception of the use value.

Another patent error of Marx is the assertion that surplus value be due to labor alone. He does not attempt to prove this; he merely asserts it. Surplus value is created thus. We may take for illustration a process in which every element conforms to justice.

The undertaker, by means of his capital, sets up a means of production. He then buys the raw product at a just price. He buys labor also at a just price. This purchase does not make of labor a commodity, but it supposes that there is in human society an institution by which a free man may contract to deliver service for a fixed reward. The undertaker combines these factors and expends thereon the highest kind of labor, organizing, directing thought. He risks his property; he creates a market for labor; he supplements the weakness of the laborer by his greater power. After labor's wages have been paid, the surplus value is the reward of the lawful and socially beneficial act of the undertaker. In a free competitive field the price of the product of the industry shall be regulated by the common judgment of men. Marx's theory is disproven by the moral principle, *res fructificat domino*, a possessor has a right to his property and to the fruits thereof. Stockholders have a right to the surplus value by the same principle. Their property *combined* the factors of industry and made possible a result otherwise impossible, and that causality gives them the right to the fruits of enterprise. It is evident that Marx's inane theory would stifle all industry and reduce society to a primitive undeveloped state. This theory is now an archeological curiosity.

Marx's theory of surplus or acquired value is so contrary to truth and justice that it creates in the mind a sentiment

of indignant sadness that men should have believed such a theory. Labor is exertion of bodily or mental faculties. Nature offers her resources as a reward of effort. The very things in nature that in their natural state supply man's wants require some effort, at least the effort of appropriation. Labor does not create anything; labor changes matter locally or in form; but creation transcends its power. Thus labor changes the wool into the cloth, the wheat into the bread, etc.

Now in the creation of value these factors have place. A man lawfully appropriates to himself a portion of nature's resources, or of her raw material, by impressing his personality on it. Thus he may by occupation acquire a title to a portion of land upon which he may be said to impress his personality. The amount of such appropriation is limited, but the indefinite limitation has a maximum; no man can thus gain title to such part of nature that his possession would deprive his fellow beings of their right to live from nature. Organized society shall always find a way within its competence to set a limit to such appropriation. The State does not create the right to possession; it only regulates, as the handmaid of God, a right which God gives.

A man may appropriate to himself the fruits of the chase—the fish, wild honey, etc. He may purchase land, mines, ships, raw products for manufacture. He is working; the reward of his exertion is lawful.

What he acquires by these titles he may transmit to heirs, purchasers, or donees.

The master, therefore, in the labor-contract comes into the contract with capital. That capital represents what he by just title has won from nature, or what another has by equally just title transmitted to him. Fruits result from that capital and these fruits belong to the capitalist. *Res fructificat domino.* He may purchase land with flocks and herds. The increase of the land and the increase of the herds and flocks are his. There is no such thing as unearned increment. The possessor of the thing increasing in value has earned that increment by the act of possession. What he has done all men are free to do. The thing possessed under God belongs to the possessor with all its fertility and fortunes. If it loses in value the loss falls on the possessor; if it increases, its increase still remains under his dominion. If a man buys a parcel of land and, owing to some good fortune, that parcel of land increases in value, that increase is as truly his as the wool on the sheep which a man possesses,

or the milk of his cows. The property right covers all the potential productiveness of the thing possessed.

In the production, therefore, of the finished product the natural fruitfulness of the capital, the enterprise of the undertaker, his direction, management, etc., enter. Labor works with these and influences the effect, but it is nonsense to assert that the surplus value of the finished article is due to labor. By the only system possible in human life, labor has for a just wages contracted away all further right to any of the profits. If the undertaker freely wills to give a part of the profits in order to insure the good will of labor, he is free to do so, but there is no obligation in justice compelling him. The laborer does not set up as the aim of his labor a part of the profits. He is indifferent as to whether there shall be a profit or not. He works for his wages and receives them, even though the enterprise show a loss. The surplus value is not proportioned to the labor. A man working on a fertile, *well managed* farm will produce much more value than the same amount of labor expended under less favorable circumstances. Surplus values are largely the result of business capacity, able management, and good luck.

M. BAUDRILLART ON COMMUNISM

In his analysis of *Communism* M. Henri Baudrillart, of the Institute of France, substantiates the following charges against Communism.

By attacking the right to property it strikes at the first principle of liberty in its vital part. Its attack upon individualism is an attack upon the individual himself. Under pretense of the advocacy of equality, it destroys real liberty. Equality supposes something anterior to itself which may admit of equality. This basis can not be the nature or degree of aptitudes. Men differ physically, mentally, morally. Therefore the only basis of true equality is the liberty of all men to use their beings. Equality is found through liberty. The liberty of every man recognized and guaranteed is true equality. The starting point of Communism is the chimerical and deceptive nonsense of pretending to secure equality in the great human family by the suppression of liberty. The idea of equality through liberty is inherent in the mind of man, an imperative want of his soul, a necessary law of his God-willed development. Communism tries to suppress equality where it is and to place it where it is not. Communism tries to enforce a false equality of passions, ideas,

wants, things—in one word, of everything which does not admit of equality. It tries to replace the liberty which the nature of man demands by tyrannical arbitrary equivalent. Ignoring real liberty, Communism sacrifices real rights to chimerical ones. Man has a right to dispose of the use of his faculties, the right to work, with all that right involves. This right oppresses no man. That right to work is man's freedom, but it does not impose an obligation on society to furnish that man work. The right to work is not a right to compel society to give the man work. Such lying right would destroy liberty. The man has only the right to demand that no unjust obstacle be placed between him and the resources of nature on which he wishes to exercise his energy. This reasoning is in the field of justice. The man who refuses available help to the poor is not thereby a thief. The poor man has no right in justice to relief. The recusant is uncharitable, hard hearted, irreligious, damned to the hell of Dives, if you will, but he is not withholding a claim in justice.

To the liberty of man's use of his faculties, the result of successful effort corresponds in order to constitute that liberty.

Communism destroys merit both in the economical and moral order. In the natural order, as God ordained it, unequal rewards await unequal industry. In order to merit man must freely use nature. Liberty demands competition. In place of the legitimate, industrious, enlightened competition of interests which is profitable and free to all, it puts the blind, barren, and disorderly competition of appetites. It complains of robbery in human society, and in order to suppress it, decrees universal spoliation. It condemns prostitution and advocates the promiscuity of the sexes. It removes from human life free will, personality, care for the future, the calculations and affections which make existence worth having. It enervates all the motives which constitute the essence, the health, the energy of man's moral being, and destroys the sources of wealth. It pretends to correct the evil effects of instinct by the excess of depraved instinct. It makes love and fraternity the motives of production. This is the most impossible of utopias. Man will not through Communism work, manufacture, sell, etc., with the perpetual enthusiasm which religion itself does not always produce. It is foolish to suppose that mortal man will love everybody and devote himself to everybody. Men do not begin by loving the human race; a few men by long practice and discipline attain that sublime love. To acquire that com-

plicated sentiment much enlightenment, much philosophical and religious elevation of mind is necessary. It is a fact of human experience that affection becomes more intense by being restricted to a narrow circle. It is more sublime but ordinarily less energetic in proportion as it extends itself to a greater number of objects. "Communism by opposing this elementary law, drowns, so to speak, sympathy and devotion in the depths of the limitless ocean called the human race, and buries the individual in the immense and vague abstraction which it calls society." It removes no existing evils, but lets new evils loose on humanity. It creates a state which is supposed to live by the skillful distribution of wretchedness. Communism in Sparta existed by forced labor; Communism in Russia must conscript labor. In Sparta men responded not to the attractiveness of labor, but to the blow of the whip. Sparta fell by internal dissolution and corruption, because it was unnatural.

The Redeemer invited men to voluntary renunciation of temporal goods and to the Communism of charity, but he sanctions private property by the eternal commandment—"Thou shalt not steal." He restored and raised to higher perfection the monogamic family.

Some Communists deny God, the soul, responsibility; others mean to admit them, which is perfectly useless, since their principles lead to the same practical materialism. In reality there is only one and the same Communism. Communism is a disease of the mind; its remedies are moral training, and the application of the great principles of economic science, which can, however, never destroy the evils of society, but may gradually diminish them.

RIGHTS OF LABOR

M. Léon Faucher of the same Institute, in his article on Labor, follows the same line of argument.

In the upheaval of 1848 the State took over the establishments and gave notes for their value. The experiment ended in shipwreck. The workmen could not run the industries from which capital had been banished, and management the soul of industry. Shops closed, men were unemployed, the social order was imperiled. Other shops were opened which Lamartine called depots of relief. The workmen became lazy beggars. The duty of work was driven out by the communistic belief in the right to the means of subsistence. Lamartine tried to save society by proclaiming that

man's right to subsistence was a right in charity. His voice was drowned in the wild clamor.

The degenerate hypocrite, Rousseau, had taught the people that "Everything is good when it leaves the hands of the Creator; everything degenerates in the hands of man." This was the repudiation of society. Men demanded that the institutions of society should give place to Rousseau's state of nature. The communist, Considérant, formulated his theory on the usufructuary right that man has to nature. In the primitive state man had four basic rights—the chase, fishing, picking of wild fruits, and pasture. In his theory society has taken these rights from the proletarian and therefore owes him an equivalent. This dreamer in insisting on the primitive form of man's right to nature, neglects the truth that man has a right to social progress. Man has a right to nature, but man being social has a right to determine the way in which that right shall be exercised. When a few tribes roamed over vast tracts of the earth, they were able to subsist from nature by tribal law. No great progress could be made in such mode of life. Moreover the earth could not support its present population by Considérant's famous four rights. In that savage barbarous state there was an appropriation of the land proportionate to the degree of the progress of the race. The tribes appropriated to themselves certain territory. Within that tribal territory families and individuals, by applying human activity to natural forces, acquired possessions.

By the command of God the land of Canaan was first allotted to tribes, and then each family received a portion as an individual possession, so that "every man dwelt safely under his vine and under his fig tree."—I Kings IV, 25. There is no other order compatible with the nature of man and with that perfecting of his nature which he has a duty to seek.

Society never took away from the individual any rights. It simply established an order in which the rights of the individual may be best exercised. That right that the primitive man had to hunt, fish, gather wild fruits, and pasture, he now has in the sacred right of working in the industries of more highly developed nature. Churches, schools, libraries, hospitals, asylums, police and fire protection, courts, public works, means of transportation, etc., make life happier and more in conformity with the nature of man. Property is still the potential possession of all. No one has preempted nature. Wages are paid to labor; out of wages savings are

ZBIORNICA
Kolegiów
Lubelskich

possible, and there is always an open market where savings may purchase property.

The revolt of labor against capital as such is as unnatural as the revolt of a child against the parent, from whom he receives maintenance. We all remember what a thrill of joy pervaded the parish and the whole community when we heard that a large factory was to be located among us. And when it came how it brought joy into homes where unemployment had cast a shadow! It furnished a market for labor; it gave to labor that organization and direction that labor needs in order to exert its power upon the resources of nature. The factory did not drop from Heaven with Heaven's trade mark on it. It was conducted by men who wished to create wealth for themselves. They were not better than the average man. They hired labor at the current price of labor in the open market. They demanded value received for wages, and discharged lazy and incompetent laborers. At times they were harsh, unmerciful, and yet without them labor would have suffered more. It is madness, therefore, to accept the socialistic principle, "Capitalism must go." Capitalism is necessary for industry. All the moral forces of society should bear upon Capitalism to move it to deal justly, equitably, and even charitably, with the workers. The action of these moral forces works in harmony with the law of the land. This action must be continuous, intelligent, progressive, appealing to both sides by its wisdom and its justice.

SOCIAL REFORMERS

Undoubtedly there are honest social reformers, who are in the socialist ranks. They complain that we condemn a system that by its evolutionary power has developed beyond its crude beginning, and has become a great social reform party. Thus we find professors of universities and even priests who defend Socialism. The mistake here lies with these social reformers. They should separate themselves from Socialism altogether. They should adopt another name, and in no unmistakable terms declare their principles.

We have a right to judge Socialism by the principles on which it was founded; by the character of its founders and its chief exponents; by the programs and platforms which it has promulgated; and by the sentiments of its press and its chief writers and leaders.

Socialism may be described as a "system of social and economic organization that would substitute state monopoly

for private ownership of the sources of production and means of distribution, and would concentrate under the control of the secular governing authority the chief activities of human life." Of course, the governing authority would be a socialistic state. Socialism, therefore, prohibits private ownership of the sources of production, such as land, raw material, factories, machines, tools, means of transportation, etc., and also of all commerce, and makes the administration of all these the function of the State.

Socialism restricts private ownership to consumable goods such as food, clothing, etc., destined for one's private use. As John Spargo expresses it ("Capitalist and Labor":)

"We want social ownership only of those things which cannot be controlled by private owners except as means of exploiting the labor of others and making them bondsmen." To characterize all employment of labor by productive property as the exploitation of labor and the making bondsmen of the laborers is so radically false and revolutionary, so destructive of civilization that it forces us to deny the good faith of the socialistic author. The relation of employer and employed is an institution which has always existed, and which will exist as long as man in his present mortal state exists. It is one of the most universal facts of history. It is approved by the Old Testament and by the New Testament. Christ in many of his parables makes such institution the basis to illustrate God's relation to humanity. Through selfishness and greed evils have come into this relation. The best of humanity are laboring to correct these evils, and in their constructive work their greatest obstacle is Socialism, which by its destructive and impossible theories converts many of the workers into rebels against all existing institutions, and fills the employers with distrust of them and bitterness, and holds back the reforms which the employers would more readily grant to reasonable beings.

With a master comprehension of facts and with a heart full of pity for the laboring man, Leo XIII. thus establishes the fact that Socialism injures most the very laborer whom it pretends to help. Thus he wrote in his famous Encyclical on Labor:

"It is surely undeniable that, when a man engages in remunerative labor, the impelling reason and motive of his work is to obtain property, and thereafter to hold it as his very own. If one man hires out to another his strength or skill, he does so for the purpose of receiving in return what is necessary for sustenance and education; he therefore

expressly intends to acquire a right full and real, not only to the remuneration, but also to the disposal of such remuneration, just as he pleases. Thus, if he lives sparingly, saves money, and, for greater security, invests his savings in land, the land, in such case, is only his wages under another form; and, consequently, a workingman's little estate thus purchased should be as completely at his full disposal as are the wages he receives for his labor. But it is precisely in such power of disposal that ownership obtains, whether the property consist of land or chattels. Socialism, therefore, by endeavoring to transfer the possessions of individuals to the community at large, strike at the interests of every wage-earner, since they would deprive him of the liberty of disposing of his wages, and thereby of all hope and possibility of increasing his stock and of bettering his condition in life."

The Socialists of the world may be classified in various groups.

The Utopian Socialists dream an impossible dream. They mistake the very nature of man, and devise an economic system for an ideal man instead of for the flesh and blood reality. These may be called the Parlor Socialists.

They seem oblivious of the fact that two very prominent qualities of human nature are selfishness and inertia or laziness. For man as he is there are required strong laws to restrain him from evil, and strong incentives to move him to right action. Socialism weakens both law and incentives to action. A prominent feature of present socialist propaganda is the demand that prisoners be liberated. Also what incentive is there for development of personality? for industry? thrift? invention? in a society which is reduced to a dead level by Socialism?

SOCIALISM IN VARIOUS FORMS

Socialists often complain that their opponents misrepresent Socialism. This complaint alleges that socialists are charged with being affiliated with organizations with which socialists have no sympathy. Surely there are mild socialists who aim at nothing more than economic and industrial reforms, but these upright men are not in the majority, nor do they direct the socialist movement. May not the socialists be charged with the responsibility for the political speeches of the men whom their votes have placed in office? the men whom their Press sustain? If the socialist party is amenable to its better elements let them come out and

condemn the satanic regime of Trotzky and Lenin in Russia, of Bela Kun in Hungary, of the I. W. W. in the United States. Will any man deny that the I. W. W. founds its reason of existence upon the basic principle of Socialism, the injustice of private ownership? Is it not self-evident to any intelligent observer of events that all the lawless organizations of the United States, which attack the institutions of our civilization, are closely affiliated to the socialist party?

Every action of the United States against Bolshevism is opposed by the Socialists. Active aid and sympathy are extended to every radical who disturbs the peace of the state.

We must never lose sight of the fact that Socialism is international in character. The principles that actuate the socialists of one country are disseminated to all countries. This is a fundamental principle of Socialism, and will be denied by none. In 1900 an international Socialist Bureau was established at Brussels with the purpose of solidifying and strengthening the international character of Socialism. Since 1904 an Inter-Parliamentary Socialist Committee has given further support to the work of the Bureau.

Mr. Leslie A. St. Lawrence Toke, of England, one of the ablest English writers on Sociology, declares that "Today the international character of the socialistic movement is an axiom that must not be forgotten in the estimation both of the strength and of the trend of the movement." (Cath. Encyclopedia, Art. "Socialism.")

Owing to this solidarity of European and American Socialism a danger threatens America today greater than we realize. Wherever Socialism has come into power in the Old World it has wrecked civilization. Do we wish to remedy our industrial and political evils in the way that the French Revolution operated in France? Bolshevism in Russia? and the Spartacans in Germany?

DEFECTS OF COURTS

Among the chief reasons that Socialism is accepted by many of our people is the law's delay in removing evils, the sinister power of wealth, and the lack of wisdom and justice in many of our institutions. Unfortunately it is hard to punish a rich man. The law-making bodies and the law-enforcing agents are often afraid to punish a rich man. This constitutes what the Socialist calls plutocracy.

In the year 1919, Mr. Reginald Heber Smith, of the Boston Bar, made a report to the Carnegie Foundation on

"American Judicial Institutions." Mr. Smith spent three years in his investigation, and his report is an impartial summary of the defects of our courts. He lays down as a fundamental principle that "justice is not merchandise; it cannot be granted or withheld according to the purchasing power of the applicant."

The report clearly demonstrates that costs are a parasitic growth about the administration of justice. These costs are like the list of charges for a dinner on the European plan—fee for making records, filing complaints, issuing a summons, etc., until their aggregate is prohibitive for a poor man, and the result is that there is no even-handed justice but the courts become a bulwark of privilege. Mr. Smith says:

"The existing denial of justice to the poor which the report sets out is not due to the factors most commonly talked about—as bribery, political influence, incompetent judges, extortionate fees, or class domination—but rather to great underlying social and economic changes which have taken place during the last half century, altering our entire national life, and to which our judicial system failed to adapt itself. Primarily these changes are due to immigration, the rapid rise of the wage earning class, and the startling growth of the urban population.

"The defects are, first, the delay which always advantages the longer pocketbook and arises from our antiquated court organization and our overcomplex and supertechnical procedure. Second, are the expenses that the state itself levies in the form of court costs and fees and which too often serve to prohibit access to the courts. These are superficial defects, easily remediable whenever we put our minds to it, and determine to run justice as efficiently as business and to sweep away the accumulated cobwebs. The third and inherent difficulty is the expense of lawyers' services. This does not mean unfair fees; it strikes deeper. The trouble is that for an understanding of our legal rights and for the orderly presentation of cases in court lawyers are essential; lawyers must live and so must be paid; yet millions of persons need just such assistance from time to time, but can not get it because they are too poor to pay for it.

"The evil is not one of class in the sense that it gives the poor over to the mercies of only the rich. It enables the poor to rob one another; it permits the shrewd immigrant of a few years' residence to defraud his more recently arrived countrymen. The line of cleavage is that between the dishonest and the honest. Everywhere it abets the unscrupu-

lous, the crafty, and the vicious in their plans to exploit their less intelligent and less fortunate fellow. The system not only robs the poor of their only protection, but it places in the hands of their oppressors the most powerful and ruthless weapon ever invented."

It is estimated that there are in the United States 35,000,000 men, women and children whose financial condition does not enable them to pay for attorney's services. Therefore, there is a virtual denial of justice through the courts to a large number of the people. Industrial unrest and radical agitation feed on this.

POWER OF WEALTH

Another evil is the power of the larger capitalist to squeeze out the small producer and establish a monopoly that allows him to fix prices far in excess of what is just.

Still a greater evil is the power of wealth to influence legislation. The sloppy sentimentality and pink-tea sophistry that foist upon us numberless fads have brought our institutions into contempt.

The existence of these evils demands a remedy, but Socialism is not that remedy. As we shall prove later on, Socialism is not the remedy because it is immoral and impossible. But it offers itself as a remedy and shrewdly embodies in its platform planks covering all these evils. One of the fundamental defects of Socialism is that like the Cumaean Sibyl it mingles truth with untruth. It offers a poisonous asp concealed in a basket of tempting fruit.

The Socialist offers a remedy, an impossible remedy, an immoral remedy; but still a long-suffering public will be tempted by the specious offer. In declaring against government by injunction his party goes on record as against the use of government troops to intimidate the working class. In these cunning words he condemns the use of troops to protect life and property and the rights of the people against the lawlessness of the strikers. Such a plank would be fatal to law and order. What we really need is more strict and efficient application of the arm of the law so that labor troubles may be adjusted without violence, and the security of all the people may be maintained. We need the speedy enactment and strict enforcement of a bill introduced in the House of Representatives on Monday, December 2, 1919, by Representative P. A. Kelley of Michigan. This bill is supported by the Department of Justice. It defines criminal syndicalism

to be the doctrine which advocates crime, sabotage, violence, or any methods of terrorism for the overthrow of the government, or to accomplish industrial, economic, social, or political reform.

The punishment is a fine of not more than $5,000.00, or imprisonment for not more than five years or both. Deportation is to follow the punishment.

The bill expresses the popular consciousness that reforms are necessary, but declares that these reforms shall be effected by the ballot and not by lawlessness. It declares that all necessary changes in our social order or in our political affairs can be effected in a lawful and peaceful manner.

SOCIALISTIC DECEIT

One of the planks of the Socialist platform is thus enunciated:

"We advocate National ownership of trusts, and the public ownership of public utilities—in nation, state, or city as the case may be."

There is a vagueness in this plank which the framer intended in order to appeal to men of different economic views. The I. W. W. and the radical socialist see in it the abolition of private ownership, and they are content.

The mild socialist sees in it only an attempt to restrain those aggregations of capital that stifle the smaller owners, and he is content.

The framer of the socialist platform rejects moderate reforms:

"But it is foolish to suppose that such measures are going to cure the evil. In order to cure it, you must go down to the basis of it and apply the remedy there.

"Private ownership is the basis. It must be abolished, and collective ownership put in its place.

"That will cure the social unrest. Any other alleged cure is a quack remedy."

It is only the deceived Socialist, the poor man, who really believes in the practical working of Socialism. The socialist deceiver makes a good profit, which he possesses and uses as private property, even while he denounces private ownership. Some of these agitators find the support of Socialism very lucrative.

There is no greater hypocrisy in the world today than Socialism in all its forms. I met a professor the other day who denounced all existing institutions, even the Moral The-

ology of the Catholic Church, and in the same conversation discoursed of his mining stocks and his knowledge of Wall St. Socialism never was really believed in by its expounders and leaders. Men who were nonentities in decent society found in it a means of emolument and notoriety by deceiving the masses, and they have made a trade of their cunning agitation. They have wrought incalculable injury to the masses, which they pretend to emancipate. They sneer at religion, arbitration, and thrift, the only real means of solving the world's problems.

SOCIALISM AND BOLSHEVISM

In his speech in the House of Representatives the leader of the Socialist party in Wisconsin declared that Socialism is not Bolshevism. That is the genius of the hypocritical system, to deny before one audience what is asserted with emphasis before another audience, as the temper of the audience may demand.

Berger's statement in his famous "Apology" in Congress does not agree with the view of his friend, Frank Harris, who came to Milwaukee to support his canvass. Harris made Berger's cause and the cause of Leon Trotzky identical, and in that connection referred to Trotzky as a brainy Jew, and declared the Soviet Government in Russia to be the most extraordinary undertaking in the history of the world.

The Socialists of Russia are impatient with our Government because it will not allow Socialism to dominate the world.

In its issue of February, 1919, the Socialist publication "The Liberator," declared that "the doctrines of Lenine are the doctrines of Revolutionary Socialism the world over."

"The Call" (May 14, 1917), editorially declares: "Lenin is after all nothing but an ordinary socialist, with the ordinary socialist program of social revolution everywhere throughout Europe as his object."

Lincoln Steffens in his introduction to Trotzky's book declares "that Leon Trotzky is a Socialist, an orthodox Marxian Socialist."

On August 11, 1918, the Socialist Party of America issued a proclamation as follows:

"Since the French Revolution there has been no other advance in democratic progress and social justice comparable to the Russian Revolution. The Russian people have established an advanced form of democracy, a Socialist Government.

Economically and socially as well as politically the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic is a government of the workers, by the workers, and for the workers.

The Socialist Party of America declares itself in accord with Revolutionary Russia and urges our government and our people to co-operate with it."

The "Weekly People," organ of the Socialist Labor Party, recently declared, "We celebrate the Anniversary (Nov. 7, 1918) of the Bolsheviki, not as an honor from another nation, but as an integral part of the International Proletariat."

The scientific development of Bolshevism from Socialism is thus set forth by the Socialist, Louis C. Fraina: "Marx was the master of the revolution in theory. Lenine is the master of the revolution in action. But as Marx, the man of theory, has great capacity for action, so Lenine, the man of action, has great capacity for theory.

"Marxism is the theoretical instrument of the Proletarian Revolution; it is upon the basis of Marxism that Lenine builds. And the great achievement of Lenine is the restoration of Marxism to its real character as an instrument of revolutionary action."

Gordon Nelson, Editor of the "Labor News" of Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, in an editorial Jan., 1919: "The only difference between the mass of the Bolsheviki and the mass of the people elsewhere is that the Bolsheviki are class-conscious, intelligent students of conditions as they exist today, and as they will exist under a co-operative commonwealth. . . . . The Bolsheviki are the architects of the social order, the seers and heralds of the new age. Bolshevism is the instrument of the workers for abolishing the old order and establishing the new." ("Bolshevism: Its cure." Goldstein and Avery.)

It is evident, therefore, that Bolshevism is applied Socialism, founded upon its principles, and enrolling the same followers.

Undoubtedly there are socialists who repudiate the extreme views of Trotzky and Lenin. There exists in their heads a theory of Socialism which has never been put into any operation, and has not formed a party or influenced Socialist thought in any practical way. Actual Socialism is not what it might be or ought be, or could be: Socialism is what it is, a historical fact, producing results destructive of all that is good in civilization, and building up nothing that is practically good in saving the world.

The Social reformers who identify themselves with Socialism are responsible for its extreme theories and acts in the degree that the reformer's sympathy with the movement aids and abets the whole movement, which as a really existing force is antagonistic to religion and civilization.

The diabolical joy of the Socialists at their undermining of religion is well expressed by Emil Vandervelde, Chairman of the International Socialist Bureau:

"Slowly but surely with the irresistible movement of a geological subsidence, faith is waning among the international workers and even among peasants. One may safely assert that about twenty years ago nearly every one held to some religious creed. Freethinkers were few and to be found only in the middle-class. . . . . Today the workmen who follow no particular creed number millions, and as their hopes of a heavenly kingdom dissolve, other hopes assert themselves with a growing intensity. Wherever free thought penetrates, Socialism enters also. We neither know nor can conceive of any free-thinking man who is not at the same time a Socialist."

On Thursday, December 4, 1919, Dr. Michael Misleg, treasurer of the Russian Soviet Federation, testified before the Joint Legislation Commission that his organization was a nation-wide organization engaged in teaching Bolshevism to the American people. He declared that ten thousand members contribute to the cause and that about half of these are American citizens. His most important admission was that "Bolshevism and Socialism are synonymous, and the ten thousand members of the Russian Federation are organized for the purpose of spreading these doctrines."

In the days of paganism St. Paul expressed the mental attitude of the adherents of the false worship thus: "Ye know that when ye were Gentiles ye were led away unto those dumb idols, howsoever ye might be led." (1 Cor. XVII. 2) The act of the pagan people was not a logical conviction; it was an unthinking, unreasoning following of a leader. Pagan worship was the custom of the time. Without independent reasoning the pagan fell in with the procession. It was an easy method of life; it entailed no sacrifices; it appealed to the natural man. In the same way many of the people, with no knowledge of the fundamental principles of Socialism, join its ranks. The laborer knows that the corporation for which he works may make as high as 1000% profit, while the laborer's pay will not buy food, raiment, and shelter for himself and for his family. The laborer sees that the man

who realizes the immense profits will not give the laborer a living wage unless he be allowed to filch that wage-increase from the laborer and from his suffering brethren in the form of an increased cost of a necessity of life. Society as at present organized does not approve the deed of the profiteer, but it is slow in redressing the wrong. The law's delay maddens the poor man. Unless the poor man be controlled and sustained by belief in God, and belief in the final triumph of right in God's way, and in God's appointed time, the poor man will be moved by the same greed that controls the rich. Throw out the supernatural order, and the rich man and the poor man are as two dogs fighting for the same bone. It is a mere accident that the rich man has the bone. Change that accident; reverse their condition, and that poor man, now grown rich, would be as selfish and greedy as the present possessor of the coveted possession. You can not fight greed with greed. You can not temper man's excessive love of money by making economic amelioration the one heaven for which man shall strive, and by teaching him to set aside moral considerations in accepting a system which pretends to ameliorate his temporal lot.

A vast number of men reason only on the surface of things. This percentage is especially high among the laborers, for often meagre intellectual endowment is the main factor which has determined that station as their lot in life. To men who reason superficially Socialism offers an immoral and impossible theory. The rank and file of those who follow the leaders in Socialism never inquire into its fundamental principles. It sounds good to them; it looks good to them; it promises them glittering promises, and they are caught by the cunning deceit.

Socialism has never succeeded. Some things that socialists have advocated have been tried and some have succeeded; but these reforms are not due to Socialism. They are due to the noble social reformers of the world, and have been accomplished by means of the present system, which the socialists wish to overthrow. No error is all error; error is a perversion of truth in which some principles of truth, are retained.

The Protestant Reformation was a revolt against the abuses which had invaded the head and members of the Church. In its attack upon the worldliness and licentiousness of the age it was good. But the principles with which it fought the evil were false. It offered a remedy worse than the disease which it essayed to combat. The Council of Trent recognized the abuse and afforded a true remedy, and saved the Church.

Recognizing the economic evils of our day we wish an industrial Council of Trent.

Socialists commit an error in asserting that the repudiation of Socialism be the endorsement of past, present, and future economic evils. This is a very pernicious error, as it brings the opponents of Socialism into suspicion with many of the people.

Our reasoning implies that many of the socialists are laboring men. That we may not be thought to make a gratuitous assertion we adduce in proof of our position the following facts: In an interview given the Associated Press at Rome on November 23, 1919, Premier Nitti declared that four-fifths at least of the socialists of Italy belong to the Labor Party and are representatives of the claims of working classes in the social and economic fields. Premier Nitti also declared that many are in the Socialist Party not through love of Socialism but for other ends.

In the Platform of the Socialist Party adopted at Indianapolis in 1901 the framers of the Platform declare "That it is the duty of every trades-union to join the Socialist Party and to assist in building up a strong political movement of the wage-working class." ("Socialism," Cathrein—Gettelman, p. 93.)

The new Labor Party recently organized at Chicago has a drastic socialistic Platform. Prominent planks in it are the international solidarity of labor, the nationalization of all banks, unused lands, public utilities, and basic industries, and the immediate release of all political and industrial prisoners. In the last paragraph it is in substance asserted that treason against the United States is not a crime, and that no act of violence of strikers against life or property is a crime. These mischievous planks are inserted among excellent declarations of principles which appeal to the upright.

We believe it self-evident to any man who has observed the course of history, and especially the course of events of our own times that Socialism, Bolshevism, Spartacism, I. W. W.ism are but different manifestations of the revolt of the masses of the people against existing institutions, especially against private ownership of property and against social inequality. There may be revolts within this revolt; the extreme views of one wing may not find favor with another wing, but there is among them an identity of fundamental principles; their disagreements touch methods, not principles. The socialistic principles are largely responsible for the epidemic of strikes which afflicts the world.

ROME, DEC. 4—(By the Associated Press.)—Ten persons dead, more than 100 wounded, and 1,000 under arrest sums up the result of the general strike in Italy, called by the Socialists as a result of the demonstrations made against them on Monday in Rome at the reopening of parliament.

In addition, shops were sacked in Milan.

Reports from Mantua say that grave disorders have occurred there. The Socialists disarmed some of the troops and set fire to the railroad station. Seven of the ten dead were killed there.

John Spargo is considered a mild Socialist. In his work "Syndicalism, Industrial Unionism, and Socialism" (pp. 172, 173) he declares as follows: "I am not opposed to sabotage because of any love of law and order, or because of any regard for the rights of property. . . . . If the class to which I belong could be set free from exploitation by violation of the laws made by the master class, by open rebellion, by seizing the property of the rich, or setting the torch to a few buildings, or by the summary execution of a few members of the possessing class, I hope that the courage to share in the work should be mine. I should pray for the courage and hardness of heart necessary."

Berger is more brutal in expressing his views. On July 31, 1909, in the "Social Democratic Herald" (Milwaukee) he declared as follows:

In view of the plutocratic law-making of the present day, it is easy to predict that the safety and hope of this country will finally lie in one direction only—that of a violent and bloody revolution.

"Therefore, I say, each of the 500,000 Socialist voters and each of the two million workingmen who instinctively incline our way, should, besides doing much reading and still more thinking, also have a good rifle and the necessary rounds of ammunition in his home and be prepared to back up his ballot with his bullets if necessary."

Because Mr. Gompers will not advocate these extreme views Berger calls him, "Old crooked representative of the trusts—Sam Gompers."

In the great steel strike the infamous strike leaders fed the passions of the mob by telling them that the mills ought to belong to the workers. Employees of the U. S. Steel Corporation testified before the Senate on October 4th, that the strikers in the main believed that the mills were to be given

to them. Thus a false socialistic principle was responsible for a strike that cost the laborers two hundred and twenty-nine millions of dollars, and the mill-owners two hundred and fifty million dollars. And what has it accomplished? It has added to the accumulated hate of the ages between the classes and the masses; it has alienated public opinion from the cause of labor.

In tracing the close affiliation between the socialist and the other lawless bodies aforesaid, it is interesting to observe the statements of socialist leaders on this point.

PARIS—(United Press)—Details of plans by Lenin and Trotzky for a final supreme effort to bring about an international revolution this winter involving attempts on the lives of rulers of "bourgeois" governments as well as destruction of railways, mines, ships and general strikes, have been revealed in a document captured in Switzerland.

The document consisted of a letter addressed to the German communist group in Geneva.

The letter was written by Henri Guilbeaux, under a sentence of death in France for espionage.

The letter in part follows:

"The soviet government knows that the present situation cannot last and is resolved to stake everything during the coming winter.

"The soviet government has ready its plan for terrorist action.

"Our agents will execute, by terrorism, attempts on all governmental personages both of the allied countries and Germany, whom we may judge as harmful to the international revolutionary movement.

"Our agents from all communist parties in all countries that are now fighting the Russian communist revolution will sabotage economic organizations. Strikes will be worked up. An effort will be made to reduce mine production and break up both rail and water transportation.

"If legislative action in the countries involved is opposed to Socialism and the international revolution, it will be necessary for you to realize fully that the only means of sustaining the Russian revolution will be to cause outbursts in every European country of insurrectionary movements."

Guilbeaux also declared that if necessary, the Bolsheviki will adopt the terrorist policy, such as flooding the world with false and alarming propaganda, and also by epidemics and contagious diseases, the soviets, if necessary, putting into action a world-wide program of terror.

A great General of the World War from personal observation thus describes the effect of Socialism in Russia:

"The proletarian Society of Workers and Soldiers was now, by means of its councils, to govern and reorganize the world. All that had existed hitherto was ruthlessly destroyed. Civilization was disintegrated.

"Private property was to be limited and the joy of work to be killed. Woman became public property. Bestial instincts soon became uppermost. The chaos developed more and more into the bloody dictatorship of a few men, who relied on troops faithful to themselves, and on whose passions, even when they were Chinese mercenaries, they placed no restraint. The country, dominated by this dictatorship, was ruined; but that meant nothing to those in power.

"A curious state of affairs was thus created. Those who never could cry out enough about violations of rights and against war, paid no regard to the rights of the majority, but violated them more than any government had done, called the people to arms and made war, not against external enemies at first, it is true, but generally against every existing institution. Those who disagreed with them heard no word of reconciliation or understanding.

"The peasants and the middle-class found themselves exposed, unarmed, to violation by their oppressors, and fell a prey to anarchist disruption. Possibly, like many people in Germany in the spring of 1919, they looked upon Bolshevism with fatalistic equanimity, as an inevitable doom which must of itself produce salvation. That is a cowardly thought, and in Russia it had terrible consequences. Salvation from Bolshevism is not to be found in looking on and doing nothing, but in strong and wise action, accurate gauging of the enemy's strength and weakness, and also in far-sighted economic reforms which would have been imperative after the war in any event." (Gen. Von Ludendorf in "Memoirs.")

There is a deep meaning in the phrase "the joy of work." It expresses that instinctive glad impulse that impels the normal man to be something, and to achieve something. The impossible leveling of all grades of men by the system of Socialism, would discourage energy, remove the incentive to beneficial enterprises, and lead to industrial and intellectual stagnation.

In an article signed by A. W. Richter, Samuel M. Rubin and Joseph A. Padway, socialists, on the editorial page of the *Milwaukee Leader* of April 23, 1919, we find the following:

"The greatest progress which Socialism has ever made has been made in Europe recently. But the American movement has acted as a stepbrother toward the European comrades, and is so regarded by them.

"The heart of every true socialist beats for our comrades in Russia and Germany, and many of the big men in our party, such as Debs, Nearing, and Tucker, have declared themselves to be in sympathy with the bolsheviki and spartacan comrades.

"But the American movement, as a whole, has not been sufficiently enlightened to take a stand on this European situation. But if truly enlightened, we know the rank and file would be heart and soul with the bolsheviki and spartacans, because these movements are the real Marxian proletarian movement."

The *Milwaukee Leader* protested against the insinuation that he had not espoused the cause of Bolshevism in an editorial from which we clip the following:

"The party has backed up the Bolsheviki from the start. The *Leader* in particular has defended them vigorously ever since they gained control. If I have not, in my editorials, rained blows upon the capitalist press on account of its lies about the Bolsheviki, then I just don't know how to rain blows, that's all."

The Socialist attempt to whitewash Bolshevism is vain. The means of information are so many that the evidence is overwhelming; we need but judge the movement by its own statements.

The Government of the United States has made public the manifesto of the Federation of Unions of Russian Workers of the United States and Canada. According to a dispatch from Washington this manifesto advocates:

Capture of all products and means of production.
Liberation of all political prisoners.
The blowing up of all barracks.
The assassination of law-enforcing officials.
The burning of public records.
Destruction of fences and all property lines.
The destruction of all instruments of indebtedness.

History presents nothing more satanic. It is a delirium of lawlessness. It would destroy everything sacred, everything noble, everything beautiful in life, and convert the world into the chaos of hell.

But lest we think that this thing is an exotic growth, not a serious danger to our institutions, since we may deport

what we have and refuse entrance to others, let us come nearer home.

It is proven that about 77 of the I. W. W. are native born Americans, children of our soil.

In a recent trial in one of our Federal Courts a document was introduced and accepted as evidence which outlines the I. W. W. policy to be as follows:

"As an industrial organization the I. W. W. makes use of all and any tactics that will get the result sought with the least expenditure of time and energy. The tactics used are determined solely by the power of the organization to make good in their use. The question of right and wrong does not concern us.

"Failing to force concessions from the employers by the strike, work is resumed and sabotage is used to force the employers to concede to the demands of the workers. The I. W. W. is opposed to the institution called the State."

Continuing the document says: "What is this sabotage that so worries politicians, preachers, profit-grabbers, and parasites generally? It is the realization on the part of the working class that property has no right which its creator (i. e. labor) is bound to respect. It means that the workers know that might makes right, and that they are possessed of a tremendous might in the production process. It means that they are conscious of the fact that any action that weakens the employer and strengthens the worker is justified. A slashed warp, a loosened bolt, an uncut thread, a shift of dies, will make Billy Wood see the justice of the men's demands quicker than all the votes cast since Bill Bryan commenced to run for office. It may be denounced as anarchy, but that scares no workers in these rebellious days. These migratory workers have lost all patriotism and rightly so. Love of Country? They have no country. Love of Flag? None floats for them."

The program is truly diabolical. It banishes law, order, conscience, and God from the life of man. All their acts are based on expedience, without any respect for the first principles of morality. If they see that they may enrich themselves by wanton destruction of the property of the men who employ them they are invited to work such destruction. For them all is right, for the fundamental difference between right and wrong has disappeared. They may murder, rob, burn, rape, poison wells, and commit treason. They live in a continual treason, for they declare that the State has no right to exist. No pagan document ever equalled the fiendish malice of this I. W. W. document. It is a wild orgy against

all law, human and divine; it reveals the sentiments not of a man but of a demon.

It is unfortunately true that the I. W. W. exercise a powerful influence upon the Trade Unions of our country. The recent steel strike was organized and directed by a pronounced agitator of the I. W. W. Prominent labor leaders declare that the Trades-Unions aim not merely at the regulation of wages or hours or conditions within the existing system, but the overthrow of that system and the exclusive control of productive industry.

In London, Tom Mann, General Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, with a membership of 350,000, declares that he stands for the linking up of the Unions in industry so that they may acquire more and more control, and ultimately run the industry for the benefit of the community. He stands therefore for Communistic Socialism. These are not the opinions of one man; they are the views of an organization through their spokesman. They endorse his views and are inspired by them. They continue him in office as a testimony of their solidarity with him.

In a speech before the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York in November of 1919, Dr. Charles A. Richmond, President of Union College, a pronounced friend of social reform, declared "that the present labor agitation is a contest for control." He declared that "not the least powerful of the labor organizations is radical in its program. The labor organizations are largely in the hands of radical leaders whose program is definite and drastic." They are for nationalization of all essential industries. They are for direct action. Now direct action is the use of the strike and other revolutionary means instead of appeal to law, arbitration, and the ballot. We see a practical evidence of the predominant spirit of Trades Unionism as at present operating in the threat of Frank Morrison of the Four Big Brotherhoods to call a strike which would paralyze the industrial life of the nation if the railroads were returned to their owners. This is their direct action so cherished by them.

Tom Mann, before quoted, declares that the whole labor movement will oppose every legislation which tends to remove the strike as the means of enforcing political and economic demands. If, therefore, the labor movement succeeds in getting possession of the control of industry, they will thereby gain control of every other institution which affects our life.

The philosophic or rather unphilosophic, system, which forms the fountain head of the radical or "red" principles of

Trades Unionism is Socialism. Engels' "Socialism Utopian and Scientific" was recommended by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, January 22, 1909, as the authority for socialists. Engels in the aforesaid work lays down the principle that **Socialism is materialistic**, and that all human institutions, and therefore religion as he views it, are the outgrowth of industrial production and the exchange of its products, and that all existing institutions, which according to him are unreasonable and unjust, must be changed and fitted to the socialistic program of socialistic control.

Therefore Socialism acting through the labor unions aims at control of the government, of our courts, of our schools and of our churches. "Then the spiritual would pass out of man's life"; "unlimited power would be placed in the hands of the unfit"; a condition like that of France in the French Revolution, and like that of Russia since the revolution would grip society in a strangle hold. It would be the worst tyranny that the world has ever seen. Internal troubles would break out among the masses, conscious of their great power but lacking that judgment, conscience, and moderation necessary rightly to use great power. Who is able to control a mob? Even the leaders in the recent strike confessed that they were not able to control the workers.

The socialist party of this country greeted the bolsheviki and revolutionists on May 1, 1919, as follows, the greetings having been published in the socialist newspaper, "The Milwaukee Leader," on April 28, 1919:

"We send fraternal greetings and wholehearted sympathy to the SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLIC OF RUSSIA, so valiantly upholding lofty, international, proletarian ideals in the face of combined military, economic and political attacks of reactionary powers and in spite of systematic campaigns of libelous misrepresentation by the lying capitalist press.

"We send congratulations and fraternal good wishes to the WORKERS OF HUNGARY ON ESTABLISHMENT OF A FREE COMMUNIST WORKERS' REPUBLIC upon the ruins of the predatory monarchy of their exploiting and land-monopolizing rulers.

"We extend the hand of comradeship to the REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISTS OF GERMANY AND AUSTRIA engaged in a life and death struggle to secure for the working masses of their countries the full fruit of their victorious

revolutions; to the workers of England in their efforts to wrest control of industries from parasites in their country, and to the socialists of France, Italy and all other countries of Europe in their fights against reactionary governments."

Again in September the socialist party sent out the following greetings to "revolutionary comrades," as published in the aforesaid socialist newspaper on September 6, 1919.

"We, the organized socialists of America, stand by the revolutionary workers of Russia, in the support of the government of their soviets, and the radical socialists of Germany, Austria and Hungary, in their efforts to establish working class rule in their countries, and with those socialist organizations in England, France and Italy, and other countries, who, during the war, as after the war, have remained true to the principles of uncompromising international socialism."

The socialists of Italy, since the last election have issued a declaration proclaiming that they recognize the soviet government of Russia and adopt its principles.

The Catholic Church in Mexico in 1919 became alarmed at the international peril of Socialism. Catholics throughout Mexico were warned against the danger of radicalism as represented by "Socialism and Communism," in a collective pastoral letter signed by eight Archbishops and twenty Bishops. The letter will be read in all Catholic Churches.

Details leading to the present social upheaval are recited in the letter, which asserts that "no doubt labor has grievances against capital, but radicalism, with its seductive promises and imaginary happiness, does not provide for the solution of difficulties."

A plea for harmony between employers and workers is made, and priests are instructed to direct their parishioners "to give all prudence to the discussion of affairs."

It is hopeful to find that the excesses of applied Socialism in Russia convince even pronounced American socialists of the impossibility of the movement. In its issue of Dec. 19, 1919, the Milwaukee Sentinel published the following communication:

"I hear of so many atrocities committed by the Bolshevists that I could never have believed it if not convinced by the facts right on the spot. Tell Dr. and Mrs. ———— to dismiss from their minds the idea of Socialism. While it is pretty on paper, it is terrible in practice. Socialism is a beautiful dream. It can only be successful when a new world has been created in which men have reached that stage of perfection where they are immune from temptation."

This is the conclusion stated by J. H. Rubin, who was on his way home after weeks in the portions of Russia occupied by the Bolsheviki, particularly in the Odessa territory. Mr. Rubin was Socialist candidate for county treasurer in Milwaukee, Wis., three years ago. His letters, from one of which the foregoing is quoted, indicate a radical change of opinion.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS

From Mr. Rubin's letters to relatives and friends, have been gathered the following extracts concerning the Bolshevik regime:

"OCT. 13—I have learned many things about Bolshevism. The leaders are not idealists. It is a business proposition with them. They are making millions of dollars and under assumed names are coming to America."

"OCT. 14—My eyes are filled with tears, my heart is heavy for the poor, little hungry children, for the thousands of men and women who are suffering, who have lost all they held dear through hunger and disease, above all for the thousands that were killed by the Bolsheviki. The Bolsheviks are not workingmen. Their leaders are not fighting for an ideal, for a political and industrial program. No. They are speculators, money grabbers, thieves and bandits—a band of vagabonds who have killed, robbed and murdered men and women in cold blood. Tell everybody that Bolshevism is a disease and that anyone who defends it does not know what it is. It may be good on paper, but in practice it is the worst thing that could happen."

"OCT. 15—While the people of Odessa lived in fear, starvation and cold, the Bolshevist leaders speculated and made fortunes. This is a fact. I can prove it by living witnesses. I have the names of the leaders. I have seen one of them in jail. He made 10,000,000 roubles during the Bolshevist administration in a period of six months. His name is Hurvitz. He was a poor boy before he entered the service of Trotzky."

UNDATED LETTER—"Everything was confiscated to eliminate the private ownership of property. It all went to headquarters, ostensibly for the benefit of the community; but in reality it was appropriated by a few leaders, who made fortunes."

UNDATED LETTER—"Odessa is just recovering from Bolshevism and cholera. I cannot tell which is worse, the more dreadful disease of the two. From the lips of men and

women who have lived through the terror of Bolshevism I am gathering information and evidence that would convict the Bolshevists without question of doubt. Even now, I can feel the effects of Bolshevism."

"OCT. 15—When I return to America I shall not return with the same political views I held when I left."

SOCIALISM IS UNNATURAL

Our sins have driven men to Socialism. The laborers do not trust or respect our institutions, because those who direct our people's thought have turned away from the principles of justice and mercy. In abandoning Christ we have given room to Antichrist.

Many who will vote the socialist ticket know that the economic principles of Socialism are impossible, and will never be realized. They, therefore, favor Socialism for other planks in the socialist platform, which by the aid of sincere reformers in the other parties can and ought to be put into effect. This is not a plea for Socialism; the system of Socialism is a blow at the basis of civilization. It is unjust, unchristian, impossible; but if we are to save the people from its poison we must seek true remedies for the evils that make it possible for Socialism to exist. Humanity belongs to its Creator, and you can not banish God from society and expect to solve humanity's problems. Neither can the present problems of the world be solved by theorizing of an ideal humanity, that in mortal form never has existed and never will exist. The saints in heaven have no economic problems. They left their selfishness when corruption put on incorruption. We are to deal with the men who are led by material interests; with men who love money more than they love justice, brotherhood, or God. It were easy to devise an ideal system for humanity, if we omit the factor of human selfishness. Let every man who has been more liberally endowed by nature than his brother use these gifts of nature for his weaker brother; let every man who has more temporal goods than he needs use his superfluity for those who have not enough. Let every man hold himself as a steward of the goods of nature and of fortune. Let no man wrong his neighbor in thought, word, or deed. Let no man be covetous or estimate temporal possessions but as a transitory instrument only to be used for the end for which God destined it.

What is your answer? You will say with reason: "The system is perfect, but it will not work. It could only be

possible in the Kingdom of Heaven." It mistakes the nature of man. The eternal yearning of the human heart is for happiness. Where a man's treasure is there will his heart be. Man's love determines his activity and his relations to others. In our present civilization the love of having and the love of pleasure dominate man's life. Faith says to man: Thy perfect life is not here; seek the happiness that is eternal by renunciation of the things that are transitory. But that land to which faith invites lies beyond the chasm of death and the grave. We have never seen its cities, its banks, its theatres, automobiles, stocks, bonds, lands, houses, comforts. All that we see is the long waiting, the cheerlessness of a life of renunciation, and then the awful stillness and loneliness of the grave. My human heart within me craves for that which I see. It is so pleasant to live, to acquire, to be honored, to feel the consciousness of the power that wealth gives. Round about me are men who are driven by the mighty motive of money, property. The stronger get more than the weaker. Wealth becomes unequally distributed. The opium-eater must constantly increase the dose to get the desired sensation. The worshipper of Mammon must have more, more. The game is no longer interesting unless the limit be raised. The hunger for money grows by the very food on which it feeds.

Has this inequality resulted because the proletarians were less selfish, less worldly, less avaricious than those who have wealth? By no means. In general rich and poor think the same thoughts, worship the same Mammon, and aim at the same ends. But those who have been passed by in the world's procession have failed in their materialistic aims through weak mentality, physical infirmity, lack of industry, lack of thrift, or unfortunate chance. The same touch of nature makes the world kin, the love of riches. It is as bad a sin to love unpossessed wealth as to love possessed wealth. The crime of humanity is not restricted to the rich; it is the misguided impelling force that operates in all ranks and classes of society. No system can remove the strife from humanity unless it teach a way to control that primal elemental force, the accursed love of gold. You may change your economic system as you will; you may introduce co-operation into production; you may raise wages and limit profits; you may make any change you will in man's material relations; as long as man worships the idol money instead of the living God, so long will he strive and combine with others, and violate the rights of others in his eagerness to possess his idol.

In fire, flood, shipwreck, or other great catastrophe those who love mortal life more than honor and character will struggle with those who are seeking a common escape. They will hurl back and trample on man, woman and child in the fierce battle for life. They are driven on by the instinctive love of life, which drives out justice, mercy, love. They hold mortal life above character. So in the catastrophic struggle for worldly property men who love money more than character have converted the world into two armed camps. In the "No man's land" between these two entrenched armies a distressed public waits and prays for peace.

A basis of peace is at hand. It was offered to the world long ago by Jesus of Nazareth. "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and his justice, and all these things shall be added unto you." (Matth. VI. 33.)

This is not an impossible counsel, removing from man's life all industry, all thrift, all ownership. It establishes a right proportion of things; it gives precedence to the higher things, and establishes the just conditions under which a man's industry and his possessions are blessed by God. In the same passage the Master tells us that the Heavenly Father knows that we have need of temporal goods, and tells us in substance that they may constitute an object of our efforts, but not a supreme end. The emphasis is on the ultimate end which is eternal; but we place it on the creatures of time.

The Peace Conference of Versailles left God out of their treaty, but the peacemaker who would give industrial peace to the world can not succeed without God. To both entrenched armies he must deliver conditions of peace based on the eternal principles of the natural law, the positive divine law, and sound judgment. He must say to the army of labor that they must recognize that man has a natural right to ownership of movable and immovable goods, and to ownership of consumable goods and to productive or non-consumable goods.

PRIVATE OWNERSHIP

Immovable goods or property consist in real estate and in everything so attached to the land that, as a rule, it cannot be transferred from one place to another without undergoing a change in its nature. Thus land, growing corn, orchards, mines, wells, etc., fall under this head. All other property is movable.

With regard to its use property is divided into consumable and non-consumable property. Consumable property is that which perishes in the use, as food, clothing, etc. Non-consumable, or productive property, is all property not included under the head of consumable property.

Ownership is defined by some to be the right to dispose of the substance of a material thing in every legal way, to possess it, to use it, and to exclude every one else from it.

The French Civil Code (544) defines ownership as "the right to make use of and dispose of a corporeal thing absolutely, provided it be not forbidden by law or statute.

The Code of the German Empire (903) says: "The owner of a thing may use it as he likes, and exclude from it all outside interference, as long as the law or the rights of others are not violated."

The Commentary of Blackstone (1.138) declares that the right of property "consists in the free use, enjoyment and disposal of all acquisitions, without any control or restriction save only by the laws of the land."

The Roman Law defines private ownership as the right to dispose perfectly of a material thing insofar as it is not forbidden by law. (Cathrein, Cath. Encyclop., Art. "Property.")

Of course, we here treat of absolute ownership; and not of partial rights which tenants and others may have in property.

This right to possess which came with man into the universe is the basis of that statement in the parable of the Lord of the Vineyard and the laborers. When they complained of the generous lord's mode of distribution he said to them: "Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own?" (Matth. XX. 12.)

That illustration could not have been adopted by the greatest of law-givers, Christ the Lord, unless he recognized that one of the basic rights of man is the right to possess and to dispose without hindrance of one's own.

In virtue of that immutable fixed right Naboth, the Jezreelite, who had a vineyard hard by the palace of Ahab, King of Samaria, said to the King, who would buy the vineyard: "The Lord forbid it to me that I should give the inheritance of my fathers to thee." (1 Kings (Vulg. III. Kings), XXI., 1-3.) Ahab took the field by falsehood and kingly power, but the Lord God said to Ahab: "In the place where dogs licked the blood of Naboth, shall dogs like thy blood, even thine."

In virtue of that same God-given natural right to possess property St. Peter said to Ananias, who kept back part of the price of the field which he had sold: "Ananias. . . While the field remained did it not remain thine own? and after it was sold did it not remain in thy power? (Acts V. 4.)

The decalogue, delivered to mankind through Moses and confirmed by Christ, establishes or rather presupposes the same basic right of private ownership in the ninth commandment: "Neither shalt thou desire thy neighbor's house, nor his field, nor his manservant, nor his maidservant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is thy neighbor's." (Deut. V. 21.)

The right to possess is recognized by the common opinion of mankind. The present order of society is largely based on it. The practice of all ages has found that this right is in conformity with human nature, in conformity with God's purpose in nature, and necessary for the peace and tranquility of human existence. It is recognized by every code of law ever devised both human and divine. It appeals to a man's innate sense of personality. I should rather be the poorest of mankind with yet a right to industrial independence, than the most favored member of Liebknecht's General Insurance Company of happiness and culture, as he calls his social Democracy.

How the soul of a man with a purpose in life, with an ambition to develop his talents, his personality, shrinks back at the thought of the leveling process of a state where man has no chance to rise above the dead level.

Socialism is unnatural. How many useful inventions, how many beneficial developments of the crude resources of nature, how many discoveries in the world of science have been given to mankind by the labors of men who were impelled by the stimulus of the rewards which society as today organized offers? What would become of these in the Social Democratic State? Socialism would convert a great part of the world into tramps and loafers without ambition, waiting to be fed at the common expense.

Say to the normal intelligent young man: Here are your opportunities. You may by industry and thrift possess property; you may become a partner in an honorable business, a professional man, an artist; you may own your home, and build it and equip as you like and feel secure in its possession; you may acquire still more by strictly honorable methods, so that you may be able to help others; you may put into act that consciousness of power within you, and hold a place

before God and man commensurate with the efforts which you have made. Life is before you, life as God ordained it. You are a free man, not a cog in an industrial machine. You may, if you choose the married state, marry the woman of your choice and found a family. And in this state of life also the law of God protects you and gives permanency to the state. Or say to that young man: Your life and all that enters into human personality is a component part of the Socialistic State. You are expected to work in some way and at some thing, but the State must determine that. You must not rise above the level; the State is founded on equality, not the old acknowledged equality of equal right to use one's powers and the free gifts of nature in the pursuit of happiness, but in industrial equality, a dead level of dead aspirations. You may live in a house which the State will loan you; you may have a woman (not a wife) as long as sensual love binds you together; free love is the Socialistic basis of procreation; marriage is degrading; it is economic slavery; it was based on the old theory of private ownership; your children will be wards of the state; you are dispensed of the necessity of making your will, for you own nothing; your work will be as the State may devise; if nature has endowed you with talents above your fellows by which you in the old order could have contributed greatly to the good of society, you must repress them; they might lead to a class distinction; you must renounce much of the privacy of your life, for the State must be assured of your needs and your status. And thus we might continue. Where would it end? Did not Marx and Engels, Kautsky and Liebknecht smile a demon smile at the thought of the fools who should adopt this unnatural system? Would not the young man aforesaid cry out: "Let me be poor, but yet be a man."

The great encyclical of Pope Leo XIII, "Rerum Novarum" is an impassioned appeal for the rights of the laborers. The great Pontiff suggests many practical reforms, but he also warns against Socialism, as follows:

"What is of far greater moment, however, is the fact that the remedy they propose is manifestly against justice. For every man has by nature the right to possess property as his own.

PRIVATE OWNERSHIP IS A NATURAL RIGHT

a) Because of man's reason.

This is one of the chief points of distinction between man and the animal creation, for the brute has no power of

self-direction, but is governed by two main instincts, which keep his powers on the alert, impel him to develop them in a fitting manner, and stimulate and determine him to action without any power of choice. One of these instincts is self-preservation, the other the propagation of the species. Both can attain their purpose by means of things which lie within range; beyond their verge the brute creation cannot go, for they are moved to action by their senses only, and in the special direction which these suggest. But with man it is wholly different. He possesses, on the one hand, the full perfection of the animal being, and hence enjoys, at least as much as the rest of the animal kind, the fruition of things material. But animal nature, however perfect, is far from representing the human being in its completeness, and is in truth but humanity's humble handmaid, made to serve and to obey. It is the mind, or reason, which is the predominant element in us who are human creatures; it is this which renders a human being human, and distinguishes him essentially and generically from the brute. And on this very account —that man alone among the animal creation is endowed with reason—it must be within his right to possess things not merely for temporary and momentary use, as other living things do, but to have and to hold them in stable and permanent possession; he must have not only things that perish in the "use" but those also which, though they have been reduced into use, continue for further use in after time.

b) Because of man's free will.

This becomes still more clearly evident if man's nature be considered a little more deeply.—For man, fathoming by his faculty of reason matters without number, and linking the future with the present, becoming, furthermore, by taking enlightened forethought, master of his own acts, guides his ways under the eternal law and the power of God, Whose Providence governs all things. Wherefore it is in his power to exercise his choice not only as to matters that regard his present welfare, but also about those which he deems may be for his advantage in time to come. Hence man not only can possess the fruits of the earth, but also the very soil, inasmuch as from the produce of the earth he has to lay by provision for the future. Man's needs do not die out, but recur; although satisfied today, they demand fresh supplies for tomorrow. Nature accordingly owes to man a storehouse that shall never fail, affording the daily supply for his daily wants. And this he finds solely in the inexhaustible fertility of the earth."

Pope Pius X confirmed the various labor principles laid down by Pope Leo XIII, and grouped them under certain definite headings of which we insert here the following as being pertinent to our theme:

RULES GIVEN BY LEO

"Our illustrious predecessor, Leo XIII, of holy memory, traced out luminously the rules that must be followed in the Christian movement among the people in the great encyclicals *Quod Apostolici Muneris*, of December 28, 1878; *Rerum Novarum*, of May 15, 1891, and *Graves de Communi*, of January 18, 1901; and further in a particular *Instruction* emanating from the **Sacred Congregation for Extraordinary Affairs** of January 27, 1902.

STRICT OBLIGATION TO OBSERVE THESE RULES

"And we, realizing, as did our predecessor, the great need that the Christian movement among the people be rightly governed and conducted, desire to have those most prudent rules exactly and completely fulfilled, and to provide that nobody may dare depart from them in the smallest particular. Hence, to keep them more vividly present before people's minds, we have deemed it well to summarize them from those same documents in the following articles, which will constitute the fundamental plan of the Catholic popular movement, and must form the constant rule of their conduct for all Catholics.

HUMAN SOCIETY

"1) Human society, as established by God, is composed of unequal elements, just as the different parts of the human body are unequal; to make them all equal is impossible, and would mean the destruction of human society itself. (Encyclical, *Quod Apostolici Muneris.*)

PERSONAL EQUALITY

"2) The Equality existing among the various social members consists only in this: that all men have their origin in God the Creator, have been redeemed by Jesus Christ, and are to be judged and rewarded or punished by God exactly according to their merits or demerits. (Encyclical, *Quod Apostolici Muneris.*)

SOCIAL INEQUALITY

"3) Hence it follows that there are, in human society, according to the ordinance of God, princes and subjects, masters and proletarians, rich and poor, learned and ignorant, nobles and plebeians, all of whom, united in the bonds of love, are to help one another to attain their last end in Heaven, and their material and moral welfare here on earth. (Encyclical, *Quod Apostolici Muneris.*)

PRIVATE OWNERSHIP

"4) Of the goods of the earth man has not merely the use, like the brutes, but he has also the right of permanent proprietorship; and not merely of those things which are consumed by use, but also of those not consumed by use. (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum.*)

"5) The right of private property, the fruit of labor or industry, or of concession or donation by others, is an incontrovertible natural right; and everybody can dispose reasonably of such property as he thinks fit. (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum.*)

JUSTICE AND CHARITY

"6) To heal the breach between the rich and the poor, it is necessary to distinguish between justice and charity. There can be no claim for redress except when justice is violated. (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum.*)

OBLIGATIONS OF JUSTICE

DUTY OF EMPLOYEES.

"7) The following are obligations of justice binding on the proletarian and on the workingman; to perform fully and faithfully the work which has been freely and, according to equity, agreed upon; not to injure the property or outrage the person of masters, even in the defense of their own rights; to abstain from acts of violence, and never to use violence in their defense. (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum.*)

DUTY OF EMPLOYERS

"8) The following are obligations of justice binding on capitalists and masters: To pay just wages to their working-

men; not to injure their just savings by violence or fraud, or by overt or covert usuries; to give them liberty to fulfill their religious duties; not to expose them to corrupting seductions and danger of scandal; not to alienate them from the spirit of family life and from love of economy; not to impose on them labor beyond their strength, or unsuitable for their age or sex. (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum.*)

OBLIGATIONS OF CHARITY

The Rich

"9) It is an obligation for the rich and those who own property to succor the poor and the indigent, according to the precepts of the Gospel. This obligation is so grave that on the Day of Judgment special account will be demanded of its fulfillment, as Christ Himself has said. (Matthew XXV., 14-46.) (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum.*)

The Poor

"10) The poor should not be ashamed of their poverty, nor disdain the charity of the rich; for they should have especially in view Jesus the Redeemer, who, though He might have been born in riches, made Himself poor in order that He might ennoble poverty and enrich it with incomparable merits for Heaven." (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum.*)

In endowing men with different talents nature and nature's God have intended that men shall accomplish unequal accomplishments for the good of all. It is better that the man born with the power of organizing, controlling, and governing should act in that capacity than that by the obliteration of all inequalities human nature should be repressed, and a hateful paternalism should take the place of liberty of choosing one's state.

Pyrrho (4th Cent. B. C.) founded a school of Greek Scepticism. He and his followers refused to believe the testimony of the senses. Hence they declared that we could not know that there is anything in existence. One day while Pyrrho was walking with a man of his acquaintance, a dog attacked the philosopher. Pyrrho defended himself vigorously with his stick, and in the meantime sought a place of shelter.

When the dog had been beaten off, the companion of Pyrrho declared: "I am amazed that Pyrrho should fear a thing that in his philosophy does not exist."

To which Pyrrho replied: "It is difficult to put off human nature."

In the same way an efficacious refutation of Socialism is the voice of nature. Much of the theories of scientific Socialism is merely academic delirium. It was never believed or put into operation by its exponents. It was made for the use of others.

The individuality of the human mind in general in choosing and attaining its ends requires the free control and disposal of goods whereby the whole personality is brought into action. This principle is not invalidated by the involuntary poverty of those who enter religion, for they exercise their personality in the free act of their will by which they enter an exceptional state. Children and the involuntary poor do not invalidate it, for the child develops his personality in the expectation of assuming his normal relations to the world in his maturity; and the poor are not cut off from aspiration and hope, and they are conscious of a right inherent in their nature which some circumstance keeps them from realizing in the concrete.

The right of private property is not a right derived from the State.

Those who asserted that ownership was a right derived from the State labor under the falsehood that all rights are derived from the State. All rights and duties of man come from God through divine law either positive or natural. Man has one ultimate purpose of existence, eternal life. Man has a two-fold proximate purpose, one to earn his title to eternal happiness, the other to attain to a measure of temporal happiness consistent with his supreme purpose. The State is a natural institution whose powers come from the natural law. They are determined by the purpose for which the State exists. In general that a State should exist is made necessary by the nature of man. In this sense the State is God-ordained. The constitution, however, of particular States is a human fact to which God gives sanction when it has become the actual ruling institution. It derives its rights therefore from the same source whence man derives his rights. Man's rights are prior to the State, but inasmuch as man is ordained to live in society the exercise of his rights carries with it the necessity of the State for the defense and regulation of these rights.

Now God has imposed certain restrictions on certain of the rights of man in favor of society. Thus man's right to possess is conditioned by the law of the State, for man

did not create anything, but receives from God the right to possess things that God created subject to a limitation. But this limitation must be based on the common welfare. The State cannot limit private ownership unless it be demanded by the common welfare.

The State has also limitations. The function of the State is to help man to temporal happiness. But there is another God-ordained society to help man to his ultimate end. This society is the Church. This society is of a higher order than the civil State, and although its rights are not recognized, yet they are superior to the rights of the civil State, and in a collision of rights the civil State must give way.

The State therefore does not give the right to possess private property, but it must protect that right.

"A fact like private property that we meet in one form or another with all nations ancient and modern cannot have its last and true reason in the civil laws, which vary with time and country. A universal constant effect demands a universal constant cause; the civil laws cannot be this cause. If they were the only basis of private property, then we might abolish it by a new law and introduce Communism. But this is impossible. Just as the individual and the family existed prior to the State, so the rights necessary for both, to which belongs the right of property, existed prior to the State. It is the duty of the State to bring these rights into harmony with the interests of the community at large, and to watch over them, but it does not create them," neither can it take them away. (Cathrein, Cath. Encyclop., Art. *Property.*)

John Locke, Adam Smith and other political economists placed the foundation of private ownership in the right that a man has to the products of his labor. Though this theory is false, it is not to be confounded with the crude socialistic theory that labor is the only basis of value. Locke merely sees in labor a determining factor to determine to the possession of one what was offered by nature to all in common. After the determining factor is applied, Locke admitted the right to permanent possession.

The theory of Locke is partly right. Labor is a great factor in the acquisition of property. In certain cases it may be the sole determining factor. Wages are property, and the laborer has acquired his just right to them solely by his labor. But the theory cannot be extended to make labor the ultimate source and basis of all property. The laborer who works upon property already determined as another's property

produces an effect, but that effect is not his. He has only a right to his wages, which wages become a first charge upon the industry; but the effect belongs to the owner of the property after he has discharged the claim of the labor which partly produced it. Thus the harvesters of a field of corn do not make their's the land nor the corn, but they place an act that gives them a right in the field and the corn impairing the right of the possessor until it be paid.

The old Roman Jurists recognized as a title of property the right of first occupation. This is a just title of property, in fact, the primal great title to unoccupied property, but its application supposes an inherent right pre-existing which it only determines in a concrete case.

Concreated with man was man's right to life, and consequently man's right to use nature. Confirming this right which comes from the law of nature as God planned and made it, God said:

"Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth. And God said: Behold I have given you every herb yielding seed which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree in which is the fruit of the tree yielding seed: to you it shall be for food. . . and it was so."

Thus by creation and by the express declaration of God man acquired the right to possess the things of nature. If man could use these things in accordance with his nature; if he could assume those relations to God and to nature which God established as proper to man; if he could reach his ultimate end and his proximate ends by the exercise of only this common general right to corporal things, then there would be no right to private ownership. There would then be nothing but the absolute communism of all created things. Thus nature is the common possession of insect, fish, beast, and bird. Yet even in brute creation the instinct of nature establishes a trace of ownership in the nest of the bird and the burrow of the beast.

But man is an animal endowed with reason. His relation to nature must be in conformity with his reason and with his ultimate and proximate ends. "The necessity of private ownership arises from the nature of man as we know that nature with its needs and faculties, and qualities both good and bad as the average man reveals them at all times and in all places." We do not say that an ideal man could not exist who might use nature without private ownership; but we

say that man as we know him and as history has ever known him must determine that general right to all nature by some fact so that he can vindicate to himself an orderly portion of it as his own before he can use it as God ordained that man should use it.

Private ownership is a natural right, necessary for society because there is a moral impossibility of any other disposition of property. If all goods remained common to all, so that anybody might dispose of anything as he saw fit, peace and order would be impossible, and there would be no incentive to work. There would be a continual conflict of rights. A man would not build a house or till a field if another were allowed to take them.

Man cannot develop those talents which God endowed him with without private ownership. "The earth does not furnish the products and fruits which man needs for the sustenance and development of soul and body save by man's hard and continued labor. Man will not undertake this labor unless he has a guarantee that he may dispose of the fruits of his labor for his own benefit, and may exclude others." The fruit of his labor may be wages, and wages are the private property of the laborer. The fruit of the labor expended and paid for may be a fruit arising from property already possessed by some just title, and this is profit or the fruit of a possession.

The socialists demand to substitute the control of a socialistic state for the private ownership, so that order and distribution may be effected by the State.

Nature, history and common sense proclaim that this is impossible. It has never succeeded; it cannot succeed.

We must here state that Communism is a generic term to denote a system in which all productive goods are owned by a Community or State instead of by individuals. Thus understood it comprises Communistic Anarchism, Socialism, and Communism in the strict sense. Anarchism would abolish private property and political government. It is the extreme application of Socialism. Socialism would change all existing States into Socialistic States; change their constitutions and laws, and then abolish private ownership, and substitute a Socialistic State to distribute goods and maintain order.

Socialism in this sense denies the right of private ownership to the material agencies of production. But the socialistic theory is not fixed and constant. They vary it whenever confronted with facts, and they meet arguments by evasion.

Communism in the strict sense demands that both productive goods, such as land, mines, railways, factories, etc., and also consumable goods such as dwellings, food, furniture, clothing, etc., shall be the property of the whole community. Communism simply applies the socialistic principles in a wider range, applying the community of good even to the common life of man.

The first principles of Socialism as laid down by Marx and Engels were called the "Communist Manifesto," and their system was styled "Communism."

The word "Socialism" arose in England in 1833, and since that time has been generally used.

The earliest operation of the communist principles took place in Crete about 1300 B. C. Inspired by the Cretan example Lycurgus in the 9th century B. C. set up his celebrated communistic regime, "in which no man was allowed to live as he pleased, the city being like one great camp, where all had their stated allowance."

Next came the "Republic" of Plato, which remained in the ideal order and was never tried.

The first Christians at Jerusalem and in Proconsular Africa possessed all things in common. But this was a purely voluntary act, not in any way demanded by Christianity. It was put into effect by the voluntary renunciation of rights conceded to be vested in the persons, and not by the monstrous system of Socialism, which denies these rights to exist. And yet this religious communism was not found serviceable, and was not adopted, save in a few isolated cases for a short interval.

Even during its life it was subject to grave abuses; so that it required the death penalty inflicted on Ananias and Sapphira to repress the abuses. (Acts of Apostles, V.)

Religious Orders renounce all private ownership of all goods, but this is not an argument for Socialism. This community life of religion is a voluntary act of those who voluntarily choose such a mode of life. It is intended for only a few of the people, and could not be put into effect for the generality of mankind.

Socialism claims to have tempered extreme Communism so that it is applicable to all humanity. It has never succeeded. It is a mere creation of theorists. Its fundamental principles are the same that makes Communism impossible, viz., that it furnishes no system by which man may exercise his fundamental right to use nature in an orderly, peaceful manner and in such a way that the personality of man may be best developed.

Here we must distinguish between Government ownership of public utilities and the Socialistic ownership of all productive goods. Socialists aim two blows at existing institutions. They would abolish the present form of government and substitute a socialistic government; and secondly they would establish public, not government, ownership of not alone the public utilities, but of all productive property.

Now the government control or ownership of public utilities is not a moral issue at all. It is a purely economic measure to be judged on its merits. As applied to our postal system it works fairly well. In time of war it was judged necessary. Provided the present owners be recompensed justly for their property, the government may take over all public utilities. No philosophical argument or moral argument can be alleged against it. In many states public utilities are thus owned. In a Republican form of government we believe that the theory is not economically sound. It furnishes ground for abuses in political patronage; it tends to inefficiency; and it burdens the government with a mass of details which might better be left to private control under the safeguard of proper laws of the State. But it is not a moral issue, and if the people in a legal way wish to try it they are free to do so. But the present owners must be compensated for the real value of their property.

Let us see, however, how the socialists regard this matter of compensation. When Debs was asked how socialists were to get possession of the aggregations of capital, he answered: "Take them." ("Bolshevism: Its Cure." Goldstein, p. 344.)

Fred Warren in "Appeal to Reason" gives the socialist theory thus: "I believe in the confiscation of the productive property of this nation by the working class. I do not believe in confiscating it by piecemeal. That would be foolish and illegal. The plan I favor is that the working class shall first capture the political powers of the state and nation and then the job can be done without the danger of getting cracked skulls and prison sentences."

The Educational Director of the Rand School, Algernon Lee, thus declares: "Confiscation presents itself as the simplest and most direct method. There is no reason why socialists should be squeamish about mentioning confiscation as a historic possibility."

The Socialist New York Call in an editorial of November 2, 1915, says: "That Blessed Word, Confiscation! Do we believe in confiscation of private property? Most certainly we do."

Such public ownership as this the Catholic Church condemns as she condemns in general the Socialistic Program.

Private ownership is also necessary to secure order and freedom in social life. Order would be impossible if no one could exclude others from using his property. No one could lay down a plan for his life or activity; a dull inertia would seize on mankind. Man's liberty would be practically destroyed.

A great amount of man's activity is directed to the procuring and free use of external goods. Man's purpose in life is to develop his personality by free will exercised upon external things so that he may be worthy to enter a perfect order of life and happiness. This demands individual action and use of rights of property. By reducing all men to a dead level this liberty of individual action is cramped and stifled, so that man would be a mere machine depending on the community for everything. Considering man's nature, no community in the possibility of existing creation could preserve order in such a state. Feuds and dissensions would arise. The natural pent up desire of mankind for a freer individuality would wreck any socialistic State.

As the best proof of the immortality of the soul is human consciousness, so the best refutation of Socialism is the consciousness of right-minded men.

History attests this great consciousness in all ages and in all countries. Private property is the accepted law of history. It becomes more prominent and more organized as civilization increases. It meets us everywhere and at all places. The Divine Scriptures of both Testaments presuppose its existence and sanction it as a necessary condition of free man.

When the Lord God delivered Canaan to the Children of Israel he delivered it not to be possessed in common. The Author of Nature knew that such mode of possession is contrary to the nature of man. Thus saith the Lord: (Numbers XXXIII. 53) "And ye shall take possession of the Land and dwell therein; for unto you have I given the land to possess it. And ye shall inherit the land by lot according to your families. . . . . Wheresoever the lot falleth to any man, that shall be his." In virtue of that distribution Naboth refused to sell his vineyard to the king.

Private property is a postulate of reason and conscience.

"Socialism is the violent repression of our clamorous instinct of freedom.

The claim of a man to property is the voice of his independence. Independence, no doubt, is mightily abused and

has grown into a vicious individualism. For all that, independent resources and capabilities are the proper function of a man. They are the ground on which, and the materials with which our highly prized liberty works, plays, and triumphs. A man uses his opportunities to improve himself and his position—to attach to himself the things that he stands in need of, food, clothes, and all that belong to the minimum at least, of reasonable living. Without prejudice to the equal right of another, he may, by the right use of his freedom of action surround himself with such commodities as will ensure the independence of himself and his family in regard of sustenance, education, and future provision against illness, accidents, misfortune, and old age." (Parkinson, "Primer of Social Science," p. 142.)

Private property is also necessary for society in general. Progress in civilization requires individual initiative led on by a free powerful incentive. Large enterprises demand that some have more than they need that they may employ it in beneficial enterprises.

The basis of human society is the family. The family can only exist as an independent organism when it freely manages its internal affairs, and when the parents provide for the maintenance and education of their children without any external interference. This demands freedom in the use of talents, and opportunities to provide what is needful. The family, if deprived of the right of private property, would fall into a vagabond, irresponsible life, and the personality of all would remain undeveloped. "The duty to care for the preservation and education of the family urges the father and mother to work properly; and the consciousness that they are responsible for their children before God and man is a powerful stay and support of their moral lives. On the other hand, the consciousness of the children that they are wholly dependent on their parents for their maintenance and start in life is a very important element in their education." (Cathrein, Art. "Property," Cath. Encycl.)

No one will deny that private property is a powerful factor in civilization.

We may epitomize these considerations briefly. Nature gives man a right to property. The Author of Nature wishes man to exercise that right in accordance with the qualities of man's nature and in a manner to develop a human personality, that shall be worthy in its full development to come closer to God in a higher order of life. To fulfill this purpose private property is necessary.

History, recording the effect of human nature ever substantially the same, records the constant universal institution of private property, closely bound up with human personality, and operating as a great factor in civilization. The Divine Scriptures approve it, and the infallible Catholic Church promulgates it.

The specific titles that may determine this general right to possess to a specific possession of a concrete thing are various. The general right is inherent in every human being from the first moment of his existence. The child of the king and the child of the beggar are alike in the possession of a right to acquire property. This right awaits some fact by means of which that general right to acquire property is determined to a specific right to possess a particular concrete object. In virtue of my existence as a man I may declare that I have a capacity, a right to acquire and own some of the goods of the universe. When I have placed some determining fact by which I attach something to me I can claim as my own that particular thing.

The oldest of these titles is simple occupation. Originally the goods of the earth were without a master, that is they belonged to man in common, but no one had made his own any particular part. In such state a man could lay claim to what was useful to him, and what he could control. Thus a man becomes the owner of the fish which he catches, and the game which he seizes. Labor, inheritance, gift, purchase, fructification, accession, prescription, and other facts are titles and it is the province of organized law to determine and control these in accordance with the great law of nature.

"In nothing is the bad economy of Socialism more evident than in its derogation or denial of all the truly personal and self-directive powers of human nature, and its misuse of such human qualities as it does not despise or deny is a plain confession of its material and deterministic limitations. It is true that the institutions of religion, of the family, and of private ownership are liable to great abuses, but the perfection of human effort and character demands a freedom of choice between good and evil as their first necessary condition. This area of free choice is provided, on the material side, by private ownership; on the spiritual and material, by the Christian Family; and on the purely spiritual by religion. The State, then, instead of depriving men of these opportunities of free and fine production, not only of material but also of intellectual values, should rather constitute itself as their defender."

(Leslie A. St. L. Toke and W. E. Campbell in Cath. Encyclop., Art., "Socialism.")

M. Louis Reybaud, member of the Institute of France ("Socialism and Socialists"), thus sums up the case against Socialism:

M. REYBAUD ON SOCIALISM

"The great human family can not be governed as a small flock is governed. It was not long before Robert Owen perceived this. He himself, by exaggerating it, had changed the nature of his method for the worse. From a paternal administration he was imperceptibly led to the abandonment of all social restraint. He not only ended in the community, but he took from the community the only guarantee it possessed, the responsibility of the individual. If we believe him, man, having come accidentally into this world, and being the plaything of accidental circumstances through life, could not, without injustice, be declared responsible for his acts. Fatality alone determined good and evil; with the individual, there could be neither merit nor demerit. Why, then, punishment or reward? It was better to let man and society follow their bent, removing all the circumstances which might lead to evil, and increasing those which might lead to good. So much for this world; and, as to the other, why trouble one's self about it? It escapes our means of knowledge; it is an enigma which no one has been able to solve. Such was Owen's conclusion. Never was negation more absolute stated with greater candor. During fifty years he presented it to rebellious human societies as their only means of salvation; in colonies, in plans, in publications, in voluntary subscriptions, he spent a vast amount of money, without his personal sacrifices being able to make his desolating maxims advance a serious step. They wounded men's souls at too many points to be able to make any great ravages. The inventor of them lived long enough to assist at the obsequies of his doctrine.—The doctrines of Saint-Simon permitted more consideration to be paid them; the basis of his system was a purely sacerdotal government. No more division between the temporal power and the spiritual; the time had come to confound them. Instead of a pope and an emperor, men were to have a *father*, who would unite the functions of both, and govern in the *forum internum* and the *forum externum*, in things spiritual as well as temporal. Thus

would cease, between the body and the spirit, a struggle which has lasted from the beginning of the world, and which has maintained disorder in the world. A natural hierarchy would follow on this change. Society would be divided into three classes: savans, artists, and those engaged in industrial pursuits; and the chiefs of these three classes would be the greatest savans, the greatest artists, and the greatest workers in the industrial world. These latter would need no investiture but that of the consciousness of their force. They would not be chosen; they would install themselves in their own position. The human family would know them by their works. Moreover, the new bond of society would be, under this régime, not fear, but affection; and the most loving, placing themselves above others, would necessarily impart their tone to all others. The chain of positions being thus formed, everything would follow in the most natural manner imaginable; each one would take rank in proportion to his capacity, and each capacity would be served in proportion to its works. Thenceforth humanity was to be only one family, and the earth to constitute only one great farm, the fruits of which were to be divided in proportion to rank and services. Such was the Saint-Simonian law, and it added, on the condition of woman and the relation of the sexes, certain not over-edifying precepts summed up in the expressive words, rehabilitation of the flesh. We know in what this strange morality ended, so far as the principal disciples of Saint-Simon are concerned. Its public profession cost them a suit in the courts and a sentence. Their religion did not survive this scandal, and was dispersed to the music of hisses. Everything considered, it was not worth the noise made about it. A political papacy invested with discretionary powers, with the sovereign disposal of the lot and rank of individuals in society, preaching the reign of the senses under the lying cover of the equality of the sexes, was not a system, and did not advocate a doctrine, which could long resist the revolt of men's consciences and the decrees of public opinion. —The same fate was reserved, after a longer defense, for the doctrine of Charles Fourier. Substantially it had the same foundation; but the mode of procedure of Fourierism was different. Fourierism, like Saint-Simonism, wished to substitute a world of the fancy for the real world, and an artificial order for the course of things. Fourier started out with the idea, that from the earliest ages to our own time the passions have been the source of so many evils only because they have been unskillfully suppressed. God, according to Fourier,

can not have made anything essentially bad or essentially useless. If the passions, in their actual play, are the source of many disorders, it is not with the passions themselves that we must find fault, but with the medium in which they move, a human medium, and therefore susceptible of modification. 'Attractions,' says Fourier, 'are proportional to destinies,' which means that it would be all gain for men to yield to their inclinations. Hence they must be satisfied in an association freely agreed to, and in which all the instincts of man may have room for the fullest play. These formulas of association are the ingenious part of Fourier's work. The association is in groups, which end in series, and these in phalanxes. The group is the cell of the human hive; it is composed of seven or nine persons; it has a centre and wings, and a harmony which results as much from its identities as from its contrasts. The series comprise from twenty-four to thirty-two groups. The phalanx is Fourier's commune; consisting of 1,800 souls, it lives in a palace which he calls the phalanstery, divided in such a manner as to procure the greatest possible number of pleasures, while avoiding all the prejudices which result from the arrangement of actual households. As to property, it does not incorporate itself in individuals; it is collective. Its value circulates only under the form of coupons, and becomes susceptible of appropriation; products are divided among the three direct agents of production: capital, talent and labor. Let us add, that in Fourier's system no repugnance attaches to this labor; it is attended by a love for it, taste and buoyancy; it is done in short sessions, in holiday clothes, with passion and spirit; the task is taken up or dropped at will, and varied so as to produce neither monotony nor weariness. Nor is this all; to these wonders of earth Fourier adds the joys of a heaven of his own. He has his own cosmogony and his own transmigration of souls; he walks his system through the spheres, and requires of our planets the most singular services. The whole of Fourier's system may be summed up thus: a universal government, a perfect world adorned by a perfect society. Beyond this, imagination can not soar. In this land of vertigo, nothing is to be found but glare. Again, we have a world to be made over, a civilization to be reconstructed, man and humanity to be renewed in a confused amalgam of the marvelous and the real.—Here stops the series of socialists at first hand; after them come the plagiarists, and, first of all, Cabet. Like Campanella and Sir Thomas More, Cabet has given us, in his 'Icarie,' an imaginary community, which unites all

perfections in itself, and which found, in the streets of Paris, more than one partisan whom time has disabused. When it became a question to pass from ideas to acts, he perished in the attempt, and learned what becomes of dreams when brought to wrestle with realities.

And so it was with Louis Blanc. In the silence of his study he had imagined an administrative workshop which would cure industry of the leprosy of competition. He would have the state become entrepreneur and universal producer; he would have it carry out, at the expense of the public treasury, an experiment in relation to the economy of manual labor. In the workshops which were to be established, the workmen were to share in the profits of exploitation, and these workshops, of different kinds, were to be associated among themselves in such a way that the profits of some might serve to cover, if need were, the losses of others. Nothing could be more ingenious on paper; each of these workshops would become a type and a model; free industry would be forced, under pain of death, to draw inspiration from them, and this idea of the absorption and destruction of free industry was discoverable in the spirit of the project. Private activity was destined to disappear before official activity.

We know what these specious plans became in the execution of them: by forced deviation the administrative workshop became the national workshop, with an elective head, and a minimum of wages, two features borrowed from the combination of Louis Blanc. A false idea led to applications still more false, so false that the author of the idea vehemently and justly repudiated them. Proudhon was no happier. Is it proper to rank Proudhon among socialists? No one battled them more fiercely than he; he produced the evidence of their contradictions, the emptiness of their plans, and the poverty of their doctrines; he left nothing standing, neither their arguments nor their combinations; and he warmed against them even to the point of invective. But if he was brutal toward the community, he was no less so toward property; and he remains a socialist spite of himself. From the core of what he denies we need only disengage what he affirms, to become convinced of this. Thus, he sacrifices the idea of property to I know not what species of imaginary possession floating *in vacuo*. And so, after an at-random dissertation on the determination of value, he arrives at imagining a general and uniform tariff for it, both for labor and products, by measuring the price of these latter by the number of hours employed in producing them!

Lastly, as a consequence, he proposes to replace money made of gold and silver, by orders payable in kind, in such a manner as to return from gold and silver money to barter, and to deprive capital of one of its most evident powers, the power to produce interest. On all these points Proudhon remains on the staff of the socialistic legion which he so maltreated. To the same staff belongs also Pierre Leroux, as he appeared with a plan of human society in his hand. He admits the family, fatherland and property only on certain conditions. He finds that the fatherland has the drawback of recognizing a chief or head; the family, of recognizing a father and children; and the institution of property, of recognizing rich and poor. Pure despotism! It is all a question of finding a combination in which the family, the fatherland and property shall be such that man may develop in them without being oppressed by them; in other words, that the family should not produce an heir, that the fatherland should have no subjects, and property no proprietor. Such is the problem, such the solution: if to it we add a little of theurgy and metempsychosis, we shall have all the baggage of Leroux, so far as things serious are concerned.—We have reached the end of those systems, and may judge in what they agree, and in what they differ. Under the names we have mentioned, there now remain but the men for whom socialism was a tool or a pedestal, and the political parties who took up the standard of socialism without seeking to define it. Socialism, indeed, has had its day; many were attracted by it as men are attracted by novelty; then the crowd mixed with it with the obscure feeling that it would find its advantage in it, and that in the absence of conviction they should adhere to it from pure calculation. And how could the crowd defend itself against socialism? It was promised higher wages in return for less labor, a quarry to hunt in a society in dissolution, the leveling of conditions, the humiliation of the higher classes, and a general division of private fortunes among all. Is it to be wondered at that such vertigo was contagious, and that it became in some countries, for an instant, a object of alarm? Yet socialism did not deserve so much honor. As a theory, it could not stand examination; as a fact, it was not able to succeed under any circumstances or at any point. The name of Owen is connected with the failures of New Harmony and Orbistan; that of Cabet, with the Nauvoo failure in the state of Illinois; with Fourier's, a series of discomfitures which followed on the heels of each other at Condé-sur-Vesgres, Citeaux, in the valley of the Sig,

and in America. From the ideas of Louis Blanc, there proceeded only the *ateliers nationaux* (national workshops), the paternity of which he excepted to; of the boldness and rashness of Proudhon, all that remains is the memory of the *bank of exchange* or *bank of the people*, made famous by the most untoward catastrophe. The history of contemporary socialism is but one continual abortion. The principal actors on its stage have disappeared from the scene, and left their places to a few confidants who stammer out their parts. All that socialism and socialists have done is reduced to a few plans of association, to a few commonplaces which are only the weakened echo of their first timorous ideas, to a few formulas whose meaning time changes, and which have become fixed in language as problems or bugbears.—Thus, all these chimeras gradually depart into the regions of oblivion. It may be that the same vertigo will appear again under other forms and another name; our globe is the seat of an eternal revolt and of an eternal wail. But then as now, unless the hour of an irrevocable decline has struck for humanity, the result of such errors cannot be doubtful. True, these errors are covered with a mask; the love of the people, the interest of the suffering, the feeling of human perfectibility, the advance of generations to a better state and one less full of shocking inequalities. But behind this mask we find a more living physiognomy. That living physiognomy is the truth of things, whether the inventors of systems be conscious of it or not. Behind the truth of things the public conscience always retreated and always will retreat. This, to its honor, we must hope. The question is of a war to the knife against established civilizations, to the profit of imaginary civilizations; it is a question of destruction for the sole purpose of building up again; it is a question of giddily abandoning ourselves to systems which, scarcely fledged, give battle to one another, and which die out in the shock of rivalry and the weakness of isolation. It would seem, indeed, that socialists supposed that society, such as it exists, is only so much stage scenery which might be made to disappear at the wave of a wand. And what is proposed in its place? Servitude in all its forms. Take all these systems; they have one feature in common, which is to stifle, by their artificial forms, the taste for and the use of liberty. They condemn human activity to carry a yoke of iron. Here man is enticed into a world of fancy, and there he is condemned to devote himself to others without the merit of that devotion being allowed him. He can no longer dispose of the fruits of his labor

nor regulate the employment of his hands or his brain. The state takes possession of his entire person, of his goods, of the products he creates, and determines the portion of them which he shall receive back. Under the régime of socialism the individual disappears, and is absorbed by a collective being. He ceases to be a body or a soul, and becomes a piece of mechanism. Slavery does not more completely than Socialism destroy the personality of man."

Socialism and Religion

Various socialistic theories and movements have troubled the world's peace since the French Revolution, but the great organizer of modern Socialism is Karl Marx.

His inseparable companion and collaborator was Frederick Engels, born at Barmen, 1820; died at London, 1895.

These two working together have laid the foundations of modern Socialism. The principles evolved by Marx and Engels have been modified by various socialistic groups, but the essence of the Marxian principles underlies all Socialism.

The first of these principles is "The Materialistic Conception of History."

This first principle of the Marxian foundation was taken from the Hegelian anti-christian, Ludwig Andreas Feuerbach (1804-1872).

This fundamental principle, accepted as one of the main tenets of Socialism, is, "That beyond nature and man there is nothing; and those higher beings created by our religious fancy are but the fantastic reflections of our own being."

In developing this theory man is asserted to be the product of nature, and all that exists is material. Spirit as manifested in man's mind is but the highest product of matter. In his "Holy Family," Engels describes the enthusiasm with which they received this wonderful theory.

According to this materialistic concept all things are but products of the motion which is forever going on in nature.

In Feuerbach's theory the change ever going on in nature produces the same results, and moves as it were in a circle.

Marx and Engels improved on the theory of their master in conceiving an evolution in human nature, by which human institutions have been evolved out of that part of nature's change which affects man.

Man, being in their theory purely materialistic, determines all his institutions and his relations to his fellow man by his material productive force. As he needs the products of nature and of his labor for his existence, he selfishly attaches

all that he can of these to himself. From unequal physical strength and other contributory causes the equilibrium is destroyed. Unequal distribution results, which causes distress in those who have received too little.

The great materialistic mass by a social upheaval or revolution readjusts itself, and a new and better economic condition is born amid the throes of revolutionary evolution. This succession of violent changes will go on until a stage in human progress be reached in which the ideal socialistic state will be realized.

All German philosophy is obscure. The philosophy of Marx is the obscurest of the obscure. However its destructive character is the clearest element in it. In substance he tells us that our morality, our politics, our ethics, our religion have no independent existence. They are the subjective creations of our minds, and in creating them our minds reflect the stage of our economic development. As these ideas are but reflections of our economic status, they change with the aforesaid status. He recognizes no fixed principles of morality or religion.

At the grave of Marx, Engels expounded the evolutionary ideas of his master as follows: Men have need of meat and drink, of shelter and clothing, before they can engage in politics, science, art, religion, etc. The production of these material means of life is the efficient cause of the evolution of a people; and as various stages of evolution are reached, the civil institutions of a people will correspond to the degree of their evolution.

The form of production, according to Marx, generates and determines the higher social life of a nation in its entirety, its notions of law, morality, philosophy, religion, etc. The political, ethical, philosophical, religious, literary, etc., development of human society is based on the economic development. But all of them react on one another and on their economic basis.

There is obscurity here, and assertion without any attempt at proof. It seems that what the authors aimed at is the unwarranted assertion that the course of the world's history and the development of civilization be determined not by moral or philosophical notions but by economic conditions. Thus the idea of justice, of morals, of religion, is a superstructure based on the capitalistic idea of property. The economic basis is changing now by force of Marxian thought, and this will force a change in the superstructure, which will not be accomplished without some violence.

MONISM

In order to strengthen their system, Marx and Engels laid great stress on their doctrine of pure materialism. They repeatedly assert that "Every form of being is matter"; that "Motion is the form of being of matter"; that "Beyond nature and man there exists nothing"; that "Motion as well as matter can neither be created nor destroyed."

Another important principle in the socialistic theory is that man descended or ascended by evolution from the lower animals. Evolution and Atheism pervade the entire system of Marx, Engels, Liebknecht and Bebel.

Thus writes Ernest Untermann (Science and Revolution):

"Every socialist writer of note is a convinced Darwinian and Spencerian, besides being a convinced Marxian. For this reason the socialist Darwinians are alone able to reason in a consistent, materialistic, monist way."

Isadore Ladoff (The Passing of Capitalism):

"The honor of the first attempt to apply evolutionary methods to the history of men unmistakably belongs to the great founder of the materialistic conception of history, Karl Marx. Without the conception of human society as a product of evolution, critical socialism would be an impossibility. As a matter of fact, critical socialism is nothing else but a rational system of philosophy of human life in the light of the theory of evolution. The so-called materialistic conception is to be called more properly the evolutionary conception of history."

Enrico Ferri, Socialist Deputy of the Italian Parliament, editor of the "Avanti," in his work, "Socialism and Modern Science":

"Science and religion are in inverse ratio to each other, the one diminishes and grows weaker in the same proportion that the other increases and grows stronger in its struggle against the unknown.

"And if this is one of the consequences of Darwinism, its influence on the development of Socialism is quite obvious."

Paul Lafargue (son-in-law of Karl Marx) declares (Socialism and the Intellectuals):

"When Darwin published his 'Origin of Species' he took away from God his role of Creator, as Franklin had despoiled him of his thunderbolt."

In the same spirit of blasphemy Ferri demands: "And God? Who created him?"

Here is a specimen of Socialistic reasoning. Darwin invents a mere theory which as applied to man has not even a probable argument in its favor. Darwin himself discarded the application that the Socialists wish to make of his theory. And yet he is heralded as the supplanter of the Creator. Franklin discovers a law of nature as God created it, and he is proclaimed as a protagonist of Socialistic Atheism.

Leonard D. Abbott (Darwin and Marx in "The People," Vol. IX, 33):

"The fundamental theories of both Darwin and Marx are still vehemently combatted by the majority of men—naturally so, for an admission of their truth carries with it the downfall of popular religion and our existing social system."

Engels (Socialism: Utopian and Scientific):

ATHEISTIC SOCIALISM

"Special mention is due to Darwin, who dealt metaphysics its heaviest blow by showing that the whole organic nature now in existence, plants, animals, and consequently man also, is the product of an evolution that has been in process through millions of years."

Ferri (before quoted):

"I add that not only is Darwinism not in contradiction to socialism, but that it constitutes one of its fundamental scientific premises. As Virchow justly remarked, 'Socialism is nothing but a logical and vital corrollary, in part of Darwinism, in part of Spencerian evolution.'

"The theory of Darwin, whether we wish it or not, by demonstrating that man is descended from the animals, has dealt a severe blow to the belief in God as the Creator of the Universe and of man as a special fiat."

Ernest Untermann (Science and Revolution):

"When science began to establish the fact of the mechanical origin of the universe it threw the theological Creator out of his own creation."

Enrico Ferri (Socialism and Modern Science):

"Socialism knows the absence or impairment of the belief in God is one of the most powerful factors for its extension, because the priests of all religions have been throughout all phases of history the most potent allies of the ruling classes in keeping the masses pliant and submissive under the yoke by means of the enchantment of religion, just as the tamer keeps a wild beast submissive by the terrors of the cracks of his whip."

Arthur Morrow Lewis (Evolution: Social and Organic):

"It is no longer God and man, nor even man and God, but man only, with God an anthropomorphic shadow, related to man not as his Creator, but as created by him."

Before Lewis, Bebel ("Woman and Socialism") had declared that God had not created man, but that man had created God, a blasphemous way of saying that there be no real God, but that what men accept as God, be only the product of man's misguided thought.

Liebknecht declared in the Halle Convention (*Berlin Volksblatt*, 1890):

"As regards my own self, I had done with religion at an early age. . . . I am an atheist; I do not believe in God. . . . Science is hostile to religion. . . . We may peacefully take our stand upon the ground of Socialism, and thus conquer the stupidity of the masses in so far as this stupidity reveals itself in religious forms and dogmas."

Dietzgen ("Religion and Social Democracy"):

"If religion is to be understood as a belief in supersensible, immaterial substances and forces; if it consists in a belief in higher gods and spirits, democracy has no religion. In the place of religion it sets up the consciousness of the insufficiency of the individual, who for his perfection requires to be supplemented, and, consequently, subordinate to the entire social body. A cultured human society is the supreme good in which we believe. Our hope rests upon the organization of social democracy. This organization shall make that love a reality for which religious fanatics have displayed such irrational enthusiasm."

R. Malon, French Socialist, translator of Marx's "Capital," on his death bed declared:

"I die in my pantheistic, evolutionistic, Socialist faith."

Franckel, intimate friend of Marx and Engels, in his last will and testament declares:

"No priest shall attend my deathbed or my funeral in order to save my soul. I believe neither in heaven nor in hell."

In November, 1903, Charles H. Kerr published in the International Socialist Review the following from Paul Lafargue:

"The victory of the proletariat will deliver humanity from the nightmare of religion. The belief in superior beings to explain the natural world and the social inequalities, and to prolong the dominion of the ruling class and the belief in the posthumous existence of the soul to recompense the inequalities of fate will have no more justification when

once man . . . shall live in a communistic society, from whence shall have disappeared the inequalities and the injustice of capitalist societies."

Under date of October 9, 1901, the New Yorker Volkszeitung writes:

"Socialism and belief in God as it is taught by Christianity and its adherents are incompatible. Socialism has no meaning unless it is atheistic, unless it declares that we do not need so-called divine help, because we are able to help ourselves. Only the man who ceases to believe begins to feel that he can act. The laborer who relies on God, who in the piety of his heart assumes that all that God does is well done—how can that same laborer develop revolutionary forces for the overthrow of authority and social order, both of which, according to his faith are instituted by God?"

The logic here is inevitable. It is only the conclusion that is wrong. Socialism and Christianity are incompatible; but the conclusion which the Christian conscience draws from this is that a man should give up Socialism, the blasphemous arbitrary invention of an envious Jew, rather than the heritage of Christ with all that it embodies in time and eternity.

At Christmas of the same year the aforesaid Socialist publication declared that Christmas was a Greco-Egyptian myth. It triumphantly proclaimed:

"We do not believe in the Saviour of the Christians." Our Saviour will come "in the shape of the world-redeeming principle of Socialism."

Socialism mocks our hope of a future life. When Archbishop Corrigan died in May, 1902, the aforesaid Socialist publication thus wrote:

"The soul of the prelate whizzed out of his mortal remains straight up into the seventh heaven, and now the Bishop is staying there with lovely little angels and other beautiful beings hovering about him. Let him who is fool enough believe it."

George D. Herron, one of the intellectual chiefs of the Socialist party, declares:

"Every appeal to men to become Socialists in the name of Christianity will result in the corruption and betrayal of Socialism in the end, and in the use of the movement for private ends. People cannot separate Christ from Christianity. And Christianity today stands for what is lowest and basest in life. The Church of today sounds the lowest note in human life. It is the most degrading of all our

institutions, and the most brutalizing in its effects on the common life. The Church is simply organized Christianity. For Socialism to use it, to make terms with it, or let it make approaches to the Socialist movement is for Socialism to take Judas to its bosom. . . . . Official religion and militarism are the two guardians of capitalism, and the subtle methods of the Church in destroying the manhood of the soul and keeping it servile, are infinitely more to be dreaded by the Socialistic movement than the world's standing armies."

The Socialists are fond of the phrase: "A draft on eternity," to scoff at Christian hope. Knowing that the great hope of man's immortal soul for his perfect life after this probationary period is one of the chief obstacles to the hopelessness of Socialism, the Socialists aim especially to destroy Christian hope.

On Feb. 23, 1890, Bebel said in the Reichstag: "You know as well as we that the more faith in a life to come disappears from among the people, the more the people will clamor to have their heaven on earth."

Socialism is the logical outcome of a materialistic philosophy, which abandons heaven, and demands to have its happiness here.

Frequently in Marx' "Capital" we find such sentences as these:

Religion is "an absurd popular sentiment," a "fantastic degradation of man."

"Man makes religion, not religion, man."

Religion is "the sentiment of a heartless world, as it is the spirit of spiritless conditions. It is the opium of the people."

"The abolition of religion as the deceptive happiness of the people is a necessary condition of their true happiness."

"Religion is an illusory sun, which revolves around man as long as man fails to revolve around himself."

"As man is dominated in religion by the creations of his imagination, thus he is dominated in the capitalist system by the product of his own hand."

In his criticism of the Socialist Platform Marx demanded that the labor party declare its intention "of delivering men's consciences from the spectre of religion." (Cathrein, "Socialism.")

Throughout Socialist literature runs a blasphemous negation of God, Redemption, future life, free-will and morality.

The Socialist attitude on Redemption is thus expressed by the Socialist publication "Vorwaerts" (No. 301):

"We know that Christianity has not brought Redemption. We believe in no Redeemer; but we believe in Redemption. No man, no God in human form, no Saviour, can redeem humanity. Only humanity itself, only laboring humanity, can save humanity."

"Religion is the opium of the people. It is the striving of the people for an imaginary happiness. It springs from a state of society that requires an illusion." (Karl Marx, "Critique of the Philosophy of Law by Hegel.")

"It is, therefore, a profound truth that Socialism is the natural enemy of religion. Through Socialism alone will the relations between men in society and their relations to nature become reasonable, orderly, and completely intelligible, leaving no nook or cranny for superstition. The entry of Socialism is consequently the exodus of religion." (British Socialist Party Manifesto, 1911.)

"Morality and ethics have nothing to do with organized religion. The contrary is asserted only by weak-minded persons and hypocrites." (Bebel, "Woman and Socialism".)

Ernest Belford Bax ("The Ethics of Socialism"):

"One word on that singular hybrid, the Christian Socialist. . . . The association of Christianism with any form of Socialism is a mystery, rivalling the mysterious combination of ethical and other contradictions in the Christian Divinity himself.

"It is difficult to divine the motive for thus preserving a name which confessedly, in its ordinary meaning, is not only alien but hostile to the doctrine of Socialism."

"Marx was an avowed atheist. And those who desire to know the scientific reasons for the materialism of Marx, Engels, Bebel, Liebknecht, Guesde, Lafargue, Adler, Plechanoff—in a word, of all the founders and teachers of scientific Socialism, should read the whole of the introduction written by Frederick Engels in 1892 to my translation of his "Socialism: Scientific and Utopian." (Edward B. Aveling, "Charles Darwin and Karl Marx.")

"It is our duty as Socialists to root out faith in God with all our zeal, nor is any one worthy the name who does not consecrate himself to the spread of atheism." (Liebknecht, "Materialist Basis of History.")

"We wish in politics the republic, in economy Socialism, and in religion Atheism." (Bebel.)

"Christianity is the greatest enemy of Socialism. When God is expelled from human brains, what is called the divine

grace will be at the same time banished; and when the heaven above appears nothing more than an immense falsehood, men will seek to create for themselves a heaven below." ("*Sozial Demokrat*," Vol. I, p. 310.)

"Roman Catholics, I gladly recognize, have become very good Socialists, but only on condition of becoming very bad Catholics." ("Justice," England, 1909.)

"Law, morality, religion, are to him (the socialist) so many bourgeois prejudices, behind which lurk in ambush just as many bourgeois interests." (Communist Manifesto, by Marx and Engels.)

"Ninety-nine per cent. of Socialists are Atheists. A so-called Christian Socialist is a hybrid. Atheism is dominant in the works of all Socialist writers. Socialist science is a denial of religion." (Arthur M. Lewis, in his debate with Rev. St. John Tucker, at the Garrick Theater, Chicago, 1915.)

"And when the day comes that Socialist forces triumph, together with the cankering hulk of capitalism, will sink that still older and more retrogressive inveterate sinner, the church."—*New York Call.*

"We shall deserve well of it (Socialism) if we stir up hatred and contempt against all existing institutions. We make war against all prevailing ideas of the State, of country, of patriotism. The idea of God is the keystone of a perverted civilization. It must be destroyed. The true root of liberty, equality, and culture is Atheism." (Karl Marx.)

"All orthodox creeds in Christendom are enemies of the working class in its efforts to capture the government of the world, but the Roman Catholic Church is especially outspoken. . . . Christianity of today walks cheek by jowl with the kings of the earth, the money lords and the world's oppressors. . . . In this struggle the Roman Catholic Church is united, organized and disciplined, while her numerous Protestant spawn is divided into various sects and therefore weak. It is especially, therefore, the Roman Catholic Church and her priests to whom Capitalism turns for help in the hour of its death struggle. Let us tear the mask off." ("Roman Religion," by Henry M. Tichenor, pages 4, 28, 33.)

On Sept. 16, 1879, Bebel declared in the Reichstag:

"Gentlemen, you attack our views on religion because they are atheistic and materialistic. I acknowledge the correctness of the impeachment. . . . I am firmly convinced that Socialism finally leads to Atheism. But who has established the scientific and philosophical founda-

tions of those atheistic doctrines which cause you so much anxiety and displeasure? Was that done by Socialists? Edgar and Bruno Bauer, Feuerbach, David Strauss, Ernest Renan—were they Socialists? They were men of science. . . . We have adopted our atheistic tenets in accordance with our scientific convictions, and we feel obliged in conscience to spread them among the masses."

Bebel has here enumerated a few names of men who devoted themselves to scientific research. They were not great scientists. The effect of deep scientific research on men's souls has been well expressed by Lord Bacon:

"I had rather believe all the fables in the Legend, and in the Talmud, and the Alcoran, than that this universal frame is without a mind. It is true that a little philosophy inclineth man's mind to Atheism, but depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds about to religion; for while the mind of man looketh upon second causes scattered, it may sometimes rest in them, and go no further; but when it beholdeth the chain of them confederate and linked together, it must needs fly to Providence and Deity." The great scientists of every age have been devout Christians. Bacon, Albertus Magnus, Copernicus, Cusa, Becquerel, Kepler, Leonardo da Vinci, Linnaeus, Fontenelle, Galileo, Faraday, Descartes, Galvani, Columbus, Newton, Ampere, Boscovich, Volta, Pasteur, Roentgen, Secchi, St. Thomas, Lanfranc, Salicetti, Vesalius, and Arnold of Villanova are examples.

"At the present moment I cannot remember a single instance of a person who is at one and the same time a really earnest and intelligent Socialist and an orthodox Christian. Those who do not openly attack the Church and the fabric of Christianity show but scant respect to either the one or the other in private. . . . And while all of us are thus indifferent to the Church, many of us are hostile to her. Marx, Lassalle and Engels, among earlier Socialists; Morris, Bax, Hyndman, Guesde and Bebel among present day Socialists, are all more or less avowed Atheists; and what is true of the more notable men of the party is almost equally true of the rank and file the world over." (James Leatham, "Socialism and Character.")

Achille Loria is declared by Socialists to be the greatest living exponent of Economic Determinism. He is one of the Socialist classic writers. Thus he writes in "The Economic Foundations of Society":

"Religion in the sense of an invocation of Divine aid through prayers and offerings, does not of itself imply morality.

Morality is a relation between man and man; religion is a relation between man and God; and these two relations may very well be disconnected and exist independently of each other. This is so true that in many religions the moral element is absolutely lacking. Though religion is thus not necessarily accompanied with moral sanctions, it may, nevertheless, be made to serve as an excellent instrument of moral coercion. . . . In this way God becomes, as it were, the capitalist of heaven, crediting men with the good actions done during their life-time, and paying them a proportional salary either in this life or in the life to come. Thus the fear of divine punishment succeeds in doing violence to the egoism of the individual, deterring him from acting in conformity with his own interests, and impelling him to acts which are opposed to his own, but in conformity with the real egoism of his oppressors.

"After we have once thoroughly grasped the truth that capitalistic property is not a manifestation of natural law, but a violation of both human and divine law—the impossible erected into a system—we shall be able to understand how in order to guarantee the persistence of so absurd and contradictory a system it is necessary to draw upon all the passions and sentiments of human nature, corrupt them at their purest sources, and divert them into the service of this monstrous engine of iniquity."

Were it not for its glaring stupidity this declaration would fit in well as an integral part of that speech which Milton puts into the mouth of Lucifer in Hell. One laments with bitter shame that the cause of humanity compels a man to notice such a blasphemous utterance. And yet these are the sources whence Socialists derive their inspiration.

Morality is the doctrine of right and wrong. In its practical application it is the practice of the duties of life. These duties are three-fold: duties to God; duties to our own fellow man; and duties to ourselves. Among the duties to God are worship, which includes prayer and the offering of a sacrifice. Religion is an impossible conception without implying the relation of duty to God. Even in false religions the primitive idea of duty to the false god is a fundamental fact of our nature, and as such is right, though the determination of the object apprehended as God is wrong and thus imparts a wrong development to the idea. But Socialists have descended below the level of the idolatrous savage, and have rejected everything above man. Of course, in such an arbitrary system there is no place for duties to a Supreme Being.

We might adduce many other testimonials in support of our assertion that Socialism is contrary to religion. Unless a man wish to impugn the known truth these representative statements seem to be sufficient to establish that position, especially as the perusal of any leading work by a Socialist writer will confirm these views and add to them.

But do not Socialists declare that religion is a private affair, and as such is no concern of Socialism? Socialists have made that statement. It is one of the cunning evasions of Socialism. The real construction which Socialists put on this plank of the Socialist platform is thus explained by "Der Zimmer," a journal of the German Trades-Unions:

"The expression in the Socialist platform: Religion is a private concern, is often taken to mean that Socialists should abstain from religious questions; that to do otherwise is an infraction of the party platform. This, of course, is not and can not be its meaning. Upon closer inspection it will appear that the demand for declaring religion a private matter is in the second part of the platform, which contains the principal demands made for the present. The meaning is, therefore that the **present State should look upon religion as a private concern**; that the State should in consequence make no appropriation for any religious purpose, nor discriminate in favor of or against any denomination. . . . The modern labor movement would suffer a thorn to remain in its flesh if it allowed any obscurity to subsist concerning its attitude towards religious belief. Social democracy as a philosophical system can have no other relation to the Church than to reject its soporifics and to wage relentless war on by far the greater part of its doctrines. This attitude is postulated already by the very fact that the Church demands faith in a God of infinite goodness, wisdom, and justice, against whose will not even a sparrow falls from the roof." ("Kölnische Volkszeitung," 1902.)

In Europe, where the State subsidized the Church, the Socialists demanded as a provisional measure that this subsidy should cease. But their hatred of religion impelled them to proceed from the overthrow of one existing institution to the overthrow of another, until Bebel's atheistic, Socialistic republic should be set up.

Another cunning evasion of Socialism is not to reveal its real animus to the man who still has some religious belief in his soul. They would initiate him and then trust to the influence of Socialism to break down all his attachment to

God and heaven. This is well expressed by Liebknecht at the Halle Congress:

"Instead of squandering our strength in a struggle with the Church and sacerdotalism, let us go to the root of the matter. We desire to overthrow the State of the classes. When we shall have done that the Church and sacerdotalism will fall with it, and in this respect we are much more radical and much more definite in purpose than our opponents, for we neither like the priests nor the anti-priests."

Bebel ("Woman and Socialism") will not have any forcible "abolishing" of religion or "robbery" of the people's faith. That was tried in the French Revolution and failed. But by the growth of Socialism "without any forcible attack or expression of opinions, of whatever nature they may be, the religious organizations will gradually disappear and the churches with them."

These men are opposed to "direct action" to accomplish the destruction of religion. They rely on the disintegration of religion inevitable from the operation of the principles of Socialism. They will eradicate religion from the minds of men not by a direct attack on these principles of religion, but by inculcating the principles of Socialism which are incompatible with religion. Religious belief will perish by atrophy when Socialism has taken possession of the soul. But this indirect process does not please all Socialists.

"One comrade wrote that the only way to reach the church members was to first break their prejudices and convince them that Socialism be not against their religion.

"What nonsense is this? . . . There is nothing to be gained by holding out any false hopes that a study of Socialism does not tend to undermine religious beliefs. The theory of economic determinism alone, if thoroughly grasped, leaves no room for a belief in the supernatural." ("The Call," 1911.)

There are some who hold that Socialism is purely an economic system; that it is not of necessity antagonistic to religion; that it may be purged of some of the errors which individual Socialists have committed and thus may become a solution of the present intolerable state of the world.

Against these it should be urged that the principles on which Socialism is founded logically and inevitably lead to Atheism. Historically considered they have always produced that result; and human experience must be acknowledged as a criterion of future results of the application of principles which have always operated in a definite way.

Socialism attacks the right to private ownership, and destroys the personality of man.

Socialism constitutes man's supreme end in an economic amelioration of man's lot, thereby excluding the concept of a future life and a state of eternal happiness corresponding to the development of a man's character during man's mortal and probationary state.

Socialism merges a man's individuality into the Socialistic State, thereby attenuating free will so that man's life cannot be developed as God willed it to be developed. These are the principles essential to even a mitigated Socialism. Undoubtedly there are men who vote the Socialist political ticket, and who sympathize with some of the economic aims of Socialism who do not endorse Socialism's anti-Christian views, but they have no right to demand that men shall close their eyes to historical facts and believe Socialism to be what these mild theorists wish it to be. The fact that a system may embody in its principles some things that are just and good does not justify the endorsement of the System. Buddhism, Confucianism, Islamism, Mormonism, etc., have some excellent teachings. But it would be a crime for this reason, to throw away Christianity and accept these cults.

The beautiful sentiment of Christmas is attacked also by past and present Socialists. There is nothing so holy, nothing so true, that it may not be made to appear absurd by a skillful use of sophistry.

CHRISTMAS

Touching Christmas, we must know that the celebration of the birth of Christ on a special day, or on any day, is in no wise an essential of the Christian faith. The historic fact that Christ was born, true God and true man, is the essential fact of Redemption. To fix that fact to a certain day is a purely human act, springing however from a noble and true sentiment, the wish to honor Christ. Divinely inspired history affirms infallibly that Christ was born of the Virgin Mary in a stable at Bethlehem.

Upon this true basis, by a gradual growth, a system of liturgical and popular observances have grown up which manifest that a considerable portion of this sinful world believe in Christ and love him.

Christmas was not among the earliest festivals of the Church. The belief in the Virginal birth of Christ pervaded all the worship of the Church, but it was not emphasized

on a special day. From the fact that the inspired historians do not specify the day of the birth, nor, in fact, the year, save in a general way, it is evident that the exact day of the event cannot be known. That does not, however, make it unreasonable for Christian tradition to appoint a certain day on which specially to honor an event which rests upon incontestable proof. It is a fact of history that soldiers of our beloved Republic fought and died to save the Union. A grateful nation assigns the thirtieth of May to honor their memory by decorating their graves. So the Church established a liturgical year in which festivals are arranged with beautiful order and interdependence, with no thought that the day may be a precise anniversary of the event thus honored.

Some of the early Fathers were opposed to such festival, perhaps through contempt of the scandalous "birthdays" of the Emperors and of the heathen gods.

The first evidence of the celebration of the feast is found in Egypt, and Clement of Alexandria about the year 200 is displeased with certain Egyptian theologians who "over curiously" assign not the year alone, but the day of Christ's birth, placing it on 25 Pachon in the 28th year of Augustus. (P. G. VIII, 888.) This would place the festival on May 20.

The movement thus inaugurated spread gradually to all lands. There was, however, great diversity of practice in fixing the day. In fact, there is no month in the year to which the festival of Christmas has not been assigned.

There was also some contention among the advocates of the various dates.

The 25th of December seems to have been generally accepted at Rome and in all the Western Churches about the middle of the fourth century. The Churches of the East soon adopted the practice of the West, and from this time forth this date has enjoyed peaceful possession. Intrinsically, it has no more in its favor than any other day of the year. The absence of certain historical data leaves the Church free to assign the fact to any day; and as the honoring of such an event appeals to a universal and true sentiment of Christianity, the Church has made it possible to satisfy this sentiment in an orderly manner by asking the whole Christian world to observe a fixed day.

The Christian veneration of Christmas rests on the truth of Jesus' birth; the fixing of the day is a work of man. We believe that the exultation of the great heart of Christendom in commemoration of the birth of the Redeemer will be in no

way enfeebled by the snarling of the Socialists, who not having spared God the Creator, are not to be supposed to respect God the Redeemer.

If we compare the weakest thing in the human element of Christianity with the strongest and best feature of the aforesaid false religions, Christianity may suffer by the comparison, but that is not an honest and reasonable way to decide the respective values of the two systems. A system operates as an organic whole, and must be judged by its entire effect on actual man. And thus judged surely Christianity is the only true civilizing force in the world, and it may well point to its historic record in support of that claim. As we breathe the necessary vitalizing air of heaven, and are vivified by its life-giving energy, but for the most part, give little thought to that which gives us life; so the civilized world breathes the life of Him who is the "Way, the Truth, and the Life," and the aforesaid world lives in the light of Him who is the "Light of the World," even though it be unconscious of the source whence these benefits come.

Thus if we compare some of the best principles of Socialism with the defects of our existing institutions, it is self-evident that we can not approve our defects. But this is not the endorsement of Socialism. These just principles are not the creation of Socialism. They were always in the minds of men, and good men have striven to realize them, and have realized them as rapidly as the defective nature of man will permit. But God-fearing, law-abiding men aim to accomplish these reforms by methods based on the fixed foundations of justice and right. Socialism inserts these principles into a system which subverts the divine law, morality, and organized government, and aims to impose the whole monstrous system on humanity.

Socialism in effect tells a man that the highest thing man may aim at is a dish of meat, and it promises to serve the meat to all in equal measure.

TACTICS OF SOCIALISTS

Socialism sets itself squarely against religion. The Reverend A. J. Muench, of the Milwaukee archdiocese, now studying in the universities of Europe, sends the following special correspondence to the *Daily American Tribune*, October, 1920:

"The German Republic as now constituted demands full separation of church and state. While this means enlarged

freedom for the Catholic Church wherever this idea is carried through in fair play, it gives a death blow to Protestantism which had leaned so heavily on the Prussian State for its support. With its collapse comes also the collapse of Protestantism, which throughout many decades had been internally undermined by rationalism of a most destructive kind. A further fact should be noted. Large portions of the Protestant masses are swinging over to the armies of the Socialists. It was quite significant that the 'Evangelische Bund' in Berlin co-operated in a demonstration arranged by free-thinking organizations and socialists against schools established along lines of religious creeds as had hitherto been the case. Children were pressed into the demonstration, some of whom carried placards bearing the following inscription: 'Mach dir hier das Leben schön. Im Himmel gibt's kein Wiedersehn.' The significance of this all is plain, and for this reason the future battles over religious questions will be fought on other grounds than heretofore. It will be no longer a fight of belief against heresy, but a fight of belief against unbelief.

"The greatest danger for the Church in Germany will be the materialistic 'religion' of Socialism. In spite of the fact that Socialism is being torn into various factions by heavy discussions over tactics as to future policies of action, the idea of socialism as such is nevertheless growing. Especially is Communism of the Lenine stripe growing stronger from day to day, even as in other European countries. The object of attack is not so much the Church as in the Kulturkampf after the war of 1870, but rather the school. These forces of radicalism are straining every nerve to capture the school. It is a battle over the possession of youth."

In dealing with Socialism, a document of supreme importance is the following pastoral of the German Bishops (1919):

JOINT PASTORAL OF GERMAN BISHOPS

"Beloved Brethren:

"The fearful seriousness of the hour compels us to address you again in a joint letter. Social democracy believes that amidst the present disturbances the hour has come to add to its efforts by also penetrating more deeply the ranks of the Catholic people. The Socialist propaganda is conducted in every direction, and even threatens many in our dioceses. One still hears continually the question: How stands Social

Democracy in regard to Christianity and the Church? Therefore we must say a plain and definite word to you on the subject today.

" 'Christianity and Socialism have the same relationship to one another as fire and water.' Thus has one of the most influential and competent spokesmen of Socialism expressly declared. He is in a position to know. In these words he confessed the full and undeniable truth. It is really so: Christianity and Socialism stand towards one another as fire and water. One cannot be at the same time a convinced follower of Socialism and a sincere (*aufrichtiger*) Catholic Christian. Either one or the other. The opposition and hostility of Socialism to Christianity and the Church are implacable.

"The Socialist teaching stands in the strongest and sharpest contrast to our Catholic Christian creed. Socialism desires to use its strength to spread atheism, the denial of God, everywhere. In this endeavor all its leaders have been hitherto as one. That is to say, the fatal false teaching of Socialism is grounded on so-called materialism; it is inwardly and inseparably bound up with the materialist view of the world. Accordingly it offers nothing at all spiritual, nothing eternal, nothing unchangeable. Everything is matter; everything is temporal; everything ends with death; everything that exists is in continuous, changeful fluctuation. Note, dear Brethren, that this is the ground dogma of Socialism. You see at once then that there is no room for God, there is no immortality. Then also there is no God-Man, Jesus Christ; no Divine Saviour, no salvation. Then there is no Church, no Sacraments, no world beyond, no reunion after death, no everlasting hell and no eternal heaven. Truly Socialist teaching and Catholic belief stand towards each other as fire and water.

"Socialism also strives to shatter Catholic moral teaching and Catholic moral life. It proclaims that it in no way lays down eternal, unconditional, obligatory, general, indestructible moral precepts. It mocks the eternal God who has created men—and will one day judge them. It does not pray and, as you must have recognized yourselves lately, wishes to do away with prayer. It denies the other world, and requital there. It does not admit that there is a duty and responsibility of conscience which springs from God. Do not deceive yourselves in the matter: Socialism knows only of a life for this world, for the earth. The Commandments of God it wants to put away and abolish. According

to Socialism, no one need any longer trouble about God and His law. But be assured, beloved brethren, 'God is not mocked' (Gal. VI: 7) by any man! And it remains everlastingly true: 'It is appointed unto men once to die, and after this the judgment' (Heb. IX: 27).

"The State is to be separated from the school; the school is to be secular, that means without religion. For the State and the school, God and Church shall exist no longer. In the last joint pastoral, beloved Brethren, we besought you for the love of Christ to consider what grievous wrong against God the Lord, against His Church, against suffering humanity, against your souls and against the innocent souls of your children is thus planned. We laid before you in all truth the danger which arises from it for State and Church, for community and family. We warn and beseech you today again: Do not mistake the dreadful bearing of this Socialist movement. If Socialism succeeds, then—let people say what they will—your religion and freedom of conscience will be enslaved and gagged. The crucified Saviour will be banished shamefully, disgracefully from the sight of the public and from the schools.

"The Socialists destroy Christian marriage and the Christian family. That this is aimed at, their leaders have often enough stated to everybody. They want to break the unity and indissolubility of Christian marriage. They desire to rob the family of the ordained relationship of husband and wife towards one another. They want to take away from parents the right to educate their children according to their convictions and their own conscience. The Sixth and Ninth Commandments are no longer to be in force. Thus the Socialist dares to violate God's holy law infamously. You clearly see that between Socialism and Christianity, no bridge is possible. But listen further. Socialism desires equal rights and duties for all men. That sounds well and fair, but nevertheless, make no mistake! There is then no longer in the family, in the school, in the State, or in society, any one who obeys for the sake of God and conscience. The Fourth Commandment, with all the duties attached thereto, for the variously organized arrangements of human society—the whole of the Fourth Commandment would be done away with.

"And finally, you know that Socialism on principle wishes to do away with private property in the means of production, as, for instance, in land and soil, tools, machines, raw material, and the means of exchange (see the so-called

Erfurt Program). These means of production are to be transferred to the possession of the State. Therefrom they promise themselves a gold mine. In this way they are to find the sure and inexhaustible source of good fortune and welfare for all men. Beloved brethren, do not allow yourselves to be deluded by these schemes of Socialism. Its actual working would lead to a cruel and fatal deception for the great masses of the people. Industry and trade, handicrafts and business pursuits, instead of flourishing, would lose their vital strength. Afterwards there would be, just as there is today, a crowd of poor, unfortunate, suffering men who, with anxiety, have to fight for their existence and are allotted to the help of others. And bear this well in mind. The whole plan is un-Christian and goes against the dispensation of God. The Creator gave man the right of private property with human nature. And the dispensation and development in human society willed by God, requires the possession and dominion of private property in the same way. The Seventh Commandment expressly says: 'Thou shalt not steal.' In the Tenth Commandment inordinate desire is forbidden: 'Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, nor his field, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is his.' No man is entitled on principle to deny his fellow-man the right to private property or to rob him of it. That is the teaching of Christ, our God and Saviour: it is the teaching of the Apostles; it has been the teaching of the Catholic Church from the days of the Fathers in the beginning to the time of Leo XIII and his famous Encyclical on the social question. And never, you may be sure, will the Church allow the difference between *mine* and *thine* to be confused or effaced. Undoubtedly the possessor, by reason of his possession, has social duties, serious and great duties, duties both towards the non-possessors and also towards the community. The idea of social responsibility, as the Church proclaimed it, took root generally at first in humanity. Whoever wishes to bear testimony to the truth must admit that the Church has always been the most zealous advocate of all just social demands, particularly of the working classes. And never has the Church disputed that, the law of justice being observed, the State may interfere with private property for the promotion of the public welfare. Yet in this connection it must be insisted that it is unjust and unlawful to wish to do away with private property in all the so-called means

of production. Such a proposal is irreconcilably opposed to Christian teaching and the Christian law.

"Beloved brethren, do not allow yourselves to be misled by the shibboleth: The Social Democrats treat religion as a private affair. That is only an effort to create a disposition favorable to Socialism in the circles of those whom the true view of Socialism, and its embittered enmity towards religion, would frighten off to too large an extent. That shibboleth is merely a mask, a disguise. Innumerable testimonies in the writings and the life of the Socialists, innumerable expressions of a raging hatred of God and foul mockery of religion, declare often and loudly that Socialism is an irreconcilable opponent of Christianity and the Church. And do not doubt this: Between the different groups in Socialism—the Independents and the Majority Socialists—there is in this respect no difference. It does not matter at all that many who profess adherence to Social Democracy allege that they consider themselves good Catholics. Whoever promotes Socialism works against religion Whoever supports Socialism, immediately or mediately, by his own action or through negligence or sloth, sins against Christ and His Church. Whoever holds to Christ and His Church cannot hold with Socialism. Either one—or the other. It is as that Socialist leader says, 'Christianity and Socialism are to one another as fire and water.'

"Beloved brethren, you know your duty, and we firmly trust in your Catholic fidelity. Let each of you repeat in these decisive days his holy baptismal vows."

+FELIX CARDINAL VON HARTMANN, Archbishop of Cologne.
+M. FELIX, Bishop of Treves.
+CHARLES JOSEPH, Bishop of Paderborn.
+JOHN, Bishop of Muenster.
+WILLIAM, Bishop of Osnabrueck.
+JOSEPH, Bishop of Hildesheim.

PASTORAL OF FRENCH BISHOPS

In the same year (1919) appeared a pastoral letter of the French Bishops, from which we extract the following:

"The union of classes cemented during the war by common devotion and sacrifice must continue in time of peace. Struggles between the various classes could not but be fatal to all. According to the teaching of the Church which, after the example of her divine Founder, has always befriended the small and the weak, inequality of position in the world is an inevitable consequence of inequality of intelligence, tal-

ents, strength, health and the diversity of the circumstances of life. One must accept it as a disposition of Providence and a social necessity.

"In like manner, the right to hold property is a natural right. It is the safeguard of family life, the stimulus and the reward of work. Collectivist socialism is, at once, an error and a peril. The means of reestablishing and preserving peace in society consist in the observance among the different classes of their reciprocal duties, according to the teaching of the Gospel. Let employers and workmen understand that they depend upon each other, and let them agree to be upright with each other in order to promote their common interests by friendly and productive co-operation, instead of jeopardizing them by fruitless struggles."

SOCIALISM IS MATERIALISTIC

The Reverend Victor Cathrein, S. J., an eminent authority in sociology, declares (*Allgemeine Rundschau*, 22) that Socialism as embodied in the principles of the Social-Democrats of Germany, is absolutely anti-Christian and that its economic aims cannot be separated from its anti-religious principles. He cites with approval the declaration of the Bishops of Holland, that "no man can be a convinced adherent of Socialism and at the same time a sincere Catholic."

In a copyrighted special cable to his paper from Paris, July 6, 1920, John Clayton reports to the *Chicago Tribune* what he learned from Bunch Bruavitch, Russian soviet head of the department of religious affairs in the Lenine-Trotzky regime. Bruavitch said:

"The soviet government, as a Socialist government, is anti-religious and atheistic, but it recognizes that the task of defeating religious propaganda and overcoming religious superstition is a long one and one not to be accomplished by persecution. The government regards its task in this direction as one of propaganda and education and is making its efforts entirely along these lines."

The propaganda campaign against religions is being vigorously pursued. On the wall outside the Kremlin is this legend: "Religion is the Opium of the People."

"That line," said Bruavitch, "is a quotation from Marx, and is only one of many quotations for Socialist and Revolutionary writers which the government uses in its general campaign of revolutionary education."

The principles upon which Socialism is built are incompatible with religion.

"There is nothing to be gained by holding out any false hopes that a study of Socialism does not undermine religious beliefs. The theory of economic determinism alone if thoroughly grasped, leaves no room for the supernatural."

Socialists in the United States cunningly dissemble their hostility to religion, trusting to the inevitable process of religious disintegration which the principles of Socialism shall work in its members. In the recent Socialist convention in New York (1920) Mr. William Karlin thus expressed this opportunistic policy:

"There is a certain amount of discretion which we propagandists must use. There are many people to whom we can appeal if we don't arouse their religious prejudice."

After considerable discussion they fulminated this "Song of Hate":

"They (the capitalists) own the people's jobs and determine their wages; they control the markets of the world and fix the price of the products of the former; they own their homes and fix their rents; they own their food and set its cost; they own their press and formulate their convictions; they own the government and make their laws; they own their schools and mould their minds."

They had inserted in the original draft of the declaration, the clause, a "privileged few in America own the people's churches and regulate their souls." Victor L. Berger urged that this declaration be voted down as a matter of political policy. Charles Solomon and August Claessens, expelled members of the New York State Assembly, joined forces with Berger.

Joseph H. McIntyre, District of Columbia, said that since joining the Socialist party he had ceased being a member of the Roman Catholic church.

"I am the father of six children and none of them go to church," McIntyre declared. "Socialist literature has opened my eyes. If we put religion into our platform we will get into a religious discussion and forget all about Socialism. Get the voters first and talk religion out of them afterwards."

Rejecting the probationary status of mortal man, Socialism carries its envy of those in better economic station even

to envy of the Deity. Socialist publications quote with approbation the following crude blasphemous poem:

(From "Challenge")
By LOUIS UNTERMEYER
(American poet, born 1885)

God, we don't like to complain—
We know that the mine is no lark—
But—there's the pools from the rain;
But—there's the cold and the dark.

God, You don't know what it is—
You, in Your well-lighted sky,
Watching the meteors whizz;
Warm, with the sun always by.

God, if You had but the moon
Stuck in Your cap for a lamp,
Even You'd tire of it soon,
Down in the dark and the damp.

Nothing but blackness above,
And nothing that moves but the cars—
God, if You wish for our love,
Fling us a handful of stars.

One of the great apostles of Socialism is Michael Bakunin. The following extracts are samples of his philosophy:

"All religions, with their gods, demigods, prophets, their messiahs and their saints, are the creation of the credulous imaginations of people who have not yet arrived at a full possession of their spiritual powers. Being slaves of God, people must also be slaves of the Church, and of the state which is supported by the Church." . . . . .

"With all due respect, then, to the metaphysicians and religious idealists, philosophers, politicians, or poets, the idea of God implies the abdication of human reason and justice; it is the most decisive [foe] of human liberty, and necessarily ends in the enslavement of mankind, both in theory and practise. . . . There must have been a very deep-seated dissatisfaction with life, a very intense thirst of heart, and an almost absolute poverty of thought, to secure the acceptance of the Christian absurdity, the most audacious and monstrous of all religious absurdities." . . . . .

In a Communist manifesto seized in 1920 by our government we find the impious declaration:

"We hate religion because it lulls the spirit with lying tales, takes away courage and faith in the power of men, faith in the triumph of justice here on the real earth and not in a chimerical heaven. Religion covers everything with fog; real evil becomes visionary, and visionary good a reality. It has always been sanctified slavery, grief, and tears. And we declare war upon all gods and religious fables. We are atheists."

Bukharin, another notorious Socialist writer, states his theory in "Church and School in the Soviet Republic":

"The belief in God and in the devil is a confusion of the mind of the workers. One of the instruments for the obscuring of the consciousness of the people is the belief in God and the devil, and in good and evil spirits, angels, saints, etc.—in short, religion. . . . We shall clearly understand that the function of religion at present is to act as a poison with which the minds of the people have been and continue to be corrupted. . . . It is, of course, clear that there is no truth in these things. And it is also clear that these fairy tales are a hindrance in the path of human progress."

In the report of the Executive Committee of the National Lettish Socialistic Organization, we find the following:

"Religion is the opium of the people. It is the striving of the people for an imaginary happiness. It springs from a state of society that requires illusion! (Karl Marx, 'Critique of the Philosophy of Law,' by Hegel.) The ethics of Socialism and Religion are directly opposed to each other. Christianity teaches brotherly love for all; Socialism discriminates among social classes. It (Socialism) preaches the class struggle among those whose interests are opposed. . . . The Church puts the stamp of approval (good) or disapproval (bad), according to some superhuman ethics, dictated by a being unknown to mankind. While large masses of the people are completely in ignorance about the most elementary parts of natural science, it is an easy task for the Church to beguile the workers and to make them intellectual cripples. Once they have become such they gladly accept the spiritual crutches extended to them by the servants of the Church."

"The Church is one of the pillars of Capitalism," complained an editor of London *Justice*, Harry Quelch, "and the true function of the clergy is to chloroform the workers, to make docile wage slaves of them, patient and contented with their lot in this world, while expecting glorious reward

in the next." As long as the Church holds the minds of workers in its grip, there will be little hope of freeing their bodies from capital supremacy."

In this country, Victor Berger, former U. S. Congressman from Wisconsin, echoes this: "Now the church is with the capitalist class without doubt, especially the Church *per se*, the Roman Catholic Church. That Church has always sided with the class in power. . . . The Church was on the side of feudalism while feudalism was on top, and the Church now sides with capitalism while capitalism is on top."

"The fundamental philosophy underlying all forms of Socialism," says Price Collier in his *England and the English*, "is the worship of man. The pandering to this new doctrine in the name of Christian Socialism is simply loose-minded. The pith of Christianity and the pith of Socialism are as the poles apart."

In heathen mythology, the most hateful of the gods was Momus, who did nothing himself, but jeered at all the actions of gods and men. Socialism is the Momus of human society. It has accomplished nothing but destruction and unrest. Where it has entered, chaos and suffering have followed in its wake. Its methods are destructive, not constructive. It exaggerates the evils of modern society in order to create an atmosphere of unrest in which it breeds like maggots in decaying organisms. No man has a right to demand absolute perfection in human institutions, and no man has a right to promise a perfect human institution. The effect cannot transcend the cause. Man is a fallible agent with limited powers and with a soul much influenced by evil agencies. In order to allow man the proper exercise of his free-will God does not determine man's acts. God exercises a general providence over all things and a special providence over man. But this divine power leaves to man a freedom which is reflected in the good deeds of the good and the evil deeds of the wicked. Hence no human institution is so perfect that it cannot be better. To be thus perfect it must needs be the direct act of God Himself. But what we contend is that the institutions which Socialism attacks are the product of the wisdom of the ages under God's providence, and that, notwithstanding their defects, they are the best system for humanity.

The Socialists, by creating unrest and by filling the minds of the laborers with unjust and impossible desires, retard the remedy which the noble spirit of our people is striving earnestly to apply.

The Socialists of the United States strongly condemn certain acts of the government and of the people during the war. All the world knows that the psychological state of a people during the excitement of war is not a healthy normal state. Man is a rational animal, but he is also an emotional animal. The world has passed through a phase of madness. The cause of it lies not in our institutions, but in the sinful nature of man. No human institution will eliminate that from man. Socialism simply offers a wider field for that sinful nature to work. Where Socialism has been able to put its principles into operation the wildest disorder has followed and the poor have suffered most. Observe the French Revolution and the present state of Russia.

APPEAL OF PATRIARCH OF MOSCOW

LONDON—The *London Times* publishes the following article:

The following epistle from Tikhon, patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, is issued by the Russian liberation committee:

"They that take up the sword shall perish by the sword." —St. Matthew XXVI, 52.

This prophecy of Christ we address unto you, the present rulers of the destinies of our country, styling yourselves "The People's Commissars." For a year you are holding the state power in your hands and are preparing to celebrate the anniversary of the October revolution, 1917, but the torrents of blood of your brothers mercilessly killed at your bidding, compels us to speak unto you the bitter word of truth.

In seizing power and inviting the people to place their confidence in you, what did you promise them and how did you fulfill your promise?

Verily you have given them a stone instead of bread, and a serpent in place of a fish.—St. Matthew VII, 9-10.

What conquests could you renounce, you who have brought Russia to a shameful peace, the humiliating conditions of which even you dare not fully publish? You have robbed the fighting men of all they lately gallantly fought for. You have taught those who a short while ago were brave and invincible to give up the defence of their country and flee from the battlefield. Against whom are you leading them?

START CLASS WAR.

You have divided the whole people into enemy camps and have hurled them into fratricide unheard of for its cruelty.

You have openly exchanged the love of Christ for hatred, and instead of giving peace have artificially kindled class war.

It was not Russia who needed the shameful peace with the external enemy, but you in your desire to break completely our internal peace.

Nobody feels safe; all live in constant fear of perquisitions, robbery, arrest, execution. Hundreds of defenceless people are seized daily and lie for months rotting in foul prisons, are executed without investigation or trial, even with the simplified method of trial established by you.

Innocent bishops, priests, monks, and nuns are shot on a wholesale vague and indefinite accusation of "counter revolution."

This inhuman existence is made still harder for the orthodox believers by their being bereft of the last consolation of death—the taking of the Holy Communion and by the bodies of those slain being refused to their relatives for Christian burial.

AIMLESS CRUELTY

Does not all this represent the culmination of aimless cruelty on the part of those who pose as the benefactors of humanity, and have themselves, as they say, suffered much from cruel authorities?

But you are not content with having smeared the hands of the Russian people with the blood of their brethren; by concealing it under different terms, such as contributions, requisitions, nationalizations, you have pushed them towards the most open and shameless robbery.

You have promised liberty.

Is that liberty, when no one dares to obtain food for himself, to change one's dwelling, to move from town to town?

Is that liberty, when families and sometimes all the inhabitants of a house are evicted and their property thrown out into the street, and when all citizens are artificially divided into categories of which some are destined to famine and plunder?

Is that liberty when no one dares to state openly one's opinion out of fear of being accused of counter-revolution?

The voice of social and state discussion is suppressed, the press, with the exception of the narrow pro-bolshevist section, is completely strangled.

Particularly hard and cruel is the suppression of liberty and faith. Not a day passes but the most monstrous calumnies against the church of God, angry blasphemies and sacrilege appear in your press.

You have laid your hands upon the inheritance of the church, gathered together by generations of the faithful, and have not hesitated to violate their last will and testament.

"And what shall I say more?

"For the time would fail me" (Hebrews XI:32) to describe all the calamities which have befallen our mother country.

But now, unto you, we tender our word of persuasion: Celebrate the anniversary of your coming into power by liberating the prisoners, by ceasing bloodshed, aggression, ruin, persecution of the faith; turn from destruction towards the restoration of law and order; give the people the longed for and merited rest from civil war.

But now the blood of the righteous which you have shed shall be required of you (St. Luke XI: 51) "and you that have taken the sword, shall perish by the sword." (St. Matthew XXVI:52.)

"We have got to look on jails in the United States as they did in old Russia, as a badge of honor. We must look on those who have gone as distinguished. The young man or woman should look forward to jail terms, just as one looks forward to a degree in college."

By such means, the liberties of the people may be restored, Scott Nearing declared, speaking at Freie Gemeinde Hall, Milwaukee, December, 1919. He said these liberties have now vanished.

This is Socialistic education.

RUIN OF RUSSIA

OMSK—The Polish professor, A. A. Ossendoffsky, chief of the intelligence department of the all-Russian government, estimates that the world war, bolshevism, civil war, starvation and disease has cost Russia a total of 35,000,000 lives.

He places the cost of bolshevism at 12,280,000 lives.

Prof. Ossendoffsky says that formerly the Russian population increased at the rate of four persons a minute. Today it is decreasing at the rate of twelve to thirteen a minute.

IRKUTSK—An engineer named Tcheriniakoff, who has just arrived from Omsk after having spent a week there, says the Bolsheviki shot all captive officers of the Siberian army who refused to join the red army.

Citizens who protested against night raids and other bolshevik excesses were also shot.

The prices of commodities, the engineer adds, increased from 100 to 200 per cent. immediately after the Bolshevik occupation.

NEW YORK—How Russia's industrial life was crushed by Bolshevist terror in two years—evidenced by the record degeneration of the nation's railway lines—was related here on Saturday by Capt. J. H. Paterson, formerly well known railway man connected with the New York Central and Harriman lines, who has just returned after six months' service in Russia for the American relief administration.

"When Kerensky's government fell in November, 1917, there were 35,000 miles of railway lines in operation in Russia," said Capt. Paterson. "Approximately 15,000 locomotives and 500,000 freight and passenger cars composed the rolling stock. Today, after two years of Bolshevist rule, the mileage has been reduced to 48 per cent. of that of pre-war days, and the rolling stock is now no more than 20 per cent. of its former size."

RAN FOOD TRAINS

Serving during the war as an officer of the A. E. F., Capt. Paterson was transferred to duty with the Hoover organization after the signing of the armistice, and took charge of food trains out of Trieste. Later he was engaged in railway operation in Austria, Czecho-Slovakia and other countries of central Europe. In his study of European railway conditions, both before he left America and after he had seen them in operation, Paterson said he had never been more impressed with the idea of industrial destruction than in what he had seen in Bolshevist Russia.

"The percentage of damaged locomotives is growing greater all the time," said Paterson, "and the supply of skilled labor is and has been steadily decreasing. About 560 locomotives were repaired in 1916; in 1918 only eighty were repaired. The Lenine-Trotzky railway administration said they expected to replace between 600 and 800 engines this year, but in view of the prevailing state of semi-starvation and disorganized repair shops, it is a ridiculous estimate.

"Labor discipline has decreased enormously. Wages of laborers and railway mechanics are lower than in other lines of industry, with the result that the best men—the specialists—find more profitable work in other soviet institutions.

UNIONS CONTROL ROADS

"The highest council of state economy is supposed to have control of the railways, and the commissary of ways and communications, the management, but in fact the unions control the roads and have put in authority men of very little ability. These organizations, as well as individuals among the workers, have too much to say on questions of management. There is no central administration, no co-ordination between central and provincial rail authorities.

"Nor is there any practical distribution or utilization of rolling stock. On some small branch lines with small junction points, 40 per cent. of the rolling stock remains idle for months, loaded with supplies most essential to the economic life of a starving country.

"Realizing this, the all-Russian central executive committee recently decided the management of the lines should be taken away from the unions and vested in a committee representing all persons actively engaged in railway operation and repair. Up to this time, however, this reform is only a reform on paper."

"The nearest approach in America to the Bolshevism with which I am familiar is the theory of government advocated by Victor Berger. In tactics and everything else he is a double of Trotzky. He's against everything intended to make America a better country to live in."

This was the opinion expressed by Maj. Gen. Mesroh Nevton Azagapetian, formerly of the imperial Russian army, in an interview at the Pfister hotel in Milwaukee, December, 1919. He added:

"For short-sightedness, the Bolshevists of Russia and the Berger type of Socialist in America have never been equalled.

"Bolshevism is based on force, sheer might, and cannot survive. When its terrible hand of lust, rapine and assassination will be raised in the land of the former czar, I cannot guess, but its coming is inevitable. The people of America are too intelligent to let it gain a foothold.

"Trotzky is cruel and inhuman, but clever. Lenine is more of an idealist and theorist, though just as false a prophet.

RUSS HATE BOLSHEVISM

"The people of Russia today hate Bolshevism. They would rise up in a minute and smite it but for the immense army controlled by Lenine and Trotzky."

This former Russian officer, now an American citizen with residence in New York, is an Armenian by birth. He is a graduate of Robert College, Constantinople, the University of Geneva, Switzerland, and Columbia University, New York.

His military service in the American army began as a private in the famous Seventh Regiment, New York. Later he enlisted in the Persian army.

IMMORALITY OF SOCIALISM

List of books placed into the traveling libraries for the schools of the State of North Dakota by Stangeland, appointed State Librarian of the Rural Schools:

Ferri—Socialism and Modern Science.
Lafargue—Evolution of Property.
Ellen Key—Love and Marriage.
Ellen Key—Love and Ethics.
Harris—Anarchism and Socialism.
Beard—American Government and Politics.
Leon Trotzky—The Bolsheviki and World Peace.
Meyers—History of the Supreme Court.
Sinclair—The Profits of Religion.
Labriola—Essays on Material Conception of History.

These are some of the titles of books which have been chosen by the Librarian, appointed by the Board of Administration, and which are sent to the Public Schools.

Touching the character of these books and the tendency of Modern Socialism, Right Reverend Vincent Wehrle, O. S. B. Bishop of Bismark, N. Dakota, said:

"During the regular session of the Legislature, January and February, 1919, laws were passed that limited the authority and power of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction very much, and the 'Board of Administration' having charge of all penal, charitable and educational institutions and of the whole Public School system, was created; three men, of that board of five, to be appointed by the governor of the state. He appointed two outspoken Socialists and placed one of them, an ex-preacher, Rev. George A. Totten, as presiding officer at the head of said Board. This Board appointed C. E. Stangeland, well known as a radical socialistic propagandist, to the office of Public Librarian, who has under his charge all the public schools' libraries and provides 'Travelling Libraries' for the rural schools.

"During the present extra session of our legislature, Representative Burtness stepped into the Public State Library and found in, and partly on, one of the travelling library boxes, a number of books which are in the strictest sense teaching socialism and anarchy, and two which teach 'Free Love' and declare sexual intercourse outside of marriage a higher standard of morality than real married life. He read to the House of Representatives excerpts from such books, and criticized them very severely as also those officials who bring such books into the libraries to be used by our school children. During the first surprise there was an outburst of indignation. Walter Maddock, one of the non-partisan leaders, declared solemnly:

"There is enough red-blooded Americanism and Christian manhood in this house to protect the schools and homes of our state from this sort of socialistic rubbish and free love rot."

Continuing, Bishop Wehrle adds:

"I do not want to defile the pages of a decent newspaper with the list of these books nor with excerpts taken from them: but I state the following as indisputable facts. The investigation and the after development has proved:

"1. Public money has been used to secure for the Public School Library some books, the list of which has been published in the 'Appeal to Reason.'

"2. The list of those socialistic, anarchistic and free-love books which Representative Burtness read in the House, actually contained the books found in one of the travelling library boxes, ready for shipment to some rural school, or at least on top of such a box.

"3. A bill for books of socialistic and anarchistic character bought by the librarian for the public schools, has been presented to the State Treasurer for collection.

"4. Miss Nelson, the deputy librarian, defended the keeping of such socialistic, anarchistic and free-love books in the public school libraries.

"5. Ex-preacher Totten, the chairman of the Board of Administration, which board has charge of all penal, charitable and educational institutions and fullest supervision over the public school system, has defended the choice of such books for these libraries."

Behold the use which the Socialists make of the power which they acquire. Shall we allow them to poison the very source of our country's life and growth by corrupting our children? The real malice of Socialism is not its stand on

the war or on war in general, but their conception of the nature of man, of man's destiny, and of his duties.

This is the story of the making of an anarchist in New York.

BOLSHEVISM TAUGHT BY SOCIALISTS

As told to Congressman Isaac Siegel by a 17-year-old prisoner on Ellis Island—Thomas Buhokanob—it had its beginning in a series of Socialist political meetings in an East Side hall. These led an inquiring mind to the New York public library where, from the works of Kropatkin and other Reds, was gleaned the material which turned a prospective American citizen into a disbeliever in all government.

BORN IN RUSSIA

He had been born in the Ukraine district of Russia in 1902. In 1912 he followed some of his people to the United States. He attended a public school, from which he graduated. Up to the time of his arrest the boy had been working in a machine shop at $21.60 a week, with a promise of a substantial raise.

During the 1916 campaign for the mayoralty he became intensely interested and attended meetings, where he recalled among others having heard Morris Hillquit expound the doctrines of Socialism. At first he became a Socialist, then "drifted into anarchy."

BECOMES TEACHER

With his ideas of the latter fully developed he became an official distributor of Emma Goldman's "Mother Earth." Young Buhokanob became a member of a Russian union that met not far from his home.

He became a teacher of anarchy, using the Russian language. There were regularly 150 men who sat in his classes, he told the congressman.

Socialism is a drag-net cast in the world to gather into its ranks the lawless, godless part of humanity. The principles, platforms, utterances, and public acts of the Socialists afford clear evidence that they do not contemplate an appeal to right-minded men. Their hope is that by enrolling under their banner the undesirables of the world they may bring such pressure on society that they may force certain measures favorable to Socialism. The abuses which capital has committed also form a feeder for their ranks.

Socialism is a contagious disease of society, and should be dealt with accordingly. No principle of freedom of speech compels a people to permit the dissemination of treason, immorality, or any other crime. The most stringent repressive measures should be put into operation to save society from these attacks upon its life. In case of doubt whether any act constitute a crime the courts shall decide.

A weakness of our political life is the fear of losing votes, which often weakens the acts of our public men. We cannot be too quick to remedy the abuses which have crept into our life, but we should be slow to accept Socialistic remedies. Labor has suffered some wrongs, not however all the alleged wrongs which professional agitators proclaim. The welfare of all demands that an equitable relation shall be established between Capital and Labor. Socialism cannot effect this equitable readjustment, and decent Labor does not want Socialism to be the mediator.

CATHOLIC LABOR-UNIONS

A congress of Canadian Catholic trade unions was recently held at Three Rivers, in the Province of Quebec. It disclosed the rapid growth of these organizations within recent time and the perfect harmony existing among them. The resolutions drawn up strongly advocate the various measures of industrial welfare. They urgently recommend, in the interest of social order and of a better co-operation among the various classes, the substitution of free conciliation and arbitration for the present-day strikes "which unhappily have become too frequent." Both parties are to be equally represented on the board of arbitration, and its decision is to be final. Of particular interest is their rejection of the principle of a universal eight-hour day. The resolution, as given in "Le Devoir" of Montreal, reads:

"The convention voices the opinion that all measures tending to prescribe a determined number of hours for the legal working-day in all industries is arbitrary, unwise and inopportune. It believes and maintains that the length of the working-day should be such as to assure the worker a reasonable allowance of time to repair his physical strength, to fulfil his duties as husband, head of the family, citizen, and member of the Church, and finally to satisfy the obvious demands made upon him by commerce, industry and financial considerations."

The principle of the Catholic trade unionists is that the length of the working-day should depend upon the occupation in which the respective laborers are engaged. Some are but little fatiguing and not in the least injurious to health, while others are exceedingly straining and carried on amid depressing conditions. Hence some trades can readily admit of more than eight hours, while others demand less. The congress, therefore, agreed that the different trades can best determine their own needs in this matter. Shorter hours and higher pay, the reports adds in a true Christian spirit, may not be demanded without regard for the welfare of our neighbor.

If such just principles could prevail it would be easy to reestablish proper relations between Capital and Labor. Each needs the other; and the condition of one reacts upon the other. Capital may be likened to the head of the human body, and labor to the hands. If the head suffers the whole body suffers; and if the hands suffer the whole body suffers. But nature has ordained that the head shall function as the head, and the hands shall function as the hands. Equal honor is due both head and hands.

SOCIALISTIC LABOR-UNIONS

The Socialists would destroy the body in a vain attempt to give to all the members the same function. They oppose every just and moderate move of conservative labor.

The Socialist paper of Milwaukee under date of Dec. 15, 1919, published the following editorial from James Conlan, Socialist:

"The answer is up to the American proletariat.

"The rumblings of an enlightened class are stealing over the seas; slowly but surely the British proletariat is moving onward. With a steam roller action it is crushing down the old form of labor organization, and with a triple alliance of the basic industries it is opposing a government representing private ownership of the means of life. Under the skillful leadership of intelligent representatives they are being moved across the social checkerboard, now moving forward, now marking time, but with the initiative in their hands.

MUST EDUCATE WORKERS

"To us in America the moves are of vital interest and should be watched closely, as there is much to be learned from them.

"When we have reached the same stage of organization and intelligence, interference will be impossible in Mexico, as the master class will be too busy countering our moves to think of intervention.

"Therefore from the viewpoint of a Marxian, the best way to prevent invasion is to carry on an intensive propaganda along class conscious lines. In order to do this, we ourselves must study the works of Marx and Engels that we may be able to analyze correctly the moves made by the master class. It is by studying these pioneers of modern Communism that we find that there are but two classes in society and that the power of the capitalist lies in his control of state. It is this power the workers must seize and raise themselves to the position of a ruling class.

"An education carried on to this effect, and solidly organizing our forces as we go along will not only help Mexico but also the Bolsheviki in Russia.

"The worker of America has no more to gain by conquering Mexico than the British workers gained by subjecting the Egyptian peasant to British rule.

"Our salvation lies in the conquest of political power and establishing a proletarian dictatorship, thus doing away with the private ownership of those things that are essential to human existence, and not in the conquest of Mexico."

General Palmer, United States District Attorney (Dec., 1919) in his annual report to Congress declares that the country is confronted with "increasingly dangerous radical activities."

There is no middle ground. Make peace with conservative labor. Grant it everything consistent with justice and religion, and then help to save it, and save the whole country from the peril of Socialism.

Even conservative labor needs a reformation. There is much truth in the following from Ex-President Taft:

NEW YORK, 1919—Ex-President Taft told 500 Yale and Princeton men at the Yale club that a great deal of the unrest in the United States was due to a feeling by the "rank and file of labor that the world is theirs to divide up."

He added that the power these men "had counted on has become the source of their defeat—they have lost the support of public opinion."

"When the war was over," he said, "many in the ranks of labor, by reason of the power they had exercised during the war and of the grants that had been made them, began

to say, 'It is for us now to determine what we shall have. The only question is what we desire.' "

This hysteria is however curable. Much of it is caused by the contagion of the radicals. Just reforms and energetic measures against the criminals will soon establish a just peace.

The tactics of socialists show an amazing disregard for logic and truth. When they present their system to a public which still, in some measure, clings to Christian belief, they misrepresent the true nature of Socialism, in order to gain members, especially to get votes in their political campaign. Thus in its issue of Dec. 23, 1919, the editor of the Milwaukee "Leader" published the following:

CATHOLICS AND SOCIALISM

SENSIBLE CATHOLICS

"The thousands of Catholics who voted for Berger are to be congratulated on their good sense.

"As we understand it, the church is their spiritual guide, and they are at liberty to choose their own course in politics and economics.

"They rightly believe that the Socialists are not opposed to the Catholic religion or any other religion. The Socialist party is neither religious nor anti-religious, for the simple reason that its objects are neither religious nor anti-religious. These objects are political and economic.

"It is true that, incidentally, Socialism will be of great benefit to religion, because it will emancipate religious organizations and individuals from the domination of capitalists, and because it will surround the people with conditions wherein they will have far greater opportunity and disposition to develop their higher qualities.

"For example, it sometimes happens that the rich patrons of the church require a prelate to publish a statement to the members of the church urging them to vote so and so. He does not want to do it, but does it because the pressure compels him to. Socialism will relieve the church from the conditions which make this possible.

"It is, therefore, decidedly to the interest of religious persons and organizations, as such, to support the Socialist party.

"Yet, as before stated, our main purposes are political and economic—and we appeal to all citizens—to those of all shades of religious belief, and to those who have no religious belief —to support us because of our principles.

"Catholics suffer just as much as anyone else from bad government—and they will benefit just as much as anyone else from the good government which the Socialists stand for.

"Persecution, yellow paint, brutal methods, enforced silence, insolent arrogance, mob violence—all these are as unjust to a Catholic as they are to others.

"It is equally as important to Catholics as it is to others that representative government should be preserved and that a peaceful solution of the great public problems should be sought.

"Catholics need free speech, free press, free assemblage, and all the other blessings of freedom as much as other citizens.

"It is quite as important to the well-being of Catholic voters and their wives and children as it is to anybody else that they should help to bring about conditions wherein they will receive the full value of their labor, instead of being gouged and robbed by profiteers and parasites.

"There is nothing in the collective ownership and the democratic management of the industries—which is Socialism —that antagonizes the Catholic religion or any other religion.

"Thousands of Catholics in Milwaukee, city and county, have voted for the Socialist candidates in preceding elections —and not only have they had no reason to regret it, but they have every reason to be glad that they used so much good sense.

"Still greater numbers of them voted for Berger—and again they have every reason to be glad that they used so much good sense. We congratulate them upon it."

"A few days before Christmas of this year (1919) the aforesaid "Leader" scoffed at the idea of Christmas, and called it the adaptation of a Greco-Egyptian myth, but on Christmas Eve he wishes the socialists to monopolize Christmas, and makes the socialists the only predestinated. Thus he writes in the aforesaid issue:

"Surely these conditions—both here and there—call for 'Good will toward men!'

"But anyone who wants to put that sentiment in practice the year 'round is dubbed a Bolshevik.

Why?

"Because, to put it into practice the year around, it is necessary to establish social justice. To establish social justice, it is necessary to so change conditions that the few will no longer be able to legally rob the many. To so change conditions it is necessary to abolish the private ownership of the indus-

tries and inaugurate the collective ownership and the democratic management of the industries—in other words, Socialism.

"But the beneficiaries of the present system are entirely willing that millions of human beings should starve or half starve, in order that they themselves may be rich. They want to preserve their special privilege. Therefore, they plaster the epithet 'Bolshevik' on everyone who wants to bring about social justice.

"'Good will toward men,' however, requires that social justice be done. The Socialists have the Christmas spirit the year 'round. They want to abolish poverty, war and all unnecessary suffering. The parasites can plaster the epithets on them as thick as they like, but the Socialists will go right on steadily working for the realization of permanent peace on earth and good will toward men.

"God loves the Socialists—because—like Abou Ben Adhem —they love their fellow men"

CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIALISM INCOMPATIBLE

Can we reconcile these statements with the clearly declared principles, not of some socialists, but of all socialists who are competent to declare its principles? Is it not clear that Berger is evading the truth, in order to hold in his following the deluded foreign elements, who have been won not by his attack on private ownership, but by his attack on the war and the evils which follow the war?

Can we believe that he is too ignorant to understand the real principles of Socialism?

The entire socialist teaching concerning religion is founded on materialism: materialism is the antithesis of religion. In the words of one of the most learned doctors of Socialism, Dr. Woltmann, Marxism contains "ethical materialism, which breaking with the world beyond, taught by religion, recognizes no ends and no powers in this life and in history but those of the Material World." (Der Historische Materialismus.)

On page 333 of the same work Woltmann declares:

"Never have the foundations of religion been shattered so thoroughly as by Marxism."

Ladoff (The Passing of Capitalism) declares:

"Christianity cannot be harmonized with monistic philosophy. Christianity represents an entirely different

cycle of ideas and conceptions than modern monistic philosophy, and must of necessity be diametrically opposed to modern Socialism, which is nothing else but the application of Monism or evolution to society as an organization of men. To combine the terms Christianity and Socialism is just as sensible as to combine the terms Anarchism and Socialism. One excludes the other as its antithesis, as its negation."

In the socialist magazine, "Today," Dr. Edward B. Aveling writes thus:

"The two curses of our country and time are Capitalism and Christianity. . . . I know that Christianity and Capitalism support and are supported by each other. They are Siamese twins. They live and die together. A blow at one is a blow at both. Christianity is a pander to Capitalism, bringing to it for prey the fair virgin called Labor, beguiled by the hope of a beatific hereafter. . . . In Christianity we see not only a supporter of the greatest of social evils, but a system that by its fundamental principles vitiates human thought, and distracts the attention of mankind from the natural and actual. Against these therefore we fight. So indissoluble are these two, so absolutely does the happiness of the future race depend on their downfall, that we re-echo with a modification the cry of Voltaire, " 'Ecrasons l'infame.' " (Goldstein, "Socialism".)

THE SOCIALISTS' NATIONAL CONVENTION, 1908

In the national convention of the socialist party in 1908, the official proceedings show some spirited debate on the subject of religion. Some of the delegates were willing to let "sleeping dogs lie," and pass over in silence the subject of religion. Delegate Strickland declared as follows:

"If economic determinism be true, and if the moral and ethical principles of society be based ultimately upon the manner of economic production, how dare you then say that we have nothing to do with religion?"

Delegate Arthur Morrow Lewis expressed his embarrassment as follows:

"I know that the socialist position in philosophy on the question of religion does not make a good campaign subject. It is not useful in the propaganda of a presidential campaign, and, therefore, I am willing that we should be silent about it. But if we must speak I propose that we shall go before this country with the truth and not with a lie." (Quoted from Goldstein, "Socialism".)

Hillquit was in the convention, and declared:

"The fact that Comrade Lewis as a scholar, as a student of psychology, of history, of ethics, and of everything else, has in the domain of religion come to the position of an agnostic, and that ninety-nine per cent. of us have landed in the same spot, does not make Socialism agnostic, nor is Socialism Christian, nor is Socialism Jewish."

This is in substance that Socialism aims at an economic object, but that the principles by which it works inevitably undermine religion and land the socialist in the ranks of the atheist. The same Hillquit declared in the convention that the socialists who denied that Socialism aimed to destroy religion did not have the courage of their conviction.

Delegate Van der Porten expressed the mind of the convention when he declared:

"Let it be understood that the moment the socialist party's whole aim and object is to get votes, we can get them more quickly by trying to please the religionists and those whose only ambition is to pray to God and crush mankind. But—to spread forth to the world that religion is the individual's affair, and that religion has no part in the subjection of the human race—we lie when we say it."

Delegate Berger whined that there was "constant agitation against socialists as atheists." And, therefore, to get votes, this plank was adopted:

"The socialist party is primarily an economic and political movement. It is not concerned with matters of religious belief."

The socialists know well that the irreligious effect of Socialism will not be checked by this opportunistic plank. They are willing to incorporate what their own delegates called a lie in order to get votes.

So with Berger in the election of 1919 and in all elections, his supreme interest in Socialism is to get votes for Berger.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF SOCIALISM

The socialist in Europe is at least less hypocritical. He does not in general deny the principles of his system, and lie in order to get votes. In June, 1905, Jaurés, the French socialist, declared:

"If God himself rose up before us in a palpable form, the first duty of man should be to refuse him obedience, and to consider him as an equal, with whom one disputes rather than a Master whom one accepts." (Ming, "Religion of Socialism.)

Herron in his "Why I Am a Socialist," pp. 27, 28, declares:

"In its essence Socialism is a religion.

"As American Socialism goes on its way, it will become a spiritual passion; not a cry for rights, but a call for elemental righteousness. It will make its appeal to the instincts of man for a divine public life, for communal heroism, and will show how the individual life can fulfil itself only by relating itself to the whole life of mankind. It will create a conscience that shall at last become cosmic and titanic and able to grapple with all the problems the universe can bring forth. In place of the individual hero of the past, it will submit to you the ideal of a heroic common life; the ideal of a common citizenship that shall truly have its consciousness in heavenly things."

In the *Internationalist Socialist Review*, March, 1901, Herron wrote thus:

"The socialist movement may so grow in wisdom of the will to love, in the beauty of freedom and the grace of truth, that it shall speak the word that is to begin a new world, just as Jesus spoke the word that began the world now ending. It may so grow in faith in the divinity of life and in the knowledge of how to make that faith its working power, that it shall at least speak a greater word than Jesus spoke."

Men who have grasped the principles of Socialism know and declare that it is a revolt against religion.

It cannot coexist with religion, for its essential principles demand the overthrow of what religion stands for.

William Walling, a representative socialist, tells us that the majority of socialists are firmly convinced that Socialism and modern science must finally lead to a state of society where there will be no room whatever for religion in any form" ("The Larger Aspects of Socialism," p. 381, quoted by Dr. J. A. Ryan, "The Church and Socialism," p. 13).

Socialism would supplant religion and substitute materialistic fraternity. The god of Socialism is the socialistic community.

Man, in their theory, shall not perfect his individuality, or strive to acquire holiness as a personal quality; but he shall merge himself into the socialistic community, and constitute "the be-all and the end-all" of his life here. Thus the socialistic conception of life conflicts with one of the first principles of human existence, which is self-conscious individuality, personality.

The socialist's conception of Jesus is that he was a mere man, a forerunner of Marx, but inferior to Marx in the excel-

lence of his doctrines. Thus Herron brings Jesus and Socialism into harmony:

"In its essence Socialism is a religion with a very pronounced faith. Elementally it is identical with the faith which Jesus proclaimed—not the Church. That is, it believes co-operation, fellowship, brotherhood, mutuality of interest and responsibility, freedom and friendship as social order, to be more practicable and trustworthy in world organization than competition, economic and social enmity, and the struggle of each man for himself. . . . The elemental faith in which Jesus rested is identical with the elemental faith of Socialism—one expressing that faith in terms of spiritual principle, and the other expressing it in terms of materialistic philosophy. Each expression comes to this: That a co-operative or harmonious organization of life is more practicable and liberating than a competitive and individualistic organization. Jesus would call this the law of love. In modern economic terms, it is Socialism." (Quoted by Ming, "Religion of Socialism," p. 359.)

In the "Ethics of Socialism," p. 196, Bax declares:

"The moment this belief in an after-death existence is erected into a dogma, the moment it comes to be looked upon as an article of faith which it is a duty to hold, or at least which it is the evidence of an ignoble disposition of mind not to hold, then it becomes an enemy to be combatted."

One of the profoundest writers on Socialism, E. Vandervelde, declares as follows:

"Can a sincere believer follow the Church and yet be a socialist? . . . . We are bound to admit that both in philosophy and in politics there must be war between Socialism and the Church." (*Social Democrat*, Jan., 1903.)

Socialist writers in general seem not to be restrained by the laws of truth and of logical human thought. They assert the most glaring contradictions and absurdities with shameless effrontery, evidently relying on the ignorance of a great part of their following to have their views accepted. Thus this Herron wishes to identify the sublime law of love of the neighbor taught by Jesus with the atheism boldly proclaimed of materialism. And Berger, "the least erected of all the spirits who fell," in the face of clearest evidence to the contrary asserts that Socialism has nothing to do with religion.

Socialism in Politics

THE ELECTION OF BERGER IN 1919

Berger is the mere politician. Socialism for him is the mere ladder by which he would rise. The principles of Socialism are only valuable to him inasmuch as they get votes for Berger. He is willing to adapt them to the exigencies of his political aspirations. In the election of 1919, he found a field to exploit his anti-war views. A large portion of the voters voted in a spirit of protest against certain policies and activities of the government; against the "vindictive illegality" which sprang from the war-sentiment, and which for a time interfered with proper personal liberty and justice. Thus between 1916 and 1919 the socialists gained 8,431 votes, though in that interval the total votes increased only 777 votes.

SOCIALISTS DECEIVE THE PEOPLE

Let us grant that our entry into the war was a mistake. Let us grant that this mistake was caused by wealth.

The lawlessness and curtailment of liberty which followed our entrance into the war are chargeable to the character of our people. These defects would be present in any system of government. The remedy for these lies in the proper education of our people.

But we may also charge the Government with the offence of having directly employed excessive restriction of free-speech, of having put in force many laws which conflict with human rights. And what then? Does it follow as a conclusion, therefore, we should accept Socialism? By no means. It follows that our institutions have made mistakes which we, taught by experience, must correct. Do the socialists wish us to believe that they have invented a system which removes all weakness from human nature, and establishes a human State absolutely faultless? Do they wish us to believe that they are more powerful than Almighty God himself? The Lord Jesus established a society in a most perfect form. He gave it its laws framed by infinite wisdom. He taught it a more sublime law of love than ever can be taught by human mind. He gives to that society divine guidance and divine power. But, recognizing man's weakness, he declared that into that perfect society moral defects should come.

"Woe unto the world because of occasions of stumbling! for it must be that the occasions of stumbling come, but woe to that man through whom the occasion of stumbling cometh." (Matth. XVIII. 7.)

Why must the occasion of stumbling come? It is not a physical necessity. It is a certain conclusion drawn from a consideration of man as we have always found him. Therefore, any man, or any system, which promises to mankind a faultless human State or society of whatever nature tries to deceive humanity. There is nothing perfect in human institutions, and there cannot be a perfect institution while man remains mortal man.

The tactics of socialists tend to group all the defects of present institutions and exaggerate these defects, and then appraise our present civilization by these defects. Over against these they set the imaginary, impossible promises of Socialism and lead their followers to destruction as the mirage in the desert leads the traveler to death on the barren sands.

With diabolical cunning the socialist passes over in silence all the good features of our institutions. They say naught of the opportunities offered in our country to the laborer to improve himself in every way. The grand philanthropy of our citizens is never noticed. We are the happiest people on whom the sun shines, and yet outside of Russia there is no country more harassed by Bolshevism in its various guises. When I contemplate the greatness of my country's life, when I contemplate the goodness of the American character, notwithstanding its defects; when I contemplate the blessings enjoyed by all classes, I can find no other cause for the socialistic attack, save the inspiration of Satan himself, our age-long adversary.

No economic adjustment, no degree of prosperity will content these perverse spirits.

Recently at West Allis I talked with a young Slovenian. He had come to this country ten years ago. At that time he had no money, no kindred, and was ignorant of the English language. The first thing he did was to take up a course of study in a night school. He was a diligent pupil. He soon mastered the language so that the school recommended him to a large manufacturing company. Today he speaks English quite well; he holds a position of trust with his company; his wages are forty-five dollars per week. Many of his compatriots are socialists. I asked him if industrial oppression or any wrong in our institutions had driven them into Social-

ism. He answered that with many their discontent and rebellion against existing institutions grew greater in proportion to the prosperity that they enjoyed. We see that the sun, which by its life-giving heat draws forth from nature the beautiful and useful plant-life, breeds only maggots in a dead dog. Socialism must find its soil in the corrupt human soul.

Abandon the hope of converting socialists. Reform the abuses which form the stock of their arguments; save others from their contagion; enforce just laws to restrain their lawlessness; and gradually they will die out.

Some socialists declare that Socialism should not be charged with atheism because some of their members are atheists. They cite the fact that there are agnostics in the Liberal and Tory parties in England, and in all political parties here. Bob Ingersoll was a Republican, but no one charges the Republican party with being responsible for Ingersoll's atheism. This is a specimen of socialist sophistry. In a similar spirit a socialist dreamer recently declared:

"The Bolshevist ideal is perfect and will work perfectly as soon as every one in the world believes in it and is ready to do more for his neighbor than for himself."

The Bolshevist ideal could never be perfect, because it is founded in violence, untruth, and the dictatorship of the mob. But communal life is possible in a state that man will only reach in Heaven.

The agnosticism or atheism found in members of our political parties is merely accidental; it does not result from the principles of the political parties. Whereas the principles on which Socialism is founded logically and inevitably produce atheism. Every socialist who has grasped the principles of Socialism declares this. Atheism is not an imputation put on the socialists from outside their ranks; it is a declaration from within their own ranks. Their greatest writers declare that "Socialism has no meaning unless it be atheistic." In fact, as I have been compelled to wade through Socialism's mass of atheistic literature in my labor to know its religious principles, a feeling of sickening disgust oppressed my soul. A sense of suffocation was caused by the foul exhalations from their godless camp of rebellion. There is no use of trying to disguise the fact. Socialism is one of those mighty world movements which spring from the law of our carnal members, and which organizes a war against God and the whole supernatural order. As the devil seduced our first parents by a lie, telling them that the eating of the forbidden fruit would confer on them a better estate than that which

God had promised them; so Socialism deceives the world by promising an economic system which in man's present mortal state is impossible. The soul of Socialism is revolt against the order of the universe, which God ordained. Socialism is animated by the pride of Lucifer, the covetousness of Mammon, and the licentiousness of Belial.

CATHOLIC LABOR-UNIONS OF BELGIUM

At the International Congress held at Washington, D. C., in 1919, Mr. E. Van Quaquebeke, one of the representatives of the Catholic labor movement in Belgium, explained the Catholic labor unions of Europe in an address to the students of sociology at the Catholic University. He said in part:

"We use the term 'Christian' in Belgium as referring to Catholics, since there are few, if any, Protestants in the country. Our labor movement is formally distinct from the Catholic party of Belgium and, of course, distinct from the labor party, which is socialistic. We believe that the right of association is fundamental in the system of Christian morality. Labor organizations form an integral part of modern society. We have organized the Catholic laborers of Belgium to protect their religious, moral and social no less than economic interests.

"Fifty years ago we had neutral labor organizations in Ghent very much like those of the United States. They carried on their banners the words 'God and Law.' These unions were later taken over by the International Socialist party. Hence steps were taken in Belgium to form distinctive labor unions which would safeguard all the interests of our Catholic laboring men on the basis of their faith. As the socialist unions have developed in Belgium they have been and they remain fundamentally hostile to religion. There is not a Belgian community where the progress of Socialism has not been accompanied by decay of faith. There is not in Belgium a single socialist leader who believes in religion or dares to do so. There is not a socialist publication in the country that is not expressly anti-religious. Socialist leaders say from time to time that a Christian may become a socialist without renouncing his faith. But no such declaration can stand in the face of facts.

"The socialist movement in Belgium accepts the class struggle not alone as a condition of fact but also as the instrument by which to achieve the collectivistic organization of society. Since this type of Socialism is utterly inconsistent with the Catholic faith, our laboring men cannot ally them-

selves in any manner with the socialist unions except in relation to practical questions to be mentioned later.

"Conditions are approximately the same in all other countries of Europe, with the result that Christian labor organizations are necessary. There are differences in structure due largely to local conditions. In Holland we have Catholic and Protestant unions co-operating in many ways. In Germany and Austria there are unions of which both Catholics and Protestants are members. In Switzerland we find this mixed organization, and also a distinctive Catholic type. In Italy, Spain, and France, as in Belgium, the unions are distinctively Catholic, since Protestantism as such is not a powerful factor there. Since the beginning of the war Christian unions have been found in Poland, in Czecho-Slovakia, Lithuania and the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg. Formerly an international bureau included Germany, Austria, Belgium, Holland, Italy and Switzerland. National trade unions united in national federations were closely united in organization, method and the administration of benefits. The war has made necessary some reorganization of international relations, the way to which was prepared by an international congress held in Paris in March, 1919. The temporary office was placed in charge of Belgium.

"It will be noted, therefore, that the organization of Catholic labor unions rests on solid foundations and that it is international and vital. It is expected that no less than three million members will ultimately be reached. This distinctive organization of Catholic laboring men was made absolutely necessary by present conditions and historical antecedents.

"The main purposes which unite us are the following: The study and protection of the labor contract, and protection of the material, moral, intellectual and religious interests of the laboring class. The Confederation of the Christian Labor Unions of Belgium comprises twenty-six national trade unions. All of these unions maintain benefit funds for protection against involuntary idleness, for birth benefits and death benefits. Sick benefits are cared for throughout Belgium by the well-known mutual benefit organizations. In general union dues equal the pay of one hour of labor per week. The dues paid into the national confederation amount to two cents per month per member. All of these labor organizations protect the interests of the laboring men in their relations with employers and public authorities. Although all of the moral pressure of the unions works in the

direction of collective bargaining sanctioned by law, and favors all peaceable methods of settling difficulties, the unions resort to strikes when they have a grievance and all other means of reaching justice have been exhausted.

"Our unions co-operate occasionally with the socialist unions in positive action when the common interests of the laboring class are endangered.

"Belgium is a small country with high industrial development and is in need of markets for its products. In order to maintain herself it has had to develop a highly skilled type of laborer. This has been made possible by our trade schools begun by our unions and assisted by the state itself. We have numberless social study circles and special courses for the more highly skilled types of labor. Annually before the war we had sessions of Flemish and French speaking laboring men at which, in many instances, over one thousand attended the courses offered. The war has left us many pressing problems which result from the interruption of these ordinary phases of industrial and intellectual formation of our working classes. The condition has forced us to take steps to create at once a normal school in which we are to train organizers. We expect to engage about two hundred salaried organizers, who will find much to do among our 800,000 organizable laborers. We are maintaining also a large number of periodicals published in both Flemish and French, both dailies and weeklies, devoted to our organizations of laborers and to their instruction in the duties of citizenship.

"In addition to this development of industrial labor unions we have a very large number of co-operative societies as regards both buying and producing. These organizations have helped materially to reduce the pressure of the high cost of living.

"We find the ideals, principles and impulses which inspire our Christian labor unions in our faith itself. Everything that we undertake is undertaken in the spirit of justice and charity, which are fundamental virtues of the Christian life. We are no believers in class hatred. We love justice and social peace, and we are doing our best in the name of Christ to serve the interests of justice and charity."

The views of this man are valuable because they are not the views of an extreme anti-Radical. He even approves co-operation with the socialists, though he declares that Catholics may not in conscience ally themselves with socialists. He permits strikes, but only as a last resort. Laboring men will be glad to hear that "labor unions form an integral part

of modern society." This statement the writer does not endorse.

The population of Belgium in 1905 was 7,160,547. The great majority of the population are Catholic. It is possible therefore in such a country to have labor unions distinctively Catholic. It is doubtful whether that would be possible on a large scale in the United States. But the broad lines of justice and brotherhood may be promoted in unions composed of Catholics and non-Catholics. It is a sad reflection on our national character that we have done but little that is of permanent worth to bring about social justice and peace. Nearly everything that Mr. Quaquebeke describes could be put into effect here with great benefit to our laborers and to their employers.

Not much can be accomplished until the Government has isolated the American Bolsheviki. The government would be false to its trust if it allowed these criminal agitators to disturb the peace of the nation.

THE SUPPRESSION OF BOLSHEVISM

The Board of Health of every community, in the case of a contagious disease employs a strict quarantine and isolation. Bolshevism is a moral contagion, which attacks the best in man's life. The first quarantine must be against the undesirable immigrant; the next against any man in whatever station, or in whatever way, who aims to overthrow the government, or who endangers the peace of the nation. The theorist who inspires the lawless acts is more guilty than the ignorant tool who performs the deed. Never has the government served the people better than in its present active operations against the lawless organizations of our land. Our lax immigration laws have made our country the dumping ground of the nations. Better suffer a shortage of labor than that our national life be corrupted by such a foul stream. Nations have conspired with steamship companies to expatriate to this country their criminals.

The tide has turned; the nation is aroused; and public opinion demands that traitors and lawbreakers shall cease to trouble the peace of our country with impunity. These breeders of discord are not the product of poverty or industrial oppression. In the group that the dragnet caught in the city of Milwaukee in 1920, there was no evidence of poverty. They were well clad and had plenty of money. The chief

ring-leader, Harry Loeb, received $80 per week. Another boasted that he made $100 per week.

"The United States has treated you pretty fairly, then, hasn't it?" he was asked.

"Why, sure! But why shouldn't it?" was his reply. "I work. I help make the United States its wealth. The factories pay much money, but we must own the factories and get all we earn."

In this man's remark we see the fundamental principal of this great wave of unrest, it is the socialistic principle of community ownership.

A greater accomplishment would be the suppression of every paper which advocates unlawful principles. It is reported that the Communist party alone has twenty-five newspapers in different languages. The evil can never be eradicated while these sources of propaganda are allowed to poison the minds of the people. If we only "scotch the snake, not kill it," the monster will be revived and be himself again. Desperate diseases demand desperate remedies. Better to have frequent large prison camps of prisoners, as in time of war, than to have this parasite suck the life blood of our people. Bolshevism is against the law of God and man.

It ought to be a crime punishable by deportation, when possible, and by imprisonment when deportation may not be employed, to advocate or teach the principles of Bolshevism, or to be affiliated with it, or to disseminate anything that will promote the organization.

In our war-hysteria we may have punished as treasonable certain words and acts which are still within a man's natural and constitutional liberty. The native horror of treason may thereby be somewhat lessened in the souls of our citizens. But we must remember that lawfully constituted States derive their powers from God, and that obedience to the state is a religious duty. There is still such a thing as treason, a foul crime; and the state has the right and the duty to crush it.

The minor child is not emancipated from obedience to parents because the parents may make a mistake in judgment, or may be deceived by a false counselor. No parent is infallible, and no State, actual or possible, is infallible. Improper guardianship of a grave character clearly proven is demanded before the child is removed from its natural guardian. The reason lies in the law of nature. By the law of nature the parent is the best fitted guardian of the child. And so with States and with the natural right of private ownership. These institutions are best fitted to enable man

to attain the end for which he was created. It is admitted that some defects are found in these institutions. We shall go further and say that some defects will always be in them. But improper guardianship has not been proven against them. We wish improvements to be made; improvements are being made. But as Dr. Crane says, the socialists wish to wreck the place if their demands be not granted; whereas Uncle Sam posts over the door of his house, "No interruption of business during improvements."

Treason has reared its horrid head in our land. It is largely of foreign origin. It feeds upon every motive of discontent in our land, but still more does it grow strong upon the criminal instincts of a certain class of men. It is time for our decent citizens, one and all, to set themselves in a solid front against every traitorous and destructive organization. The very liberty, which we love and which we freely offer to men of other lands, has been abused by these thawed-out serpents to strike their fangs into our flesh.

If our Labor-Unions will place at the head of their program the legend adopted by the Labor-Unions of Belgium, "God and Law," the first great move will be accomplished toward not only a reconciliation between Capital and Labor, but also a reconciliation between the American citizens and Labor. Unfortunately Labor too often accepts the socialists' program, which is, "No God and no law."

In the present efforts of the United States to free itself from Bolshevism, we expected that socialists would show their solidarity with the Bolshevists, and as was to be expected the socialists protest against the arrest of the "Reds."

SOCIALISTS PROTEST

CHICAGO—The socialist party, from its national headquarters in 1920, issued a statement deploring the raid against radicals. The arrests throughout the country were termed "the gravest blow yet struck at the permanence of American institutions, and if continued this policy will place the United States in the forefront of the reactionary nations of the present day."

COMMUNIST PARTY PLOTS TREASON AGAINST THE UNITED STATES

The Communist Party is a secret society plotting the blackest treason against the United States. Members are initiated cautiously, and in the process are taught the princi-

ples of Radicalism. Only those who are believed to be the most determined Radicals are admitted to the inner circle.

In a brief prepared by the United States Department of Justice defining the status of alien members of the communist party, it is held that inasmuch as the party advocates overthrow of the United States government by force and violence, and its members knowingly subscribe to that policy, that members who are not citizens are included in the provisions of the law approved on Oct. 16, 1918, which provides for the deportation of all aliens who believe in the overthrow of the government by force, or belong to any organization advocating such action.

OPINIONS ARE CITED

While the brief does not specifically take the position that the communist party has declared a state of war against the United States government, it cites an opinion handed down by Chief Magistrate William McAdoo of New York, to that effect.

The following conclusions are presented regarding the communist party and its program:

1. That the communist party is an outgrowth of the left wing of the socialist party.

2. That the communist party is an integral part of the first congress of the communist internationale, which was formed by the Bolsheviki.

3. That through its history as the left wing, the communist party consistently followed the doctrines of mass action and advocated the dictatorship of the proletariat.

4. That the first congress of the communist internationale directly advocated the overthrow of all the governments of the world by force and violence through its advocacy of mass action.

ADVOCATED U. S. OVERTHROW

5. That the communist party of America, in its manifesto and program officially adopted at its convention in Chicago, held Sept. 1, 1919, advocated the overthrow of the government of the United States by force and violence.

6. That each and every member of the communist party of America pledges himself knowingly to the tactics and principles of the party and to the tactics and principles enunciated in the manifesto of the communist internationale.

7. That the communist party of America, through the propaganda being actively carried on at the present time, is advocating the overthrow of the government of the United States by force and violence.

The brief reviews in detail the development of the communist party in America, and the course of its transition from the formation of the left wing of the socialist party by ultra-revolutionary members of that body.

The following extract, taken from the manifesto issued in March, 1919, by the left wing socialists, and later repeated in communist party manifestoes, illustrates the aims of the movement:

"Revolutionary socialists hold, with the founders of scientific socialism, that there are two dominant classes in society, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat; that between the two classes a struggle must go on until the working class, through the seizure of the instruments of production and distribution, the abolition of the capitalist State, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, creates a socialist system.

"Revolutionary socialists do not believe that they can be voted into power. They struggle for the conquest of power by the revolutionary proletariat.

"The class struggle, whether it manifests itself in the industrial field, or in the direct struggle for governmental control, is essentially a struggle for the capture and destruction of the capitalist State. This is a political act."

In the preparation of the brief, special attention is given to the contention, because communists often allude to their propaganda and program as being political, and therefore not a violation of existing federal statutes. It is pointed out that the object sought, as outlined time and again by communist spokesmen, is the destruction of the State through direct and mass action.

That Russian Bolshevism is supporting the communist government in America is indicated by a clause in the manifesto issued by the communists at Chicago in September, 1919, which declares that the revolutionary proletariat in the United States "is inspired by soviet Russia."

Other points in the communist program, as outlined at Chicago last September, include: Advocation of strikes and the seizure of the functions of industry and government by the strikers, as was done in the Seattle and Winnipeg general strikes; fomentation of dissatisfied unrest, which policy was followed by communist leaders during the coal and steel

strikes; agitation among negroes to foment racial trouble and close unity with the communist internationale for common action against imperialism.

In connection with copious references to mass action in communist propaganda, the following definition of it, taken from the writings of Louis C. Fraina, official head of the party in America, is quoted:

"Mass action is the very essence of force and violence."

The advices from Europe are very alarming. The success of the Bolsheviki in Europe threatens a world revolution. The Bolsheviki openly profess this as their aim. Mankind is facing one of its greatest crises.

It is regrettable, therefore, to find that Labor instead of pledging its allegiance to our country, offers its sympathy to the traitorous elements, against whom our Government is obliged to take action.

LABOR BODY PROTESTS

The Chicago Federation of Labor adopted two resolutions of protest against the federal raids against radicals on Jan. 2. One declared the executive board suspected "these raids are a part of the gigantic plot to destroy organized labor by the employers," and that among those arrested, were officials of a local cigarmakers' union and that the latter's records had been seized.

Another resolution protested that denial to Victor Berger, Milwaukee socialist leader, of a seat in congress, would be against the wishes of the people of the Fifth Wisconsin district and a direct violation of the constitution.

In the literature seized in the recent raid is a "Manifesto and Program" of the Communist Party of America published in Chicago.

Plans of the communist and communist labor party to gain control of all labor organizations as the means of fomenting revolution were revealed in the documents.

LOVE OF COUNTRY

Has that exalted sentiment, love of Country, fled from our souls? Has the war and its European entanglements destroyed our sturdy national character? Have the vile lampoons of the socialists made us ashamed of the term, Patriotism?

It is time for our citizens to awake and return to the national ideals of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, Webster and Clay. Europe is in a bad way financially and politically. It would not be an exalted policy for us to stand aloof, isolated by our geographical position, and do nothing to help Europe. There is a certain identity of interest in all mankind. But we can help Europe and the whole world more by following the advice of Washington and keeping free from all international alliances, and pursuing an American policy. In a dog fight the first rule for one who wishes to stop the fight is to keep clear of the dogs. If they succeed in involving the peace maker in their fight and throwing him off his feet he can do little either for himself or for the dogs. Freedom of action is demanded if he is to stop the fight. In virtue of its "splendid isolation," of its wealth, and of its power, the United States may be the arbiter of the nations. But it must rid itself of Bolshevism, whether Bolshevism be found in the parlor, or in the University, or in public offices, or in the industrial plants. And our beloved Country must pursue a domestic and a foreign policy founded on Justice, Wisdom, and Truth.

SOCIALISTS ATTACK RELIGION

SOCIALISTS VEIL THEIR ATTACK ON RELIGION

The dishonesty of socialists touching religion may justly be judged from the following statement by Untermann in the Official Proceedings of the Socialist National Convention in 1908:

"Comrades, no one will accuse me of any sympathy with Christianity as a church, or as a religion. I am known in the United States as a materialist of the most uncompromising order. . . . . I want it understood that my materialist dialectics do not permit me to forget the exigencies of the moment for our ideals in the far future.

Would you expect to go out among the people of this country, people of different churches, of many religious factions, and tell them that they must become atheists before they can become socialists? That would be nonsense. We must first get these men convinced of the reasonableness of our economic and political program, and then after we have made socialists of them, and members of the socialist party, we can talk to them inside of our ranks; talk of the higher philosophy and of the logical consequences of our explanation of society and nature." (Quoted by Goldstein, "Socialism".)

In the face of these clear declarations of socialists themselves is it not disgusting to read Berger's dishonest plea that Socialism has no influence on religion? We may grant that his type of Socialism does not rise to anything philosophic; it is of the soap-box order; its supreme aim is votes for Berger. But even this low type of Socialism corrupts the member by its associations, by its literature, and by the injustice of its economic aims. For the socialist agitator the term Socialism means just what it suits his convenience to have it mean.

It is but logical that Socialism should oppose Christianity. Christianity defends the natural right of private ownership; Socialism would destroy this right. Christianity defends the State, and commands obedience to lawful superiors. Socialism does not recognize the State, and demands the overthrow of existing institutions. Christianity places man's Heaven in the future state; Socialism denies that future life, and makes the supreme aim of man the amelioration of his present lot. Christianity teaches that man is composed of body and soul; Socialism declares that man is only an evolution of a lower animal, and that his soul is but a power of evolved matter.

This leads us to the consideration of Evolution.

Evolution

MONISM

The founders of the evolutionary school are Lamarck, Darwin, Spencer, Huxley and Mill. The theories put forth by these are popularly grouped under the head of "Darwinism."

The fundamental weakness of the evolutionists is to make some observation the basis of a universal law. These agnostic evolutionists have formed a sort of intellectual brotherhood. They accept each other's gratuitous assertions and deliver them with imperturbable complacency as though they were the verified intelligence of the ages, and often an acquiescent public accepts them with ready obedience, lest it be thought to be ignorant.

In such spirit E. Untermann ("Science and Revolution," pp. 175 to 184) declares:

"In the dim past we see an infinite mass of infinitesimally minute particles of ether-dust whirling about in all directions. Here is life with all its attributes. Consciousness and will are among these attributes just as electricity, magnetism, indestructibility, impenetrability. This picture shows all there is in the universe at that remote stage. This is the cosmos, god, infinite, that created itself out of itself.

"In the evolution of this ether-universe, the positive life of a certain stage generates its own negation. The negative forces later dominate the positive forces and transform them into negative ones. In their turn, they generate their own negation, which in due time brings about the negation of the previous negation. Out of the universal whirl more condensed whirls gradually arrange themselves. Aeons pass, and first organic life arises. Through the interaction of organic and inorganic life-processes is produced the cell nucleus. Other specifications follow in due time."

In the tertiary period, "the man-ape becomes the ape-man, the further accentuation of which results in the birth of man."

The inventor of this stuff tells us in the same work that all who do not accept this theory "are an unreasoning herd who merely acknowledge their mental poverty, who deceive themselves and others and bar the progress of the human mind"; and after complacently rejoicing in his accomplish-

ment of having "wiped out the line of demarcation between mankind, animals and plants . . . . between organic and inorganic matter," he glories in the fact that his theory "has been accepted by the proletariat in all countries." (Quoted by Elder, "A Study in Socialism.")

Untermann here manifests the condition of mind of the drunken man who rebuked the moon for its unsteady course. And yet he is one of the great apostles of Socialism. He is a foremost writer, and translator of works from the German into English.

To explain how men will adhere to such incoherent nonsense we must acknowledge in them a perverse psychologic state. St. Paul advises us of this state in Romans I, 21-26:

"Because that, knowing God, they glorified Him not as God, neither gave thanks; but became vain in their reasonings, and their senseless heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools. . . . for that they exchanged the truth of God for a lie. . . . And even as they refused to have God in their knowledge, God gave them up unto a reprobate mind, to do the things which are not fitting."

It is impossible to reason with a man accursed with that reprobate mind. Such a man will not listen to the words of God Himself. This mental state explains many facts of history.

In the monism of Socialism they do not tell us how the mass of ether-dust came into being. Is it not an insult to human intelligence to ask it to believe that a "thing creates itself out of itself"? Creation in an active sense is an act that presupposes a creator. Creation in a passive sense demands that the thing created did not previously exist. Therefore we are compelled to believe that a thing can be and not be at the same time, and that a thing acts before it exists.

Catholic faith declares that "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." (Genesis I. 1.)

"And God said let the earth put forth grass, herb yielding seed, and fruit tree bearing fruit after its kind, wherein is the seed thereof, upon the earth: and it was so." (Genesis I. 11.)

"And God said, Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life, and let fowl fly above the earth in the open firmament of heaven. And God created the great sea-monsters and every living creature that moveth which the waters brought forth abundantly, after their kinds, and every winged fowl after its kind." (Genesis I. 20, 21.)

"And God said, Let the earth bring forth the living creature after its kind, cattle, and creeping thing, and beast of the earth after its kind: and it was so." (Genesis I. 24.)

Up to this point we contemplate a creation of matter, and the flora and fauna brought out of matter by the creative act of God. So long as we attribute to God the creative act, faith leaves us free touching the question, Whether the creation of the plants and animals be an immediate act of God creating them immediately in their generic, specific, and individual diversity, or, Whether that creative act be mediate by means of an evolution of a potentiality and a design implanted in nature by nature's Creator. If we admit evolution, we must also recognize that it is governed by a design which comes from an intelligent cause above material nature. Chance would not suffice to establish the order of the universe.

CATHOLIC EVOLUTIONISTS

The non-interference of Christian doctrine with the various theories is not an endorsement of them. They can only lay claim to that degree of probability which their proofs warrant.

The theory of evolution within these limitations is held by some Catholic theologians and rejected by others. Reverend Erich Wasmann, S. J., the eminent biologist of St. Ignatius College, Valkenburg, Holland, believes that "as a theory based upon a group of hypotheses which are in harmony with one another, evolution, in this sense, affords the most probable explanation of the origin of organic species." ("Evolution in Natural Science," p. 7.)

This eminent biologist may be considered as a representative of that school of Catholic thought which advocates the greatest liberty of science, compatible with the Catholic faith. When, therefore, he, or his collaborators, deny the probability of a scientific hypothesis, we may well believe that the hypothesis is unfounded.

The theory of evolution, therefore, as applied to plants and to animals below man "does not consider the present species of plants and animals as forms directly created by God, but as the final result of an evolution from other species existing in former geological periods."

Evolution is opposed to the immutability of species.

Evolution is not a science: it can never furnish itself with proofs to entitle it to be called a science. It is a theory based on hypotheses. On what do these hypotheses rest?

Wasmann and others affirm that new species have been evolved in a few cases in *forms closely related to each other*. Hugo de Vries declared that in the botanical genus, *Oenothera*, "new forms are being developed which behave like real species." Other scientists, however, assert that the mutation claimed by de Vries has scarcely any significance.

HUGO DE VRIES

In 1905 Hugo de Vries, Professor of Botany in Amsterdam, delivered a course of lectures in the University of California, on *Species and Varieties*. Dealing with the theory of new species through variations he accepts the mutation theory. Darwin had relied on the theory of a vast number of small variations. De Vries asserts that considerable changes occur at once in nature. His theory in a nutshell is, that new types in the plant world arise in an already perfected condition at a single step with sufficient frequency to give opportunity to the new type to survive. The old formula was, *Natura non facit saltum*. But nowhere in nature, either past or present, do we find species merging into species by an accumulation of minute variations. Everywhere we find that the species does not appear as an imperfect connecting link, but as a perfect form clearly differentiated from other forms. Different environment cannot account for this suddenly appearing diversity between species and species, for environment must act through a slow process of variations, and environments "often shade into one another insensibly and form a continuous series, whereas the specific forms of life, which are subject to environments, on the whole form a discontinuous series." (Sir Bertram C. A. Windle, LL.D., *Darwin and Darwinism*, p. 43.)

Nature proclaims that these variations come from the law immanent in nature, placed there by the First Cause. No man can grasp the working of this great law in nature. When once we have acknowledged God's place in nature, then we are not obliged to resort to stupid hypotheses to extricate ourselves from the impasse into which every atheistic theory leads.

De Vries made a study of the *Oenothera Lamarckiana* (Evening Primrose). He chose nine well-developed specimens and transplanted them into the Botanical Garden at Amsterdam in 1886. He cultivated them through eight generations from 1886 to 1899. In an examination of 50,000 plants he

discovered 800 deviating specimens. The differences are sometimes very slight. The plants become either weaker or stronger, with broader or narrower leaves; the flowers become larger and darker yellow, or smaller and lighter; the fruit becomes longer or shorter; the outer skin of the fruit rougher or smoother, etc.

Of the theory of de Vries, Sir Bertram C. A. Windle (op. cit., pp. 45-46) declares thus:

"Take the case of *Oenothera*, on which de Vries built his theory. It is not clear that this is really a wild type. It may be a hybrid, and, if so, the forms which de Vries saw may merely represent a process of disintegration or splitting up of the hybrid into its original types, perhaps even on Mendelian lines. *O. Lamarckiana*, it is clear, does generally breed true, but perhaps that is because the form has existed so long that it has got rid of most of the possible hybrid combination which it could produce. Further, it has been urged that most mutations with which we are acquainted are due to losses of one, or perhaps even more than one, of the characters of the wild type. These retrogressive mutations, as de Vries calls them, follow Mendel's law of heredity. Yes, but all these *are* losses, and we are looking for something which will give us gains or additions to the older type. Are such things due to mutations? The question is made even more complex when we consider that some of the things which look like additions, in domesticated forms, are really due to the loss of something which in the past has inhibited the appearance of the new feature. But then these, too, are retrogressive mutations. On the whole, then, it may be said that whilst the theory of mutations would really explain the discontinuity of nature by exhibiting for us a discontinuous method of evolution in actual operation, it does not follow, therefore, that it must necessarily be true. It is a fascinating theory, but we must wait for further information before we can consider it to be scientifically established. Meantime we may say that the Darwinian theory—within the limits above stated we may call it the Darwinian theory—that small variations are to be relied upon for the processes of evolution, has, in the opinion of a large number, probably the overwhelming majority, of scientific men, completely broken down. De Vries' view may also break down, and what then has to be said? Only that we shall be completely in the dark—as, indeed, it may be said that we are at this moment in the dark—as to the real method of evolution, supposing that evolution does exist. And here once more we may

call the attention of our readers to the series of assumptions upon which the whole of the stupendous edifice of Darwinism, as it now stands, has been reared. At the risk of being accused of vain repetitions, let us once more urge that whilst there is a good deal of indirect evidence in favor of transformism, there is not much really direct evidence for it, and it remains a theory still unproved. Further, that if it exists or existed, we are still absolutely in the dark as to the methods by which it came to pass. And, finally, that this is no foundation upon which to build up theories, philosophical, educational, or political."

The great error of all materialistic evolutionists is to overlook the absolute law that the progressive evolution of nature demands an intrinsic force controlled by an intelligent design. Natural selection may explain the survival of a type, but it cannot explain its origin. It would be as reasonable to assert that the dust of a whirlwind, fortuitously impelled, formed itself into the design of the Cologne Cathedral, as to assert that nature formed herself into her wondrous and co-ordinated forms without an intrinsic law controlled by a Supreme Mind.

The evidences of God in nature compelled Professor Plate to declare:

"Personally, I always maintain that, if there are laws in nature, it is only logical to admit that there is a Lawgiver." (*Problem of Evolution.*)

General Ignacio de Venientemilla, formerly president of Ecuador, was converted from Freemasonry and reconciled to the Church at the hour of death. After receiving the last sacraments, he is reported to have said to his best friend, General Moncayo: "At the point of death one sees things in a new light. May my example be your guide."

At the hour of death also a ray of light struggled into the darkness of Darwin's mind. Lady Hope, his biographer, narrates the following:

"I made some allusion to the strong opinions expressed by many persons on the history of creation, its grandeur, and then to their treatment of the earlier chapters of the book of Genesis. He seemed greatly distressed, his fingers twitched nervously, and a look of agony came over his face as he said: 'I was a young man with unformed ideas. I threw out queries, suggestions, wondering all the time over everything; and to my astonishment, the ideas took like wildfire. People made a religion of them. . . . . Do gather servants, tenants and neighbors together, and preach

to them Jesus Christ. I know you read the Bible in the villages.'"

Commenting on de Vries' experiments, Muckermann declares:

"There can be no question of a progressive development, for the reason that none of the new forms shows the slightest progress in organization or even development of any kind advancing in that direction." (Art. "Evolution," Cath. Encyclop.)

Farmers are aware that if you plant white Indian corn and yellow Indian corn in the same field or in such proximity that by action of the wind the pollen of one variety will fecundate the other variety, there will be a variegation of yellow and white kernels in the ears of corn. But it will still be corn and in no way an improved variety. Seedless oranges are a result of culture. They are still oranges. There is no evidence that by a long succession of ages an apple might turn into an orange.

To draw a general conclusion of the mutability from the few experiments of de Vries, is unscientific. His experiments must be multiplied and applied to other species of plants, and the results must be more carefully studied before a general conclusion would be justified. At present science seems to be but little interested in these researches.

WASMANN'S THEORY

In the fossil remains found in the tertiary amber of Sicily and the Baltic States are hundreds of kinds of ants. Scientists have observed that among these ants are several genera which still exist. There is, however, scarcely a species of these fossil ants that is identical with our present species of ants. Wasmann draws the conclusion as a probable hypothesis, that new species have been evolved within the same genus.

Wasmann has made a special study of the termites, or white ants, and also of certain inquilines or guest insects, which live with the termites. His studies and observations have led him to formulate as hypotheses that our termites are modified descendants of fossil termites; that by adaptation the dinarda and other guests of the termites, through their accommodation to the life of the termites, have evolved new species, genera, and families.

"The four forms of the rove-beetle, *Dinarda*, namely, *Dinarda Markeli*, *Dinarda dentata*, *Dinarda Hagensi* and

Dinarda pygmaea, bear a certain relation with regard to size to the four forms of ants, *Formica rufa*, *sanguinea*, *exsecta*, *fusco-rufibarbis*, and to their nests, in which they live as tolerated guests. *Dinarda Markeli*, which is 5 mm. long, dwells with *Formica rufa*, which is comparatively large, and builds spacious hill-nests. *Dinarda dentata*, which is 4 mm. long, lives with *Formica sanguinea*, which is comparatively large, but builds small earth-nests. *Dinarda Hagensi*, which is 3 to 4 mm. long, lives with *Formica exsecta*, which is smaller than *Formica sanguinea*, but builds a fairly roomy hill-nest. *Dinarda pygmaea*, which is 3 mm. long, lives with *Formica fusco-rufibarbis*, which is relatively small, and builds small earth-nests. Moreover the first three ants are two-colored (red and black), and so are the corresponding *Dinarda*. The last named ant, however, is of a more uniform dark color, as is also the corresponding *Dinarda*. Now comparative zoo-geography contains some indications according to which the similarity of color and proportion of size must be attributed to actual adaptation. For there are regions in Central Europe in which only *Formica sanguinea* with *Dinarda dentata*, and *Formica rufa* with *Dinarda Markeli* are found, whereas *Formica exsecta* and *Formica rufibarbis* do not harbor any *Dinarda-forms* at all. Secondly, there are districts in which the four forms of *Dinarda* are living with their four hosts and yet hardly ever showing transitional forms. Thirdly, in other parts there are more or less continuous intermediate forms, *Dinarda dentata-Hagensi* living with *Formica exsecta*, and *Dinarda Hagensi-pygmaea* living with *Formica fusco-rufibarbis*. . . . . .

Considering these facts, we are inclined to believe that *Dinarda pygmaea* especially presents an example of real adaptation *in fieri*, though this adaptation cannot be called a progressive one, since the more recent forms, *Hagensi* and *pygmaea*, are only smaller in size, and of a more uniform color. But, at the same time, it seems to us that the adaptation of the *Dinarda* cannot be considered as an example to illustrate specific evolution, because as we have shown elsewhere, there are many instances in Nature—we mention only the races and other sub-divisions of the human species—that likewise present different degrees of adaption, far more pronounced than that found in the *Dinarda*, but which are not, and cannot, on that account, be quoted as examples of the formation of new specific characters". (Muckermann l. c.)

From these facts we may grant that a certain evolution has taken place within the race of the *Dinarda*. Even this

is only a half-discovered hypothesis, which may yield to another hypothesis. Wasmann only formulated his conclusion as an hypothesis. Such hypotheses in no way weaken faith in the creative act of God, which act remains in nature as an immanent directive force, giving order and beneficent design to the universe. The close study of nature moved the great Linnaeus to express his act of faith in the following words:

DESIGN IN THE UNIVERSE

"Aroused from sleep I beheld a rear view of the eternal infinite omniscient, almighty, God, who was passing, and I was amazed. I examined some of his imprints on created things: what inimitable perfection, what wisdom, what power, in all things, even the smallest! We are forced to believe in a God, eternal, infinite, neither begotten nor created." ("Systema Naturae," quoted by Wasmann, "The Problem of Evolution.")

Mental phenomena are declared even by the agnostic Tyndall to be removed from the unexplored potencies of matter by an "intellectually impassable" chasm. In the last analysis faith is required to bridge that chasm. But even reason co-operating with faith finds in psychic facts, and in human consciousness, and still more in free will and in conscience a proof that the soul is a spiritual substance essentially independent of the corporeal organization, though substantially united to it as its form. Reason, and still more human consciousness, evince that the soul is not eternal; that its origin cannot be in a potency of matter; that therefore it must owe its origin to the creative act of God. Faith and God's testimony within us confirm the deductions of reason and consciousness.

"The Spirit himself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are children of God." (Romans, VIII. 16.)

We may liken the course of nature to the passage of a ship across the sea. Atheistic science can tell us that the ship is composed of certain elements; that it remains afloat, because in its compact aggregate it is of less specific gravity than the water; that it moves by a mechanism driven by the expansive force of steam, or by action of water on turbines, or by electricity, gasolene, or other material agent. But when we ask who started it? who gave it its definite course? who holds it in that course? who guides it to a definite port and skilfully places it at its moorings? every answer is either absurd or

inadequate. Darwin assigns chance, but chance is not a cause but the negation of a cause, and can never accomplish such a clear design.

The Agnostics declare that it cannot be known who directs the ship. This is dishonest, for the phenomenon clearly gives evidence of an intelligent, beneficent Cause.

The forger of Jena declares the self-evident intelligent action to be merely molecular activity. Let the blind lead the blind. By reason and by faith we recognize that there is a mind directing that ship, the immanent directive force in nature. That same Force set her in motion in the beginning, and toward Him does she hold her course.

Mr. Croll, the eminent English naturalist, thus describes the design in nature:

"If a tree is to be formed, the lines of least resistance must all be determined and adjusted in relation to the objective idea of the tree; of the root; of the branches; of the leaves; of the bud; of the fruit; and of every part of the tree. But this is not all: the tree is built up molecule by molecule; each of which requires a special determination, and, beyond all this, we have the structureless protoplasm, which must be differentiated according to the objective idea of the whole. What produces this marvelous adjustment of means to ends?

"The determinations which take place in nature occur not at random, but according to a plan—an objective idea. Thus the question is not simply what causes a body to take some direction, but what causes it to take, among the infinite number of possible directions, the proper direction in relation to the idea. In the formation of, say, the leaf of a tree, no two molecules move in identically the same direction or take identically the same path. But each molecule must move in relation to the objective idea of the leaf, or no leaf would be formed. The grand question, therefore, is, What is it that selects from among the infinite number of possible directions the proper one in relation to this idea?"

("Philosophical Basis of Evolution," quoted by Gerard, "The Old Riddle and Newest Answer," p. 35.)

Reason and Faith proclaim the answer to that "Grand Question": that First Cause is God.

The Evolutionists rejoiced when Wasmann published his experiments. They saw in his theories an evidence that the Catholic Church was forced to accept evolution. Wasmann, however, is a great defense of the Catholic faith against Evolutionism. He recognizes that there is an area within which Evolution may propose its hypotheses, but these hypotheses

must be based on facts. Being, therefore, an ardent supporter of every claim of evolution, even at times, perhaps, overestimating the claims of evolution, Wasmann cannot be thought to halt at scientific conclusions through Catholic dogmatic prepossession. And yet Wasmann proclaims that "The individual development of man supplies us with no evidence of his descent from beasts, which can be regarded as conclusive from the scientific point of view." ("Problem of Evolution," p. 64.)

THE EVOLUTION OF MAN

Wasmann examines the famous biogenetic principle first laid down by Fritz Müller, and later developed by Haeckel. According to this theory the embryonic development of man is in a certain sense a reproduction of the evolution of the race. Haeckel laid down thirty stages of foetal development, and declared that these corresponded to the same number of ancestors in an ascending scale of evolution. The very nature of this fact proves that Haeckel's deduction can be nothing else than a conjecture. Though man descend not from other animals, he in his body is in a certain sense akin to them. Hence in his foetal development he may follow the broad lines of similarity with lower animals. This only shows that the evolution of the individual goes on from the first subdivision of the impregnate ovum, through various stages, until the final form of the perfect organism is reached. (Ibid. p. 60.)

Wasmann is too indulgent with this biogenetic phantom of Haeckel, but yet even Wasmann declares that, "We cannot accept the biogenetic principle in its entirety, nor can we sanction its application to man in order to prove his descent from beasts." (Ibid. p. 60.)

Of Haeckel's embryological law, M. de Quatrefages expresses the following opinion:

"It has been laid down as a fundamental law of biogenesis that ontogeny (the development of the individual) and phylogeny (that of the race) must exactly correspond. . . . This law which I long held as well founded is absolutely and radically false. Attentive study of embryology shows us, in fact, that embryos have their own conditions suitable to themselves, very different from those of adults."

(Les Emules de Darwin, II. 13, quoted by Gerard, l. c.)

One of the main arguments alleged in support of the animal descent of man's body is the similarity in structure and in organic functions between man and the anthropoid apes.

Now this argument when calmly weighed is not an argument at all. Similarity does not prove identity, or descent of one being from another.

A subsidiary argument for our thesis may be drawn from the following news item (1920):

"There has been no descernible change in the shoulder blade of man in the last 6,000 years, according to Dr. William W. Graves, of St. Louis, who spoke before the recent meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science here (St. Louis). Shoulder blades of Egyptian mummies 6,000 years old, and those of Illinois river Indians, believed to be about the same age, are the same as those of the present day man, according to Dr. Graves.

"In July and August of last year, Dr. Graves measured 1,500 shoulder blades of men and animals, endeavoring to classify the differences in them. The vertebral borders, with which he was particularly concerned, are the same in humans as in gorillas, chimpanzees, and also in lower monkeys, as well as in hedgehogs, armadilloes and bats, he said."

If man has come to his present morphological state by minute variations from an anthropoidal state, some trace of such minute variations would be observable in these shoulder blades in 6,000 years.

In order that this similarity should be considered a proof of the origin of man from the ape it would be necessary that no other actual or possible reason for it could be assigned. But in this case it is evident that in the creative act the design which adapted the structure and functions of all orders of nature to their uses, incorporated in his design a certain similarity between man's body and other orders of creation, for the reason that man's bodily functions are mainly the same as those of other animals. We should be surprised if we did not find such similarity in nature. At times it will be closer; at times more remote. It runs through all nature: the same Designer designed all nature, and adapted it to its purposes.

But with this similarity of structure and function between man and the ape are strong points of dissimilarity. The brain of man exhibits a development vastly superior to that of the highest ape. To illustrate this we submit the following table quoted by Gerard (l. c.) from Ranke, the celebrated naturalist:

Skull's Origin	Number of Skulls	Average (Cb. Cm.)	Minimum (Cb. Cm.)	Maximum (Cb. Cm.)
Bavarian (male)	100	1503	1260	1780
Bavarian (female)	100	1535	1100	1683
Gorilla (male)	16	498	461	605
Gorilla (female)	3	458	383	563
Chimpanzee (male)	7	409	371	460
Chimpanzee (female)	3	392	376	413
Orang (male)	3	426	420	464
Orang (female)	1	406	....	....
Circumference of the skull		Caucasian		550 mm.
Circumference of the skull		Negro		510 mm.
Circumference of the skull		Gorilla		340 mm.
Circumference of the skull		Orang		320 mm.

Man's skull-cap, therefore, is about three times as large as the skull-cap of the ape, because it is ordained by its Creator to contain a brain three times as large. Man's brain is in the average about the 37th part of man's whole weight; the brain of the ape is about the 100th part of his whole weight. The weight of the brain of a fully developed European man is about 1424 grammes; the weight of the brain of the Orang-Utang is 79.7 grammes. The convolutions of the human brain are vastly more prominent than those of the ape, so that the superficial area of the brain of man stands in proportion to the superficial area of the brain of the ape in the proportion of 4.4 to 1. The pronounced evolutionist Wiedersheim is obliged to confess that the brain of man is a "new acquisition with structures which the anthropoidal does not as yet possess." (Quoted by Muckermann, "Evolution," Cath. Encyclop.)

Strongly marked differences also appear in the form of the heads of man and of the ape. Man is the brain animal; his head is adapted to the thought processes in which the human soul uses the organs of the brain. The head of the ape is adapted merely for animal functions. The ape has a chinless snout armed with strong teeth for seizing and masticating its food. The lower part of the ape's face protrudes from the skull and the upper part recedes in equal measure.

Man is the only really erect animal. The development of his body shows the erect design. The ape may assume an erect posture, but the structure of his members and actual observation show us that the erect position is not the characteristic posture of the ape. The arms of the ape are much longer than the human arms; on the contrary the human

legs are longer and more strongly developed as befits an upright walking individual.

The hind foot of the ape is furnished with a thumb which can be bent across the whole member, forming a prehensile member: this is not found in the human foot.

"The ability of the anthropoid to walk erect is by no means superior to that of the dancing bear. . . . Brehm is perfectly right when he says . . . . that man alone . . . has an erect walk: no ape walks upright." (Ranke, "Der Mensch," quoted by Muckermann, l. c. p. 52.)

The ape is a beast furnished with four prehensile feet: man is a rational animal furnished with two feet for support and two hands for grasping.

Ranke summarizes as follows the most prominent differences between man and ape:

"The gorilla's head leaning forward, hangs down from the spinal column, and his chinless snout, equipped with powerful teeth, touches the breast-bone. Man's head is round, and, resting on a free neck, balances unrestrained upon the spinal column. The gorilla's body, without a waist, swells out barrel-shaped, and when straightened up finds no sufficient support on the pelvis; the back-bone, tailless as in man, but almost straight, loses itself without nape or neck formation properly so-called in the rear part of the head and without protuberance of the gluteal region in the flat thighs. Man's body is slightly molded, like an hour-glass the, chest and abdomen meeting to form the waist where they are narrowest; the abdominal viscera are perfectly supported in the pelvis as in a plate; and elegance is decidedly gained by the double S-line, which, curving alternately convex and concave, passes from the crown through the neck and nape, down the back to the spine and the gluteal region. The normal position of the gorilla shows us a plump, bear-like trunk, carried by short, crooked legs and by arms which serve as crutches and touch the ground with the knuckles of the turned-in fingers. The posture of the body is perfectly straight in man, it rests on the legs as on columns when he stands upright, and his hands hang down on both sides always ready for use. The gorilla is thickly covered with hair, while man's body on the whole is naked." Again he says:

"We may place side by side and compare one bone after the other, and we shall find that everywhere the same general form and arrangement prevail. But in particular there is no bone, be it ever so small, nay, not even the smallest particle of bone, in which the general agreement in structure and

function would pass over into real identity. By its characteristic form we are able to tell each single bone of man from the respective bone of any anthropoid ape or mammal. In the most general sense of the word, it is true, each bone and organ of man could be styled "ape-like," . . . but nowhere does this similarity go so far that the form peculiar to man would pass over into the form which is peculiar to the ape."

We have before spoken of the cause of the similarity of man and ape found in the great design of the Creator. The great naturalist, Ranke, recognized this explanation.

"We look upon man as the representative of the entire animal kingdom because all organs and forms of structure distributed among diverse animals are found focused and centralized in the microcosm of the human body."

Ranke also declares:

"All the hopes and efforts to discover a series of bodily formations which would lead from the most ape-like savages to the least ape-like Europeans have till now resulted in utter failure." (Ranke, l. c. Vol. II. p. 79.)

We find certain abnormal developments, Cretins, hairy men, tailed men, Microcephali, in individuals of all nations. They are irregularities in the course of nature at some point. They are never found as the characteristic of a tribe. They should be classed with the other freaks of nature.

"In our own days observations have furnished us with an invulnerable argument that no race of men with tails exist on earth." (Ranke, quoted by Muckermann, l. c.)

With the precision of the true scientist, Ranke establishes this well proven conclusion:

"There are at the present day in the entire human species neither races, nor nations, nor tribes, nor families, nor single individuals, which could be designated zoologically as intermediate forms between the ape and man." (Ranke, quoted by Muckermann, l. c. p. 58.)

There are no intermediate forms or connecting links in nature. The oldest well authenticated traces of man are found in the lower quaternary strata. These consist of stone implements. There are also found carvings of bone and ivory, plastic figures of men, traces of a fireplace, drawings on the walls of caves, and instruments manufactured out of bone and horn. The first man who appears in the history of the rocks is a *homo sapiens*.

The famous *Pithecanthropus erectus* was brought from Trinil, Java, by Dubois in 1891. He also brought with it two molar teeth, and a thigh-bone. This thigh-bone, how-

ever, was found at a distance of 16 yards from the skull. The capacity of the cranium is 850 cb. cm.

The ape-man of Java has not been explained. It may be the cranium of an ape. Schwalbe, Klaatsch, MacNamara, and Kohlbrugge incline to this view. The strata in which it was found are diluvial, and consequently even in the Evolutionist's view, man had at this time evolved beyond his ape-estate. Virchow and many other scientists believe it most probable that the skull belonged to an ape. The International Congress of Zoologists at Leyden in 1895, declined to accept it as the "missing link." The other bones are of less importance. They may not belong to the skull, and no decisive judgment has been passed on them.

"It is . . . . . a criminal sporting with the truth, out of remains so incomplete and admitting so many explanations . . . to construct an 'evident proof' for the animal descent of man, and all this with the purpose of deceiving a wider public." (Wasmann, quoted by Muckermann, l. c. p. 62).

In 1857 in Neanderthal in Rhenish Prussia, was found a skeleton with a low receding forehead and strongly developed supra-orbital ridges. This skull has become famous. A plaster cast of it is in our Museum at the Public Library at Milwaukee. The inscription refers it to the Chellean period, 250,000 years ago. Huxley calls it "the most pithecoid (ape-like) of human crania yet (1863) discovered."

Owing to the importance that has been attached to this skull we present here a table of opinions collected by Schwalbe and quoted by Muckermann (l. c. p. 63-64):

I. The Neanderthal skull is not a typical one, but a modified individual skull: (1) It has been artificially deformed by early obliteration of the cranial sutures: Bernard Davis, 1867. (2) It belongs to an idiot: Blake, 1864; Charles Vogt, 1863 and 1867 (partly); Pruner-Bey, 1863 (partly); Hoelder (1892); Charles Zittel (1893). (3) It shows such a number of pathological deviations, that the skull cannot be regarded as the type of a race: R. Virchow, 1872, and J. Ranke up to this day.

II. The Neanderthal skull belongs to a race of men still living.

(1) It is a very recent skull, one that belongs to a Mongolian Cossack of the year 1814: Meyer, 1864 and 1865.

(2) It belongs to an historic people, viz.:

(a) to an old Celt or German: Pruner-Bey, 1863;

(b) to an ancient native of Holland (Batavus genuinus): R. Wagner, 1864;

(c) to an inhabitant of old Friesland: R. Virchow, 1876.

(3) It belongs to a primitive race, which is connected through intermediate forms with the lowest race of men in existence:

It has a great similarity with the negroes from Australia: Huxley, 1863 and 1865; Lyell, 1863; Vogt, 1863 and 1867; de Quatrefages and Hamy, 1882.

(4) (a) It belongs to a primitive wild race, in many points different from the present man: Schaaffhausen, 1865-1888. This is the Neanderthal race: Fraipont and De Lohest, 1887, and Fraipont, 1895-1896.

(b) This race differs from the present man more than the negroes from the white: De Mortillet, 1883.

III. The Neanderthal skull belongs to a form that differs specifically or perhaps generically from the present man: King, 1864; Cope, 1893; Schwalbe, 1901.

The bones were found in a ravine in the Neanderthal. It is uncertain how they came there. There is no evidence that it is a paleolithic fossil. Virchow says that persons may be met in the vicinity of Brussels who bear a Neanderthal skull on their shoulders. Geology bears witness that time is long: it does not determine the number of years. It is not scientific therefore to state that the Paleolithic (Chellean) period is 250,000 years old: it is still less scientific to assign to the Paleolithic age a skull which the ablest scientists are unable to date.

Other skulls and other bones have been discovered resembling more or less the Neanderthal type. The famous Moustier skull was found in 1908 in Dordogne, France.

These are remains of the *homo sapiens* but it is impossible to determine whether they present individual characteristics or a race.

The study of geology justifies this opinion of the great geologist Dana:

"Of that line which is supposed to have reached upward to man, not the first link between the lowest level of existing man has yet been found. This is the more extraordinary in view of the fact that from the lowest limit in existing men there are all possible gradations up to the highest, while below that limit there is an abrupt fall to the ape level, in

which the cubic capacity of the brain is one-half less. If the links ever existed, their annihilation without a relic is so extremely improbable that it may be pronounced impossible. Until some are found, science cannot assert that they ever existed." (Quoted by Muckermann, l. c. p. 68.)

Zittel, also quoted by Ranke, declares that the "postulate of the doctrine of evolution, the so-called *proanthropos*, the missing link between man and ape, has not yet been found." (Muckermann, l. c. p. 69.)

These conclusions are confirmed by the fact that the cranial capacity of prehistoric men was as large as that of the men of today.

Paleontology knows of no ancestors to man. No connecting link has been found to connect man with the ape. Man appears in the glacial epoch as a fully developed *homo sapiens*.

From the experiments of Friedental in 1900 it is asserted that there is a chemical similarity between the blood of man and the blood of anthropoids. This proves nothing in regard to man's descent.

Touching the rudimentary organs in man, Haeckel endeavored to prove the absence of design from these, and also the evolution of man from the disuse of these in his evolutionary stages. Haeckel even invented the term *Dysteleology*, *purposelessness*, to indicate the theory that certain organs which were serviceable in the past have lost their purpose in the evolution of a species.

Of this theory Huxley gave the following opinion:

"Professor Haeckel has invented a new and convenient name, "Dysteleology," for the study of the "purposelessnesses" which are observable in living organisms—such as the multitudinous cases of rudimentary and apparently useless structures. I confess, however, that it has often appeared to me that the facts of Dysteleology cut two ways. If we are to assume, as evolutionists in general do, that useless organs atrophy, such cases as the existence of lateral rudiments of toes in the foot of a horse place us in a dilemma. For, either these rudiments are of no use to the animal, in which case, considering that the horse has existed in its present form since the Pliocene epoch, they surely ought to have disappeared; or they are of some use to the animal, in which case they are of no use as arguments against Teleology. A similar, but stronger argument may be based upon the existence of teats, and even functional mammary glands in male mammals. . . . There can be little doubt that the mammary gland

was as apparently useless in the remotest male mammalian ancestor of man as in living men, and yet it has not disappeared. Is it then still profitable to the male organism to retain it? Possibly; but in that case its dysteleological value is gone."

In later editions Professor Huxley further observed: "The recent discovery of the important part played by the thyroid gland should be a warning to all speculators about useless organs." (Quoted by Gerard, l. c. p. 73.)

It is a great mistake to class as rudimentary any organ whose use was unknown. There was a time when the use of the thyroid gland was unknown. No definite use of the vermiform appendix in man is yet discovered, but no true scientist will declare that it has no use.

Language is another clear evidence of the impassable chasm between man and the ape. At Cardiff in 1889, as President of the Anthropological Section of the British Association, Max Muller spoke as follows:

"What does Bunsen consider the real barrier between man and beast? It is language, which is unattainable, or at least unattained, by any animal except man.

"You know how for a time, and chiefly owing to Darwin's predominating influence, every conceivable effort was made to reduce the distance which language places between man and beast, and to treat language as a vanishing line in the mental evolution of animal and man. It required some courage at times to stand up against the authority of Darwin, but at present all serious thinkers agree, I believe, with Bunsen, that no animal has ever developed what we mean by rational language, as distinct from mere utterances of pleasure or pain, a subject lately treated with great fulness by Professor Romanes. Still, if all true science is based on facts, the fact remains that no animal has ever found what we mean by a language; and we are fully justified, therefore, in holding with Bunsen and Humboldt, as against Darwin and Romanes, that there is a specific difference between the human animal and all other animals, and that that difference consists in language as the outward manifestation of what the Greeks meant by Logos." (Quoted by Gerard, l. c. p. 28.)

There is much truth in the conclusion of M. Fabre:

"Let us acknowledge that in truth we know nothing about anything, so far as ultimate truths are concerned. Scientifically considered nature is a riddle to which human curiosity can find no answer. Hypothesis follows hypothesis, the ruins of theories are piled one on another, but truth ever

escapes us. To learn how to remain in ignorance may well be the final lesson of wisdom." (Quoted by Gerard, l. c. p. 77.)

The forerunner of Darwin, Lamarck, concludes as follows:

"Nature not being intelligent, not even a being, but an order of things constituting a power subject to law, cannot therefore be God. She is the wondrous product of His Almighty will: and for us, of all created things, she is the grandest and most admirable. Thus the will of God is everywhere expressed by the laws of Nature, since these laws originate from Him." (Quoted by Gerard, 1. c. p. 110.)

And now a word touching the view of St. Augustine on Evolution. In his Commentary on Genesis, in the midst of some obscure mystical reasoning, he asserts that "God created all things in one moment," in the sense that he placed in nature at one moment all the "seeds" from which all things have come forth by the power which God implanted in nature. (Lib. IV. 33.) In the Fifth Book, Chap. 23, he repeats his belief that "God created all things at one instant," explaining that by that creative act God gave to nature its potence and causality to produce all its forms. In VI. 3, however, he expressly exempts the creation of man from this general creative act, and demands a special act of creation for him.

Augustine was deceived by the Latin text of Ecclesiasticus, XVIII. 1:

"Qui vivit in aeternum creavit omnia simul." This is rendered by the Douay Version:

"He that liveth forever created all things together."

The Revised Version of Oxford renders it:

"He that liveth forrever created all things in common."

The sense is that God created every thing that exists. The thought of succession of duration does not enter the inspired declaration. The opinion of Augustine has no basis in the Scriptures. It is the individual error of a great man. It never was adopted by the Fathers or by theologians.

The admirable temper of mind of the true scientist is revealed in the following conclusion of Muckermann:

"The Darwinian principle of indefinite variability is contrary to facts, which, in general, show that both in living nature and in geological strata, there exist types sharply discriminated from one another. However, it is quite impossible to say how many types compose the organic world. . . . . There can be no doubt as to the evolution of species, if by species we understand groups of organisms as are generally styled by botanists and zoologists systematic or Linnaean species. But if by the term species we are to

understand groups of organisms whose range of variability would correspond to that of the human species, then we believe that up to the present day there are no clear facts in favor of specific evolution. In particular it will be seen that thus far there is no evidence of fact as to an ascending development of organic forms, though we do not deny the possibility of it, provided an innate power of development be assumed which operates teleologically."

Reviewing the evidence, Wasmann declares that "The principle of the theory of evolution is the only one which supplies us with a natural explanation of these phenomena, and therefore we accept it . . . . . just as far as its application is supported by actual proofs." (Op. Cit. pp. 13, 14.)

It would debase Science to admit the Socialists to any association with the recognized scientists of the world. The Socialists have no scientists: they have only intellectual scavengers, who pick up the refuse of science in order to give a scientific basis to Socialism.

There have been evolutionists who defended a monophyletic origin of nature. These theorists theorized that all plants and animals descended from one primal form. From these Socialism derives its monism. Against these stand the scientists who defend a polyphyletic origin of organic life, that is, that the species, genera, and families now existing were developed from pre-existing species, genera and families. Neither would it suffice to place one primary form for the animal kingdom and another for the vegetable world. It is impossible to trace back the chief types of the animal kingdom to one primitive animal form, and it is impossible to trace back the chief vegetable forms to one primitive vegetable form. Wasmann sums up the evidence thus:

"In the case of the species of the same genus, the genera of the same family, and often for the families of the same order —even for orders of the same class, the probability is in favor of evolution, and we meet with actual points of contact, proving the relationship between the various forms. But the higher we ascend in the systematic categories, and the more closely we approach the great chief of the animal world, the scantier becomes the evidence; in fact, it fails so completely that we are finally forced to acknowledge, that the assumption of a monophyletic evolution of the whole kingdom of organic life is a delightful dream without any scientific support. The same may be said of the assumed monophyletic evolution of the whole animal kingdom on the one hand, and

of the whole vegetable kingdom on the other, from one primary form respectively." (Op. Cit. p. 15.)

Professor Oskar Hertwig in his work on comparative and experimental evolution, declares that "Evidence of the monophyletic development of different races is altogether wanting, and we are forced more and more to accept the theory of development from a variety of stocks." (Quoted by Wasmann.) Fleischmann, Boveri, Von Wettstein, Steinmann, Koken, and Diener are cited by Wasmann as exponents of the polyphyletic origin of organic life.

It is proven by science that the independent genesis of a living being from inorganic or non-living matter is impossible. The creative act must here intervene to create the first organisms and to implant the seeds of organic life in matter. When and how God implanted these seeds is hidden from us.

A creative act of a higher order is required for the origin of the human soul since a spiritual substance cannot have its origin in matter.

Concerning the evolution of man's body Wasmann declares, "That God should have made use of natural, evolutionary, original causes in the production of man's body is, *per se* not improbable, but the actual proofs of the descent of man's body from animals is inadequate, especially in regard to palaeontology."

DARWIN

In 1859 Charles Darwin propounded the theory of natural selection. The great number of species of plants and animals now inhabiting our globe may be estimated from the fact that scientists enumerate at least 250,000 different species of insects. Whence all these species? Darwin theorized that "the existing species are the lineal descendants of some few beings which lived long before the first bed of the Cambrian system was deposited." (Origin of Species.) Faith says that no plant or animal or other entity exists which was not created by God, but it does not explain whether the creative act be immediate or mediate. Hence there is a field for faith and a field for theorizing.

In his autobiography Darwin writes thus:

"When thus reflecting I feel compelled to look to a First Cause having an intelligent mind in some degree analogous to the mind of man, and I deserve to be called a Theist. This conclusion was strong in my mind, as far as I can remember, when I wrote the Origin of Species, and it is since that time

that it has very gradually, with many fluctuations, become weaker. But there arises the doubt, can the mind of man, which has, as I fully believe, been developed from a mind as low as that possessed by the lowest animals, be trusted when it draws such grand conclusions? I cannot pretend to throw the least light on such abstruse problems. The mystery of the beginning of all things is insoluble by us; and I, for one, must be content to remain an Agnostic." (Life and Letters of Charles Darwin.)

It is at this point that revealed religion is opposed to Darwinism. To express it in the poetic words of Wasmann, "The history of the animal and vegetable kingdoms on our planet is, as it were, a versicle in a volume of a million pages, in which the natural development of the cosmos is described, and upon whose title page is written: 'In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.'" (Loc. Cit.) That million-paged book is nature, which bears witness of God's existence and of His creative act. "For the invisible things of him since the creation of the world are clearly seen, being perceived through the things that are made, even his eternal power and Divinity." (Romans, I. 20.)

As a basis for his system Darwin declares that owing to the prolific propagation of animals many must be destroyed before they come to maturity. Darwin cites the elephant "as the slowest breeder of all known animals," and yet according to Darwin from one pair of breeding elephants in 740 to 750 years, nearly nineteen millions of elephants should be procreated. Consequently he introduces his "struggle for existence," in which individuals having an advantage will survive by destroying those individuals in which appear variations which weaken the individual. By the principle of inheritance the strong variations of the individual are transmitted and become permanent. Thus the most successful forms overcome and survive those that are less fortunate, the survival of the fittest becomes the general law of nature.

Darwin illustrated his system by the following rather ludicrous example:

"By its lofty stature, much elongated forelegs, head, and tongue, the giraffe has its whole frame beautifully adapted for browsing on the higher branches of trees. It can thus obtain food beyond the reach of the other Ungulata or hoofed animals inhabiting the same country; and this must be of great advantage to it during dearth." (Origin of Species, p. 302.) Hence the individuals of the giraffe species "which were the highest browsers and were able during dearths to reach even

an inch or two above the others, will often have been preserved; for they will have roamed over the whole country in search of food. . . . These will have intercrossed and left offspring, either inheriting the same bodily peculiarities, or with a tendency to vary again in the same manner; while the individuals less favored in the same species will have been the most liable to perish. . . . Natural selection will preserve and thus separate all the superior individuals, allowing them freely to intercross, and will destroy all the inferior individuals. By this process long-continued, which exactly corresponds with what I have called unconscious selection by man, combined, no doubt, in a most important manner with the inherited effects of the increased use of parts, it seems to me almost certain that an ordinary hoofed quadruped might be converted into a giraffe." (Origin of Species, pp. 303, 304.)

Judged by impartial science the theory of natural selection is the "baseless fabric of a dream." It is opposed to most evident facts. This does not mean that the theory of evolution falls with Darwinism. Darwin is not the founder of the theory of evolution. He only propounded a theory to account for the variations which scientists believe to exist. At the meeting of scientists at Aix-la-Chapelle in September, 1900, Oskar Hertwig in agreement with Huxley declared that the theory of evolution would remain unaffected if the Darwinian theory were given up.

Wasmann allows to natural selection the place of a subsidiary factor in evolution. It has a negative character in that it weeds out the defective types, but he admits that the interior factors of evolution always remain the chief causes of evolution, and he declares that these interior factors are still unknown to us.

Perhaps Wasmann is somewhat too favorable to Darwin. It seems to me that Driesch is right when he declares that Darwinism is one of the great delusions of the nineteenth century.

Reverend Herman Muckermann, the eminent biologist, collaborator and friend of Wasmann, professor of biology in St. Ignatius College, Valkenburg, Holland, is much more severe on the natural selection of Darwin. He declares that the theory is puerile and in open contradiction to reality. It destroys, but it creates nothing new. Fleischmann ("Die Darwinische Theorie") ridicules the theory.

With amazing ignorance of nature Darwin asserts that individuals intercross. Now the humblest farmer knows

that crossing may only take place within very narrow limits. Goats will not mate with sheep nor vice versa, and when a cross is possible between very closely allied species as for instance between the horse and the ass, the hybrid thence generated is sterile.

The logical effect of Darwin's natural selection would be to make the wondrous order, fitness, and beauty of the flora and fauna of the universe the result of blind chance. Darwin saw this danger and endeavored to ward it off. In his Origin of Species, p. 190, he declares:

"I have hitherto sometimes spoken as if the variations were due to chance. This, of course, is a wholly incorrect expression, but it serves to acknowledge plainly our ignorance of the cause of each particular variation."

In his "Organic Evolution" (1898), p. 84, the Duke of Argyll powerfully refutes the Darwinian theory, and shows its conflict with clearly proven facts.

Natural selection supposes an infinite number of minute variations, which continually increase until they produce a new species. Now palaeontology teaches that there is no trace in nature of such a chaos of variations. Everywhere we find well defined classes, families, genera and species. The fossils reveal no unfinished organs. And surely in the centuries of honest study of our flora and fauna no such gradual change of species is observed. The two greatest naturalists of the modern world, Cuvier and Linnaeus, considered the stability of the species as the fundamental principle of the science of creation.

There is not in the whole science of fossils proof of a transitional form in the evolution of one species out of another. This is true both in the plant kingdom and in the animal kingdom. Evolution within its proper bounds is admitted by all. The skilful farmer improves his flocks and his herd by scientific breeding. The skilful horticulturist develops new varieties of flowers and fruits. Evolution only becomes absurd when it is pushed beyond its sphere, in order to push God out of the universe.

Do we know the bounds of evolution? Surely we do not, but we know that it cannot act independently of God's permanent law in nature.

Touching those interior factors of evolution which Wasmann declares to be unknown to us, would it not be more in conformity with truth to say that these interior factors are God's law in nature, by which non-intelligent agents follow a beneficial design? That law holds the cosmos in its order

and its functions; that law guides the instinct of the beast so that the spider spins its web in the most fitting place to take its food, and the beaver builds his house in the manner most adapted to his needs. Why shall we not apply this law to the history of the organic life of the earth? Are we afflicted with Wasmann's "theophobia, a dread of the Creator"? In order to recognize the creative law in nature we need not induce a special intervention at every stage. In the words of St. Thomas:

"The potency of a cause is the greater, the more remote the effects to which it extends." (Summa C. Gent. III. 77.) It is only necessary therefore that God intervened at creation and implanted in nature its powers of development. It is for the naturalist to trace that development with the understanding that God's law is always an interior cause working in and through second causes. The reason that God's law in nature is often ignored even by those who profess divine faith has been well described by the Duke of Argyll to be "a reign of terror which is always established for a time to protect opinions which have become a fashion." (Organic Evolution.)

If the long-necked giraffe of Darwin succeeded in exterminating all the shorter-necked giraffes of a certain region, perhaps in that region there would be a race of long-necked giraffes. They would be still giraffes with a small accidental change "too insignificant to be of any advantage to the animals in their struggle for existence." They would still be giraffes, and in other regions other races of giraffes might have undergone accidental modifications of a different, even contrary nature.

Farmers are aware that pigs with short snouts generate pigs with a like characteristic; and that short-horned cattle generate short-horned cattle. I have never yet, however, found the common sense of a farmer to have failed to the point of believing that, if his cow, or other animal, stretches its neck to feed on the twigs of the trees, the young of such animals will have a longer neck in consequence. Many of the theories of atheistic science, if shorn of their imposing terminology, reveal themselves as plain nonsense.

The unmitigated evolutionists theorize that there be an affinity between reptile and bird. If a bird, therefore, is to be evolved from a non-bird, it may be assumed that evolution would not be unwilling to assign a reptile as the palaeontological ancestor of the bird.

In the Archives of the rocks the earliest strata are the gneiss and crystallized slate, entirely non-fossiliferous forma-

tions. It is true, some scientists theorize that there be some faint trace of earlier life, but their opinion is not considered a probable opinion.

On this rigid non-fossiliferous mass is superposed the pre-Cambrian sediments, which present but few fossils. Those that have been found in California, Scotland and Norway seem to be clearly differentiated invertebrates, whose organism shows a development about as perfect as the fossils found in the next succeeding epoch, the Cambrian. The absence of traces of organic life in the formations preceding the pre-Cambrian is not a proof that no life then existed, since these strata may have undergone a metamorphosis which would destroy all traces of life.

THE TESTIMONY OF THE FOSSILS

A strong argument against the theory that systematic species of plants and animals be evolved from ancestral different species is found in the fact that invertebrates appear together in the Cambrian formation, but clearly separated in all the families and most of the classes which exist at present. "All the important families sharply defined reach back far into the Cambrian formation, and of those periods in which they might have been united we have no records." (E. Koken, quoted by Karl Frank, The Theory of Evolution, p. 30.) On the pre-Cambrian formation is superimposed the Cambrian strata very rich in fauna. About 800 species of the Cambrian epoch have been studied. Almost without exception they belong to Marine fauna. They are well developed species. No trace is found of their ancestors. We can never fully explore the archives of the rocks. Much of the fossil remains lies under the sea, and much lying under the solid earth is inaccessible. Our study, therefore, must remain imperfect. These two conclusions seem, however, to be warranted by palaeontology.

"That there is no palaeontological evidence in favor of the spontaneous awakening of life, or of the ascending development out of primitive protoplasmic masses up to the time of the Cambria era." Secondly,

"We know absolutely nothing of a primitive fauna and of the numberless series of organisms which must have followed them up to the Cambria era, for the simple reason that we possess absolutely no evidence."

Clearly established fossils of plants date from the post-Silurian epoch, and the origin thereof is hidden from the

palaeontologist. The study of the flora fossils reveals the fact that transformations occur within the species, but there is no proof of a gradual transformation of one species into another. The plants vary as we come down the line from the remote age, "but the fundamental structure of the type is never obliterated and the degree of organization has at least remained the same." (Muckermann, ibid.)

In the lower Silurian era we find remains of vertebrate fish. In the carboniferous strata appear the amphibian quadrupeds and reptiles. There are no transitional forms. The oldest fossil bird is the bird-reptile, *archaeoptrix*, found in the Jurassic strata at Soluhofen. Though it has some of the characteristics of the reptile, the true bird nature is evinced by its plumage, pinions, and beak.

The mammalia appear first in the fossils of the Trias or New Red Sandstone formation. The imperfect forms, the Cloaca and the Marsupials, appear first. In the Cloaca, the development of the embryo is entirely extra-uterine; in the Marsupials the embryonic development is mainly extra-uterine. Placental Mammals, in which the embryonic development is entirely intra-uterine, appear later than the lower aforesaid forms, but the placental mammals are from the beginning "split into ten orders in the oldest section of the (Tertiary) period, viz., the Eocene." (J. Baumüller, quoted by Karl Frank, The Theory of Evolution.)

To justify the theory of the descent of these highly organized mammals from the reptiles, there would be required a vast number of intermediary forms. Palaeontology does not furnish this series of intermediary forms nor does it even furnish circumstantial evidence that such forms existed.

It is one of the enigmas of the history of man that a theory with so little in its support as Darwin's theory of natural selection has been so favorably received. It seems to be nothing less than a conspiracy of unbelief to drive God out of the universe at all hazards. When men are determined not to accept the truth they fall into a state of mind which might be called the credulity of incredulity. We find this in the untenable hypotheses of agnostic scientists and in the rationalistic method of explaining the Holy Scriptures.

Try to picture the first variation of the reptile towards its evolutionary bird form. Was it the sprouting of the stump of a wing? By what law did that stump spring forth in its amazing anatomical adaptation to its use? By what law was that stub of a wing transmitted to the young of the reptile? What law guided its development and the develop-

ment of the other members of the reptile towards a higher form of life? Where are the evidences either in palaeontology or in contemporary zoology? If we exclude the permanent law of God in the universe, the cosmos and all its forms remain an unsolved riddle. Whereas, if we introduce the law of God in nature as the interior main cause in evolution then we have an adequate cause for all the effects, and it is only left for our research to observe, where we can, the way in which that eternal law works.

THE IMMEDIATE CREATION OF MAN

The insufficiency of the theory of evolution becomes more emphasized when the theory is applied to man. Man is not a mere animal; he is a creature composed of soul and body. He is a substance, corporeal, living, sentient and rational. Man's rationality is not something superadded to his animality. Man is one in essence. Man is not a body plus a soul, but a being that in virtue of his rational soul (which is the form of the entity) is a rational animal. The union of soul and body in man is a substantial one, so that man becomes one substance. Existent man is an individual substance of a rational nature. The soul of man is capable of separate existence, and thus lives after its separation from the body, but its separate state is not its perfect state nor its abiding state. In that separate state there is still preserved in soul and body a reciprocity of relation between these two principles of substantial being. (Confr. Dr. Francis Aveling, Art. "Man," Cath. Encyclop.)

The origin of man is a truth of divine faith. "And the Lord God formed man out of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul." (Gen. II. 7.) The sense of this text declares that God is the Creator of man's body and man's soul. The life of man, which is popularly recognized by the function of breathing, came from God.

"Lend me a looking glass;
"If that her breath will mist or stain the stone,
"Why, then she lives." (King Lear, V. 3.)

The IV. Lateran Council (1215) declares that God is the "Creator of all things visible and invisible, spiritual and corporeal, who by this omnipotent power . . . brought forth out of nothing the spiritual and corporeal creation, that is the angelic world and the universe and afterwards man, forming as it were one composite out of spirit and body."

Bernard Jungmann, the eminent theologian of the University of Louvain, in his Theologia Dogmatica, De Deo Creatore, p. 149, formulates this proposition:

"Our first parents were immediately created by God; it is a clearly proven article of faith that the whole human race derives its origin from Adam."

In elaborating his thesis the learned theologian declares that it is a dogma of faith that the first man and woman were immediately created by God.

Hurter in his Theol. Dogmatica, Vol. II. pp. 238-241, establishes the same thesis. Hurter, however, is not quite so sweeping as Jungmann in condemning the evolutionist. "It is less absurd," he says (than the general denial of creation by God), "but still false, if not heretical, to accept the opinion that it is not contrary to faith to hold that man, not indeed as regards his soul, but only as regards his body, derives his origin from the brutes, etc."

There is an additional scriptural proof from the creation of Eve as related by Genesis, II. 21-22:

"And the Lord God caused a deep sleep to fall upon the man, and he slept; and God took one of his ribs and closed up the flesh instead thereof: and the rib which the Lord God had taken from the man he builded into a woman, and brought her unto the man." St. Paul (1 Tim. II. 13) corroborates the special creation of Eve, "For Adam was first formed, then Eve." It is impossible to explain the words of Holy Scripture to mean aught else than an immediate creation of Adam and Eve.

I am aware that the Church advises us that it is not the function of the Holy Scriptures to teach us science. The Church leaves science to its proper domain. The Church advises us, in questions where science and faith are interrelated, not to adhere to any undefined opinion as though the issue were defined.

But here we have a case where the words of Scripture are clear; and where the common opinion of theologians sustains a certain truth. The Synod of Cologne (1869) cited by Hurter (l. c.), in its Fourth Title, Chap. 14, declares:

"Our first parents were immediately created by God. Therefore we declare to be contrary to Holy Scripture and to divine faith the opinion of those who dare to assert that by the spontaneous mutation of one nature into a more perfect nature, in its continuous application, ultimately man, as far as regards his body, were evolved."

This is not the decree of an ecumenical council. It does not infallibly define a doctrine, but it is a factor in the cumulative evidence of the Catholic faith.

It is remarkable how an unbelieving world struggles to prove themselves the offspring of brutes rather than acknowledge God's action. In them the words of Scripture are fulfilled:

"Man that is in honor and understandeth not,

"Is like the beasts that perish." (Ps. XLIX. (Vulg. XLVIII) 20.)

A truth may be certain and yet not of faith. We acknowledge that no definition of the Church infallibly defines this issue. We find certain latitudinarians within the Church who may still hold the origin of man's body to be an open question. But the common opinion of Catholic authorities holds the immediate creation of man's body by God; and we believe that no other conclusion can be logically derived from the words of sound philosophy.

That all men descend from Adam is a doctrine of Catholic faith clearly revealed in Holy Scripture and taught by the common agreement of all Catholic authorities.

In the Acts of the Apostles, XVII, 26, St. Paul tells the Athenians that God "made of one man every nation of men to dwell on the face of the earth."

In Romans V. 12, 19, St. Paul derives the fact of original sin from the deed of one progenitor of the human race, Adam:

"Therefore as through one man sin entered into the world, and death through sin; and so death passed unto all men, for that all sinned. . . . . For as through the one man's disobedience the many were made sinners, even so through the obedience of the one shall the many be made righteous."

In agreement with the Pauline text is the declaration of the inspired Book of Wisdom:

"Wisdom guarded to the end the first formed father of the world, that was created *alone*,

"And delivered him out of his own transgression."

Palmieri, the celebrated theologian of Rome, formulates this thesis:

"By divine revelation we are taught that all men descend from one parent, who was created by the one true God, so that by a unity of origin and unity of species all men are united in one human family." (Thesis XXVIII.)

"The greatest visible work of creation is man. It is certain that man did not come into being by a series of organic

or animal evolutions, but that he was immediately in his specific perfection created by God." (Thesis XXV., De Deo Creante.)

Christian Pesch, one of the greatest of the theologians of our times, declares:

"Our first parents were created by the immediate operation of God." (Praelectiones Theologicae, Tom. III. p. 47.)

After adducing copious proofs from Holy Scripture and reason in support of his thesis, he declares that "it is the unanimous judgment of fathers and theologians that the body of Adam was immediately formed by God from the earth, and that the body of Eve was formed from the body of Adam." (Ibid. p. 52.)

Knabenbauer, the great exegete, whom no one will accuse of being reactionary in science, declares that the opinion of the evolution of man's body from the brute cannot be brought into agreement with the creation of Eve. (Comment. in Gen. p. 129.)

It is not intrinsically repugnant that God should have employed a lower organism as the material from which to form man, but there is no evidence that he did thus. The divine Scriptures clearly declare that God did not create man's body mediately by means of evolutionary processes. Those who cling to the theory of the evolution of man's body are impelled by the desire to explain nature without God's creative act. We need say naught of the amateurs of science who seek popularity by sacrificing the principles of revealed religion. In the words of Dante, "Let us say naught of these, but look and pass on."

If man were evolved in his body from the lower animal it would be reasonable to expect that the whole species would reach the man-stage at the same time. And the male and female individuals would be equally developed. Therefore, the doctrine of original sin is imperiled by the evolutionary theory. Moreover the creation of Eve, as related in the Holy Scriptures, would be false.

Evolution proceeds by a long process of minute variations. Consequently we should be obliged to hold that the reason of man is differentiated only by a slight variation from the instinct of the brute. This is not in agreement with palaeontology, history, or our own observations.

The evolutionists may say, It is therefore theory against theory. The Catholic theologians teach the immediate creation theory; we hold the evolution theory.

But Catholic theologians may cite in favor of their doctrine the entire system of proofs of revealed religion, whereas

the evolutionists have no proofs. After a thorough and unbiased examination of the subject of evolution, Muckermann lays down these general conclusions:

1. The origin of life is unknown to science.

2. The origin of the main organic types and their principal subdivisions are likewise unknown to science.

3. There is no evidence in favor of an ascending evolution of organic forms.

4. THERE IS NO TRACE OF EVEN A PROBABLE ARGUMENT IN FAVOR OF THE ANIMAL ORIGIN OF MAN. THE EARLIEST HUMAN FOSSILS AND THE MOST ANCIENT TRACES OF CULTURE REFER TO TRUE HOMO SAPIENS AS WE KNOW HIM TODAY." (MUCKERMANN, in Cath. Enc. Art. "Evolution.")

On the 19th of May, 1920, the University of Cambridge conferred the honorary doctorate on the Abbé Henri Breuil. Touching the Abbé's work, the Cambridge *Public Orator* declared thus:

"Concerning the origin of the human race there have been in the past many controversies, and the problem is not yet solved. The question whether we came from a monkey or an angel has been hotly debated. With a few bones they had found, some have reconstructed the pithecanthropus without the spark of intelligence. Our guest, on the contrary, in his explorations of caves and grottoes in France and Spain, has found the dwelling places of our ancestors full of drawings and paintings which prove that they had reached before many thousand years ago an exceedingly high stage of civilization. They knew so well how to use lines and colors, that their painting of a stag looking back with open mouth and moving his tired limbs would give the sensation of life. The teeth and hair of the primitive elephant, the blunt nose of the horse, the wool of the rhinoceros, were known to them and painted by them.

"It is with joy, therefore, that we greet the Abbé who has vindicated the claim of our race to humanity."

The celebrated materialist evolutionist, Du Bois-Reymond (Die Sieben Welträthsel, Leipzic, 1882) declares that science has no solution for the following seven enigmas:

1. The Nature of Matter and of Force.
2. The Origin of Motion.
3. The Origin of Life.
4. The Design and Order in Nature.
5. The Origin of Sensation and Consciousness.

6. The Origin of rational Thought and Speech.
7. Free Will.

Against the sober statement of this unwilling witness the unproven hypotheses of Haeckel and his school avail nothing.

Examine the whole range of scientific thought and you will not find one convincing argument to explain any one of these enigmas. Merely human science is not competent to explain them: they are not of its domain. Divine revelation explains only so much of them as is necessary for man's right law and conduct. Revelation's proofs are the whole system of the evidence of religion, hence it is not putting forth an unproven hypothesis.

A drowning man will clutch at a straw. The straw will offer him no means of escape, but the desperation of his state moves him to clutch at it. In their desire to get rid of God, the evolutionists clutch at the straw of Haeckel's monism and Darwin's Natural Selection. Nature proclaims that an intellectual cause brought her into being and governs her development.

"The Heavens declare the glory of God;

"And the firmament showeth his handiwork." (Ps. XIX. (Vulg. XVIII) 1.)

Science can tell us nothing of the origin of the universe. Science found the universe here, and observes the natural functions. Science can not go beyond the observed facts. Science is rich in hypotheses, but poor in facts. Some of the hypotheses of science are harmless; some are absurd; some are heretical; some may be true. Biogenesis, or the theory that by the forces within nature all life is generated from living beings only, is well proven. To bridge the chasm between living and non-living matter, there is required the creative act of God. A fortiori this is true when we come to that high form of life existing in the rational soul of man.

I am persuaded that we take the evolutionists much too seriously. Their hypotheses of the origin of things is a play of children, which the children believe to be worthy of great consideration. In their theories they are not united, save only in their wish to exclude God from the universe.

The Monist Haeckel tells us that all that is, the cosmos, is eternal, infinite and illimitable. He tells us all organic life has been developed by forces which the material universe contains within itself, and that the two fundamental forms of substances, ponderable matter and ether, fill infinite space and are in eternal motion. He tells us that these substances are endowed with sensation and will, and that by evolution

through long aeons the cosmos has been brought up to its present order. And when we ask for the proofs, we have only the *ipse dixit* of Haeckel. And who is this Haeckel? The following article quoted by Goldstein from *America* will explain:

HAECKEL'S FORGERY

"Shortly before his seventy-fifth year was reached (Feb. 16, 1909) Ernst Haeckel, Professor of Zoology at the University of Jena, had been compelled to admit, over his own signature, the existence of deliberate forgeries in his scientific writings.

"Haeckel had published in 1907, a pamphlet, entitled 'Das Menschen Problem,' in which representations of embryos of man and apes were given. Dr. Arnold Brass in 'Das Affen-Problem' asserted that many of the diagrams were inaccurate and worthless, and that others had been purposely and deliberately falsified; that in particular, Haeckel's Gibbon-embryo (plate 111) was a reproduction of Selenka's drawing of a Macacus-monkey-embryo, 15 or 16 vertebrae having been omitted, and the name changed; . . . In proof, Brass published the original diagrams and Haeckel's distorted and forged copies side by side.

"This deadly parallel made all thought of escape impossible. Haeckel's reply appeared in the Muenchner Allgemeine Zeitung (No. 2. Jan. 9, 1909) and contained the following admission:

" 'To put an end to this unsavory dispute I begin at once with the contrite confession, that a small number (6 to 8 per cent.) of my embryo diagrams are really forgeries in Dr. Brass's sense. . . . I should feel utterly condemned and annihilated by this admission, were it not that . . . the great majority of all morphological, anatomical, histological and embryological diagrams . . . are not true to nature, but are more or less doctored, schematized and reconstructed . . . '

"The last sentence caused a sensation. Professional ethics require that the word 'schematic' be always added to every diagram which the author has retouched or invented; whereas Haeckel deliberately left his readers under the impression that he was using diagrams from nature! The Zoologists of Germany were, therefore, compelled, much against their will, to throw Haeckel overboard in order to save their own honor.

"A statement signed by 46 professors representing 25 German and Austrian universities and scientific schools

discredited Haeckel's work (No. 8, Muenchner Allgemeine Zeitung) and 36 other scientists representing nineteen universities, botanical laboratories, etc., of Germany, Switzerland and Austria, including the University of Jena, agreed in demanding 'that henceforth as in the past, German scientific research shall rest on an uncompromising love of truth. . .' 'Yet the past holds an ugly record:—' In 1868 Haeckel printed off one and the same diagram three times in succession to show the marvelous similarity of the embryos of man, ape and dog. Rutimeyer called attention to this curious device, whereupon Haeckel conceded that he had been guilty of a 'thoughtless piece of folly.' The end of his career is therefore worthy of the beginning. (Augsburger Post-Zeitung, March 23, 1909.) 'Repudiation of Haeckel is now unanimous and complete; he is discredited by the signed verdict of eighty-two of the foremost German authorities.' "

ABIOGENESIS

Abiogenesis or the spontaneous generation of life from non-living matter has not an argument in its favor. The doctrine of Biogenesis has been much corroborated by the researches of the eminent chemist, Pasteur. Huxley himself, though he would dearly love to welcome a proof of Abiogenesis, is compelled to admit that it has not been verified:

"But though I cannot express this conviction of mine too strongly, I must carefully guard myself against the supposition that I intend to suggest that no such thing as Abiogenesis has ever taken place in the past, or ever will take place in the future. With organic chemistry, molecular physics and physiology yet in their infancy, and every day making prodigious strides, I think it would be the height of presumption for any man to say that the conditions under which matter assumes the properties we call 'vital' may not, some day, be artificially brought together. All I fear justified in affirming is that I see no reason for affirming that the feat has been performed yet.

"And looking back through the prodigious vista of the past, I find no record of the commencement of life, and, therefore, I am devoid of any means of forming a definite conclusion as to the conditions of its appearance. Belief, in the scientific sense of the word, is a serious matter, and needs strong foundations. To say, therefore, in the admitted absence of evidence, that I have any belief as to the mode in which the existing forms of life have originated, would

be using words in a wrong sense. But expectation is permissible where belief is not; and if it were given me to look beyond the abyss of geologically recorded time to the still more remote period when the earth was passing through physical and dynamical conditions, which it can no more see again than a man can recall his infancy, I should expect to be a witness of the evolution of living protoplasm from not-living matter. . . . That is the expectation to which analogical reasoning leads me; but I beg you once more to recollect that I have no right to call my opinion anything but an act of philosophical faith." (Critiques and Addresses, p. 238, quoted by Gerard, the Old Riddle and The Newest Answer.)

In his article on Biology in the Encyclopedia Britannica, Huxley writes the following:

"Of the causes which have led to the origination of living matter, it may be said that we know absolutely nothing, . . . Science has no means to form an opinion on the commencement of life; we can only make conjectures without any scientific value."

"To say that even the very lowest form of life, not to speak of the higher forms, still less of volition and consciousness, can be fully *explained* on physical principles alone, . . . is simply unscientific. There is absolutely nothing known in physical science which can lend the slightest support to such an idea. To suppose that life, even in its lowest form, is wholly material, involves either a denial of the truth of Newton's laws of motion, or an erroneous use of the term 'matter.' Both are alike unscientific." (Prof. Tait, "Contemporary Review," Jan. 1878, quoted by Gerard, l. c., p. 24.)

Tyndall, an avowed materialist (Fragments of Science, quoted by Gerard), declares:

"Here, as in all other cases, the evidence in favor of spontaneous generation crumbles in the grasp of the competent enquirer."

In his Belfast address Tyndall spoke thus:

"Believing, as I do, in the continuity of nature, I cannot stop abruptly where our microscopes cease to be of use. Here the vision of the mind authoritatively supplements the vision of the eye. By a necessity engendered and justified by Science I cross the boundary of the experimental evidence. . . . If you ask me whether there exists the least evidence to prove that any form of life can be developed out of matter, without demonstrable antecedent life, . . .

[men of science] will frankly admit their inability to point to any satisfactory experimental proof that life can be developed, save from demonstrable antecedent life." (Quoted by Gerard, l. c.)

Herbert Spencer, the philosopher of Evolution, thus writes:

"Biologists in general agree that in the present state of the world no such thing happens as the rise of a living creature out of non-living matter. They do not deny, however, that at a remote period in the past, when the temperature of the surface of the earth was much higher than at present, and other physical conditions were unlike those we know, inorganic matter, through successive complications, gave origin to organic matter." (Nineteenth Century, May 1886, quoted by Gerard, l. c.)

We are indebted to him for the fact which he states; he may make the most of his hypothesis. If God were to be dethroned by hypotheses the reign of order should long ago have ceased.

Even Darwin himself rejected Abiogenesis. In his letter to Sir J. D. Hooker, Feb. 28, 1883, he writes:

"It is mere rubbish thinking at present of the origin of life; one might as well think of the origin of matter."

To V. Carus, 1866, he wrote:

"As for myself I cannot believe in spontaneous generation, and though I expect that at some future time the principle of life will be rendered intelligible; at present, it seems to me beyond the confines of science."

In 1882 to D. Mackintosh, Darwin wrote:

"No evidence worth anything has as yet, in my opinion, been advanced in favor of a living being being developed from inorganic matter."

And yet the forger of Jena would have us accept Abiogenesis as a proven fact.

In the article, Biology, before cited, Huxley admits:

"The properties of living matter distinguish it absolutely from all other kinds of things, and the present state of knowledge furnishes us with no link between the living and the not-living."

Protoplasm, called by Huxley "the physical basis of life," or of living matter, is that viscid, contractile, semi-liquid, more or less granular substance, which composes the greater portion of vegetable and animal cells. Huxley declares that the protoplasm of a mushroom is identical with the protoplasm of him who eats it. This is nothing else than the

abuse of science. Chemical analysis cannot point out the difference among protoplasms, but the functions of nature give evidence that essential differences are there. Sir William Thiselton-Dyer ("Nature", June 5, 1902, quoted by Gerard, l. c.) gives us the following opinion:

"It is no doubt true that a particle of fungoid differs in no appreciable physical respect from one of human protoplasm, yet the former will never emerge from the fate of the humble mushroom, while the other may be instinct with the thoughts of a prime minister." And he adds:

"I do not see even the beginning of a materialistic theory of protoplasm."

Sir Henry Roscoe declares:

"It is true that there are those who profess to foresee that the day will arise when the chemist, by a succession of constructive efforts may pass beyond albumen, and gather the elements of lifeless matter into a living structure. Whatever may be said of this from other standpoints, the chemist can only say that at present no such problem lies within his province. Protoplasm, with which the simplest manifestations of life are associated, is not a compound, but a structure built up of compounds. The chemist may successfully synthesize any of its component compounds, but he has no more reason to look forward to the synthetic production of the structure than to imagine that the synthesis of gallic acid leads to the artificial production of gall-nuts." (Gerard, l. c., p. 23.)

M. de Quatrefages is bold in asserting the abyss between life and non-life:

"I make bold to affirm that the deeper Science penetrates into the secrets of organization and phenomena, the more does she demonstrate how wide and how profound is the abyss which separates brute matter from living things." (Les Emules de Darwin, II. 66, quoted by Gerard.)

Mr. S. R. Wallace, Darwin's associate, declares that there are at least three stages in the development of the organic world where some new cause or power must necessarily have come into action . . . "The first stage is the change from inorganic to organic, when the earliest vegetable cell, or the living protoplasm out of which it arose, first appeared. . . . There is in this something quite beyond and apart from chemical changes however complex; and it has well been said that the first vegetable cell was a new thing in the world, possessing altogether new powers." ("Darwinism", p. 474, quoted by Gerard.) The other two stages are The

Origin of Sensation and Consciousness, and The Origin of Rational Thought and Speech.

If Wallace had added another stage, viz., The Origin of the Cosmos out of non-being, and then had assigned God as that new cause, he would have been in accord with the truth of Revelation. He is like Hermas in Van Dyke's "Lost Word," who by the force of truth, comes to a point where he must utter the name of God; but halts and utters it not because he has sold that word to a demon.

Of the difference between animals and man Wallace speaks thus:

MIND AND MATTER

"The next stage is still more marvellous, still more completely beyond all possibility of explanation by matter, its laws and forces. It is the introduction of sensation or consciousness, constituting the fundamental distinction between the animal and vegetable kingdoms. Here all idea of mere complication of structure producing the result is out of the question. We feel it to be altogether preposterous to assume that at a certain stage of complexity of atomic constitution, and as a necessary result of that complexity alone, an ego should start into existence, a thing that feels, that is conscious of its own existence. Here we have the certainty that something new has arisen, a being whose nascent consciousness has gone on increasing in power and definiteness till it has culminated in the higher animals. No verbal explanation or attempt at explanation—such as the statement that life is the result of the molecular forces of the protoplasm, or that the whole existing organic universe from the amoeba up to man was latent in the fire-mist from which the solar system was developed—can afford any mental satisfaction, or help us in any way to a solution of the mystery." (l. c., p. 475, quoted by Gerard.)

Even Mr. Darwin bears witness of the truth:

"No doubt [he writes] the difference is in this respect enormous, even if we compare the mind of one of the lowest savages, who has no words to express any number higher than four, and who uses no abstract terms for the commonest objects or affections, with that of the most highly organized ape. The difference would, no doubt, still remain immense, even if one of the highest apes had been improved and civilized as much as a dog has been in comparison with its parent form, the wolf or jackal. The Fuegians rank amongst the lowest barbarians; but I was continually struck with surprise how

closely the three natives on board H. M. S. Beagle, who had lived some years in England and could talk a little English, resembled us in disposition and in most of our mental faculties." (Descent of Man, C. II., quoted by Gerard.)

It is a relief to know that Huxley admitted the theory of God's creation as perfectly conceivable:

"It seems to me [says Professor Huxley] that 'creation,' in the ordinary sense of the word, is perfectly conceivable. I find no difficulty in imagining that, at some former period, this universe was not in existence; and that it made its appearance . . . in consequence of the volition of some pre-existent Being. The so-called a priori arguments against Theism, and given a Deity, against the possibility of creative acts, appear to me to be devoid of reasonable foundation." ("Life of Darwin" II., p. 187, quoted by Gerard.)

Haeckel is a "scientific swindler." In the first edition of his "Natural History of Creation" Haeckel printed three impressions of the same cliché or stereotyped plate of an embryo, and with amazing audacity declared that one was the embryo of a dog, the second of a chick, and the third of a turtle. Contemporary scientists detected the fraud and declared "that he had no right to be numbered as an equal among earnest investigators." (Fleischmann, "Descendenz-theorie" quoted by Muckermann, l. c., p. 31.)

By a similar audacious swindle Haeckel manipulated some complex masses of slime found by Huxley in sea-dredgings, and declared that it was the simplest form of life self-developed according to his monistic concept of the cosmos.

The simple form of life was pretentiously called *Bathybius Haeckelii.* It proved to be an ordinary inorganic precipitate. Prof. Hensen declares:

"We can hardly conceive of anything more barren and unfertile than Haeckel's monism. He might have spared us this defeat." (Muckermann, "Attitude of Catholics towards Darwinism," p. 31.)

Professor W. K. Clifford, though an atheist, has this to say:

"I fully admit that the theistic hypothesis, so grounded and considered apart from objections elsewhere arising, is a reasonable hypothesis and an explanation of the facts. The idea of an external conscious being is unavoidably suggested, as it seems to me, by the categorical imperative of the moral sense; and moreover in a way quite independent, by the aspect of nature, which seems to answer to our questionings with an intelligence akin to our own."

"It would be a great delusion if any one were to believe that he had arrived at a comprehension of the universe by tracing the phenomena of nature to mechanical principles. He would thereby forget that the assumption of eternal matter with its eternal laws by no means satisfies our intellectual need for causality." (Weismann quoted by Gerard, l. c., p. 38.)

Sir Isaac Newton (Principia) declared that the existence of a Being endowed with intelligence and wisdom is a necessary inference from a study of nature.

The present harmonious order of nature is either the work of an intelligent First Cause or it is the work of blind chance. He must be either a fool or a knave who will assert that the order of the universe be the work of blind chance.

"When we contemplate the phenomena of wisdom," says Sir G. G. Stokes, "it seems difficult to understand how we can fail to be impressed with the evidence of design thus imparted to us. But design is altogether unmeaning without a designing mind. The study then of the phenomena of nature leads us to the contemplation of a Being from whom proceeded the orderly arrangement of natural things that we behold." ("Burnett Lectures" quoted by Gerard.)

"I cannot say that with regard to the origin of Life Science neither affirms nor denies creative power. Science positively affirms creating and directive power, which she compels us to accept as an article of belief." (Lord Kelvin, "Nineteenth Century and After," June, 1903.)

"They continue this day as they were created, perfect in number and measure and weight, and from the ineffaceable characters impressed on them we may learn that those aspirations after accuracy in measurement, truth in statement, and justice in action, which we reckon among our noblest attributes as men, are ours because they are essential constituents of the image of Him who in the beginning created, not only the heaven and the earth, but the materials of which heaven and earth consist." (Clerk-Maxwell, quoted by Gerard, l. c., p. 39.)

Huxley declares:

"I really know nothing whatever and never hope to know anything of the steps by which the passage from molecular movement to states of consciousness is effected." ("Mr. Darwin's Critics" quoted by Gerard.)

Darwinism has failed. Those who most desire to see it declare it to be irreconcilable with fact. It was a miasma, a pestilential exhalation from the dismal swamp of unbelief.

The sun of truth is dispelling it. Men are tired of its unproven hypotheses. Father Gerard enumerates more than twenty continental scholars who "reject Darwinism altogether or admit it only with fatal reservations." (l. c., p. 76.) "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof." (I. Cor. X, 26.)

EVIDENCES OF RELIGION.

"Etymologically, Religion signifies a bond of union between God and man. Its aim and object is to lead man to God, and to unite him to God forever." (Schanz, "A Christian Apology," I, 2.)

The first principle of religion is the idea of God. This idea does not comprehend God; the infinite is not comprehensible, but the idea is true although it does not reach comprehension.

The idea possible in a human mind is more competent to declare what God is not than to declare what God essentially is. It removes from God all imperfections.

In the basic idea of God the action of God has part. God does not independently of other ideas implant in the human soul a clear cut idea of himself; but, on the other hand, God does not leave man alone and unaided in his search for his Creator. God is the Light of the world. God reveals Himself through nature, and through a mysterious action of God upon the soul. The knowledge that we may gain through nature may be an aid in the assent of the mind, which is a first principle of religion, but it could never furnish man with a complete religion. As soon as man comes to the use of reason a certain consciousness of God is in the soul. The soul of man is made after the image and likeness of God. That attribute gives to the soul an aptitude to know God, and a certain tendency to seek God. This explains the fact that the idea of a Supreme Being is found in all races and tribes of men. That idea has been deformed and debased by ignorance and moral degradation, but in its substance it is a proof of the existence of the Creator. The objections against the universal idea of a Supreme Being are so feeble and uncertain that they in no way weaken the great fact of history. A possible exception cannot invalidate a general rule.

Granted the existence of God and of His attributes of intelligence and goodness, it would be inconceivable that God should set man adrift without any connecting bond between Creator and creature. We cannot accept the theory of a complete innate idea of God as taught by the Ontologists.

This conflicts with sound philosophy, with human experience, and it has been condemned by the Church. A perfect idea—not a comprehension—of God is reserved for our beatific vision in Heaven. Here our idea of the Infinite is formed from our notion of the finite. It is by successive "abstraction, elimination and transcendence" that we form an idea of God.

Reason, therefore, precedes faith, and enables a man to judge of the proving force of the truths offered, but before all there is in us what Schanz (l. c.) calls "a kind of presentiment of the supernatural, a hidden sense of the Godhead, so to speak, and thus an anticipation of the existence of God." This knowledge must be developed by experience. "Knowledge mounts from things below to the heights above." (Ibidem.)

The Vatican Council (Cap. II., De Revelatione) thus presents the Catholic doctrine:

"Holy Mother the Church believes and teaches that God, the Beginning and End of all things, can be from created nature with certitude known by the natural light of human reason; 'for the invisible things of him since the creation of the world are clearly seen, being perceived through the things that are made' (Romans I., 20): nevertheless *the same holy Mother Church believes and teaches* that it pleased God's wisdom and goodness to reveal himself and the eternal decrees of his will to the human race by another way, that is a supernatural way, as the Apostle saith (Hebrews I., 1, 2):

'God, having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the Prophets often and in many ways, hath at the end of these days spoken unto us in his Son.'

It is the effect of this divine Revelation that, of divine things, those things which in themselves are not impervious to human reason, even in the present condition of humanity may readily be known by all men, with firm certitude and without admixture of error. It should not be said, however, that for this cause Revelation be absolutely necessary, but that *it is absolutely necessary* because God through his infinite goodness destined man to a supernatural end, that is, to participate of divine goods which entirely surpass the grasp of human intelligence; since

'Things which eye saw not and ear heard not,
'And which entered not into the heart of man,
'Whatsoever things God prepared for them that love him.'"
(I Cor., II., 9.)

That belief in God which we call faith, and which is the first requisite in religion is a supernatural virtue infused by

God into the soul. The cause of our faith and the foundation on which it rests is not the proof derived from nature by the natural light of reason, but it is the authority of God who has delivered the truth and who can neither deceive nor be deceived. Therefore, Paul calls Faith "The substruction or foundation of things hoped for, the proof of things not seen."

And again (ibid. 3):

"By faith we understand that the worlds have been made by the word of God, so that what is seen hath not been made out of things which do appear."

Wherefore faith cannot be delivered to a man as the truth of a mathematical demonstration may be delivered. When I demonstrate to a man that the sum of the angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles, the force of the demonstration compels assent. The truths of faith are not less certain *in se*, but their high nature does not admit of such a demonstration. The triangle is in man's order of being; many of the truths of faith are not. Therefore, owing to my inferiority I cannot believe with a saving faith unless God help me. Therefore Christ says:

"No man can come to me, except the Father who sent me draw him." (John VI., 44.) That drawing of God is the action of God in the begetting of faith in the soul. In St. John (VIII., 47.), Jesus declares:

"He that is of God heareth the words of God: for this cause ye hear them not because ye are not of God." Man's part, therefore, in faith is to dispose his soul by an honest act of submission to his Creator and by an honest desire to know his Creator. Even in this act of self-disposing God has a part, but in such way that he leaves man the liberty of choice.

Religion, therefore, is self-evidencing, but not entirely so. The grace of God illumining the mind and moving the will is an absolute necessity, but that same God makes use of other media to accomplish his purpose. God makes use of divinely commissioned men such as Moses, the Prophets, Christ, the Inspired Writers. God makes use of the divinely inspired writings of these and especially of the infallible Church, into whose custody the divine deposit of truths has been delivered. But notwithstanding all these agencies established by God Himself, God never abandons the interior action of grace in the soul. Wherefore the Council of Trent declares:

"If any man shall say that without the antecedent inspiration of the Holy Spirit and His help a man can believe, love,

or repent as is required, in order that the grace of justification be conferred on him: let him be anathema." (De Justificatione, Can. III.)

Not only is the man deprived of God's grace unable to believe, but the things of God will be despised by him.

"Now the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him; and he cannot know them, because they are spiritually judged." It is a false assumption, therefore, that we must disregard the internal action of God in the soul and endeavor to prove our faith in such a way as to compel an assent that can only come by the action of God.

When the soul of man offers itself to God to be taught by him, then the evidences work in wondrous harmony. Such a man sees in all nature the principle of causality and design. An infinite series of causes is a metaphysical impossibility. Therefore there must be a First Cause who was not caused. A thing that does not exist cannot act; nothing can cause itself. That First Cause must be intelligent, for the effect of intelligence appears in all nature. Pagan philosophers arrived at this conclusion from the witness of creation.

"For God is seen to be the Cause and certain beginning of all things. In Him there is life, for the action of the intelligence is life, and God is actual intelligence itself; this intelligence, taken in itself, is his perfect and eternal life." (Aristotle, "Metaphysics" I., II.)

"Whoever doubts that there is a God present to us and all-powerful, I cannot understand why he does not doubt of the existence of the sun.

"It is well known among all, by the judgment of all peoples, that there are gods; what kind of gods they are, is disputed; that they exist, no one denies." (Cicero, "De Natura Deorum," II., 2, 5, 6, quoted by Bp. Chatard.)

The consciousness of right and wrong is also a testimony of the existence of an intelligent and good First Cause.

"God," says Kleutgen, "makes Himself felt within us by His moral law, as an august power to which we are subject."

When a man has arrived at this stage in his search after God the rest of the way is easy. It is a self-evident fact that an intelligent Creator should have established some means of reliable communication with his intelligent creature in whose soul there is innate an eternal yearning for his Creator.

Such communication exists in a twofold manner. The testimony of God within the soul and the testimony of God through miracles and through inspired writers.

At this point the evidence becomes cumulative, in which the greatest factors are Christ and the infallible Church.

Immigration

A CENTURY OF IMMIGRATION

A very important and many-sided problem in the life of a country is the problem of immigration. Emigration and immigration are converse terms, denoting the act of removal from one country or state to another for the purpose of residence. The removal is called emigration, with reference to the country left, and immigration, with reference to the country entered. Emigration has been a means of populating the world and spreading civilization, by drawing forth from limited, over-populated or less productive space the children of men, and planting them in more favored regions.

Of all modern nations, the United States has received the much largest number of immigrants. In fact, we are a nation of descendents of immigrants.

During the century, 1820–1919, the whole number of immigrants who came to our country was 33,200,103. They are classified as follows:

British . . .	10,000,000	Czecho-Slovak .	1,000,000
German . . .	9,250,000	Lithuanian . .	750,000
Scandinavian .	3,750,000	Spanish . . .	700,000
Italian . . .	3,000,000	Hungarian . .	450,000
Jewish . . .	3,000,000	Dutch . . .	400,000
Polish . . .	3,000,000	Finnish . . .	300,000
French . . .	1,600,000	Greek . . .	300,000

The necessity for a restriction of immigration is very pressing at present. A conspiracy exists in Europe to send undesirable types to our country. Passports are denied to desirable emigrants and forged for the misfits. The commissioner of immigration at Ellis Island reports that the type of the immigrants this year is the worst since 1904. Millions of the scum of Europe are coming. Hordes of low standard Jews are headed for the United States. There are weakness, venality, and incompetency at Washington. Unless there be developed a higher standard of civic virtue, our nation can not endure.

We should encourage immigration from Great Britain, including Ireland, and from Germany. These were the immi-

grants who founded our country. Unfortunately during the eighteen years, 1897–1914, we received only 2,838,548 of what might be called desirable, assimilable immigrants; while in the same period, 10,570,576 immigrants of less desirable racial type came. A desirable immigrant is a national asset; and an undesirable immigrant is a burden, a danger to our peace, and a deteriorating element in the life-blood of our nation. The "melting-pot" has not yet fused this poly-racial population into a homogeneous national character or type. From our census report it appears that if we class as native American a man whose father was born in America, then about one-third of our population are immigrants or the descendents of immigrants. Great Britain including Ireland is the largest colonizer, in the second place stand Germany and the German states.

UNDESIRABLE IMMIGRANTS

It is a fact recognized by our government, that foreign governments finance movements to export undesirable subjects to this country. A breeder of live stock would not allow his breeds to be contaminated by inferior varieties, and yet our nation allows its human stock to be debased by the scum of the human world. We are become the wickedest country in the world. In 1916, the city of Chicago, one third the size of London, had twelve times as many wilful murders. Philadelphia is about the size of Glasgow: Glasgow had nine murders in that year: Philadelphia had 281. New York had six times as many murders as London.

The writer freely quotes with due acknowledgment the following extract from *Current Opinion* for February, 1921:

"A careful investigation of American police systems has recently been made by Raymond B. Fosdick. The first chapter of a book which he has written on the subject is published in pamphlet form and is being circulated by the Bureau for Social Hygiene. It contains appalling information. But the thing that appalls is not the police force but what the police force has to contend with.

"The Metropolitan Police Force of London, says Mr. Fosdick, with all its splendid efficiency would be overwhelmed in New York City and the Brigade de Sureté of Paris would be confounded by such a situation as that which faces the police of Chicago. For London has but three per cent of foreign-born population while New York City has 41 per cent. Paris has but six per cent, while Chicago has 36. In New York City, the 'foreign stock'—that is the foreign-born and

the children of the foreign-born—constitutes four-fifths of the population. It is not a question as to whether they are more criminal than the native Americans. It is a question as to customs, language, standards. In a single ward in St. Louis—and the illustration can be duplicated in many places—there are 830 Irish, 2,301 Germans, 2,527 Italians, 7,534 Russians, 493 Roumanians (all foreign-born), 14,067 native residents of foreign parentage and 1,602 negroes.

CRIME

"Think what such a medley of races means to the police, when it comes to keeping order, enforcing the health regulations and detecting crime.

"But worse than this is the propensity to crime in America—a propensity for which the police can not be held responsible. Here is where the appalling facts come in. For crime in this country is not so much a wave as a tide, deep, constant and engulfing. Where Glasgow had 38 homicides in three years (1916-1918), Philadelphia, only a trifle larger, had 281. In 1919, Chicago, one-third the size of London, had six times as many murders. So did New York City. Cleveland, one-tenth the size, had three times as many murders as London in 1917 and twice as many in 1918.

"Take burglary. Year after year New York City has shown more burglaries than all of England and Wales. Detroit and Cleveland has each more than London, which is seven or eight times as large. The burglaries in St. Louis exceed those in London. The burglary rates of insurance in American cities are from 15 to 20 times as high as in English cities!

"Take robbery. In 1918, Chicago had 22 robberies for every one in London. Los Angeles had, in 1916, some 64 more robberies than occurred in England, Wales and Scotland put together. We could fill this page with similar figures, all telling the same story.

"That is what the police of America have to cope with—a criminal propensity five or ten times as great as that in England, and out of all proportion to that in France, Germany, and any other of the leading nations of civilization. 'There is probably more undisciplined, egotistic, mischievous force in the United States,' says the Chicago *Tribune*, 'than in any country of first rank in the world.' Fosdick says that there is hardly a community where the accuracy of this statement is not vindicated.

"Why grow hysterical about a crime wave when we have with us all the time a vast criminal tide which doesn't seem to worry any one very much?

"At least no one seems to do anything about it, except throw a rock now and then at the police force. Certainly the administration of justice is not worrying us much. It ought to. 'It is not too much to say,' said President Taft in 1909, 'that the administration of criminal law in this country is a disgrace to our civilization and that the prevalence of crime and fraud, which here is greatly in excess of that in European countries, is due largely to the failure of the law and its administration to bring criminals to justice.' He was speaking of the courts as well as of the police.

"Fosdick says that our administration of criminal law is 'a system that has all but broken down.' His indictment contains four counts: (1) technicalities; (2) delays; (3) personnel, on the bench and in the office of prosecuting attorney; (4) public opinion. He tells of a verdict of murder set aside (in Alabama) because of the omission of the word 'aforethought' after the word 'malice;' of a man convicted of assault with intent to kill being freed because the copying clerk left the letter l out of the word 'malice;' of an indictment for rape being thrown out because it concluded with the words, 'against the peace and dignity of State,' instead of saying 'the State;' of a horsethief released because the indictment read, 'against the peace and dignity of the State of W. Virginia,' instead of reading 'West Virginia.' The best police force in the world, he says, would soon be broken down by such miscarriages of justice, and they are occurring 'all over the country.' He quotes a prominent member of the Philadelphia bar to the effect that the wonder is not that so many guilty men escape under the present system but that any are ever convicted. The total number of culpable homicides in the United States in 1916 was 8,372, and the number of executions 115; in 1917 the figures were 7,803 and 85; in 1918, 7,767 and 85. 'A parasitic growth of technicality and intricacy has thwarted and choked our whole criminal process.'

"Delays in the courts furnish another heart-breaking difficulty to the police. Case after case is given in which, after a conviction for murder had been secured, judgment was delayed for three years, for one year and three months, for four years and one month, for two years and one month; and 'these are not unusual cases.' In England 'an appeal never postpones execution in a capital case by more than three weeks.' There are instances in New York City where cases

have been postponed so often that the patrolman has been compelled to go to court 26 times before the case was called for trial.

"Another reason for the breakdown of the morale of our police forces is found in the state of public opinion, which overloads the statute books with unenforceable laws in the effort to standardize the lives and morals of our citizens. 'Nowhere,' says Fosdick, 'in the world is there so great an anxiety to place the moral regulations of social affairs in the hands of the police, and nowhere are the police so incapable of carrying out such regulations.' He speaks especially of the Sunday laws. Of all the cities visited by him there was scarcely one that did not bear evidence of demoralization arising from attempts to enforce laws which, instead of representing the will of the community, represented hardly anybody's will. He continues:

" 'Often the laws are such as to defy enforcement even if they had behind them a substantial body of public opinion. Thus there are laws against kissing, laws against face powder and rouge, laws against earrings, laws regulating the length of women's skirts, laws fixing the size of hat-pins. In Massachusetts one may not play cards for stakes even with friends in the privacy of one's home. In Texas, card-playing on trains is illegal. One would have to scan the ordinances published by the Police President of Berlin to find any parallel to the arbitrary regulations in regard to private conduct with which American citizens are surrounded.' "

According to the report of Frank A. Sebring, chief clerk of the police court in Washington, D. C., during 1920 more than 42,000 persons were arrested for crimes varying from petty larceny to first degree murder, or nearly 10 per cent. of the city's population.

A special dispatch from Chicago to a St. Louis paper says in part: "Thieves' loot in the Chicago district for the year 1920, based on burglaries, hold-ups and pocket-picking alone, reached the staggering total of $4,528,453.40—an average daily property loss of more than $12,406."

The recrudescence of crime since the World War is due to a confluence of causes. The war broke up the stratification of humanity. The dregs were there, but they had settled into a certain stratum; they were an underworld. The war stirred the waters, and made the whole mass turbid and unhealthy. The whole world deified force and destruction. Society let loose its savage instincts. A large part of the world's population became trained butchers of men. The

rest of us read of their exploits and rejoiced in the carnage. Mars ruled the world and fashioned the characters of men to hatred, murder and destruction. Law lost its sacred character, because the world had repudiated law. Life, property and decency lost their sacredness. Capital was overpaid and labor was overpaid. We lost the right proportion of things. The trade of war made men indolent and vicious. Men breathed an empoisoned atmosphere. Nations had practised the tactics of the highwayman on each other; force and fraud had won. That which nations operated on a grand scale, the highwayman, burglar, forger and libertine operated in his own way. Men saw that materialistic society could not control the powers of evil, and crime grew bold.

In THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY (1920) an ex-convict writing under the pen name "Number 13", declares that punishment for crime is a necessity:("The simple fact is that the criminal is regarded as an outlaw—a man who fills the lives of even the innocent with a nameless fear and dread. He is an enemy of private and public safety and welfare. He strikes in the dark—takes others always at a disadvantage. Is it human nature for the public to say to such a man: 'Now we will give you a good home and kind treatment for doing this'? Judging from experience, I doubt if it ever will. If it ever does, private revenge will increase.

"There are criminals who are mentally unfit ever to have their liberty. They are deranged. In other cases, the habit of crime, like that of drinking, masters the man. But the average criminal is as sane as any one else. He boldly calculates every move, takes the risks, and doesn't whine at just punishment. He defies the truth. Even after he is caught, he pleads 'not guilty' and beats the public if he can."

"No. 13" adds that in penology not much advice from visionary reformers is of any assistance."

During the first six months of 1921 the number of suicides in our Country was 4,527. This surpasses all former records.

In a pastoral of 1918, Cardinal Bourne, of Westminster, described thus the breaking up of the old order:

"The effect of competition uncontrolled by morals has been to segregate more and more the capitalists from the wage-earning classes, and to form the latter into a proletariat, a people owning nothing but their labor power and tending to shrink more and more from the responsibilities of both ownership and freedom. Hence the increasing lack of self-reliance and the tendency to look to the State for the performance of the ordinary family duties. While the Constitution had

increasingly taken on democratic forms the reality underlying those forms had been increasingly plutocratic. Legislation under the guise of social reform tended to mark off all wage-earners as a definitely servile class, and the result even before the war was a feeling among the workers of irritation and resentment which manifested itself in sporadic strikes but found no very clear expression in any other way.

"At home, in our midst, there are signs of trouble and disturbance, which are only very partially revealed in the public press, but are well known to those in authority, and which portend the possibility of a grave social upheaval in the future. It is admitted on all hands that a new order of things, new social conditions, new relations between the different sections in which society is divided will arise as a consequence of the destruction of the formerly existing situation. . . .

"During the war the minds of the people have been profoundly altered. Dull acquiescence in social injustice has given way to active discontent. The very foundations of political and social life, of our economic system, of morals and religion are being sharply scrutinized, and this not only by a few writers and speakers, but by a very large number of people in every class of life, especially among the workers."

A discontented, unemployed, or poorly paid workman is often a potential criminal.

Brougham Viliers (*Britain after the Peace*) analyzes the human problem as follows:

"To almost everyone the war has brought a revolution in the practice of life; it would be strange if it did not bring a revolution in ideas. One side of a universal revolution has already taken place, a complete change in the prospects and outlook of nearly every adult in the land. Every one therefore is prepared, at least in so far as the severance of the ties which bound him before the war to a special position in life can do this, for an entirely new start. Again, for the time being at least, the social web woven by generations of peaceful trade is broken. Not only is the individual less wedded to his place, but in countless cases, the place he once occupied exists no longer. The strong conservative instinct of the British people, the power of use and want, which has carried the nation over so many difficulties in the past, is now faced with a crisis which can not conceivably be dealt with on conservative lines. One half of the revolution is already accomplished. The old world, the old dependence on the thing established, have been broken to pieces. The task therefore of reconstructing society is thrust upon us whether we will or no. The destructive side

of the revolution has been carried out by the war itself; the constructive revolution is the first problem of peace."

The moral reconstruction of the world shall be still more difficult. We live in a world which exhausted its strength for material aims. There was not an ethical aim in the World War. In our reconstruction, men endeavor to rebuild the edifice by economic adjustments. Men have grown tired of the manna: they will have flesh. To tell men to be contented with their lot, and to cease from over-anxious care for material goods, is to speak to them in a language which they understand not.

Discontent, distate for work, prodigality, idleness, inefficiency of laqor are widespread.

"There is an epidemic of distate for work raging throughout Europe, and particularly perceptible in Vienna; and the result is that the daily efficiency of labor in the Austrian factories has reached the lowest level. Thus we find, to quote an example, that the automobile factory of Graef & Stift today, in spite of an increased effort, produces only 15 car loads per month, whereas the pre-war production was 35 car loads per month. And similar instances might be quoted by the dozen. There is no more an earnest desire for speed and hustling, and the lords of the government, mostly members of the socialist party, have neither courage nor inclination to oppose the clamor for shorter hours and higher wages.

"The result of this continued lessening of labor and energy, is an increased deficiency in products, and this again leads to higher prices and a permanent deterioration of economical conditions of the country."—(Mr. J. Lamprecht, of the *Reichspost* of Vienna, to the *Daily American Tribune*, 1920.)

This perverse tendency is world-wide. It is rooted in unregenerate human nature. The capital error of pseudo-reformers is to attempt by the force of merely natural motives to move unregenerate man to live the life only possible by grace to men born again in Christ.

The world is weary, unhappy, rent by hate and strife, lost in a wilderness. The eternal message of peace comes to it.

"Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." There is no other source of peace and rest. Like imprisoned birds, men batter their bodies and madden their souls trying to find a way to happiness where there is no way. Even the salt has lost its savour.

The fundamental causes of crime are materialistic education of youth, the weakness of our laws, the abuse of clemency, false sentimentalism, and heredity. It is with heredity that our immigration laws must deal.

Selective immigration becomes especially necessary by reason of the declining birth-rate among native Americans. There are few crimes worse than artificial restriction of the family, and yet this crime is widespread among our people. It is a tenet of the foul system of Socialism. Our birth-rate has steadily declined since 1830, so that if the life stream of our nation depended on the native American birth-rate, we should as a nation decay and die. The average birth-rate for native Americans is but a fraction over one birth to a family. Therefore, while two beings are being withdrawn from the population, two others are not produced to supply the loss.

Our census of 1920 is a great disappointment. Were it not for the large birth-rate of our immigrants and the influx of immigrants themselves, it would be a far greater disappointment.

To supply the lack of begotten children, children are adopted. The average heredity of adopted children is not of a high standard, and thus the moral level of families is lowered.

If our nation wishes to rear a pure stock of citizens, it must look to protect the source from contamination by the offscourings of Europe and Asia. Our laws should not exclude a man because he is illiterate, or because he is poor, if he be able-bodied. Much of the best of our parent stock was both poor and illiterate. But drastic physical and moral tests should be enforced. If our lawmakers and executives were honest, it would be an easy matter. There should be demanded of every immigrant by our consular service a certificate of health and testimonial letters of good conduct of such authorities that they would create moral certitude. This should be done at the port of embarkation, and all the credentials should be examined at the port of landing. The difficulty lies in the fact that our system of government produces time-servers and parasites. Our officials direct their attention more to re-election and party success than to the interests of the country. If the powerful interests demand an influx of immigrants to lower the price of labor, the subservient political hirelings will let in an indiscriminate horde. The press will dance as the money power pipes.

At this time (1920), there are millions in Europe awaiting an opportunity to emigrate to America.

Prof. Ugo Ancona, former undersecretary of transportation, estimates that at least 1,500,000 emigrants must leave Italy within the next two years, if the the nation is to prosper.

He suggests that the government transform cargo vessels into emigrant ships, and advocates a plan of collective emigration to include large units of labor. He points out that if 1,500,000 emigrants were to leave Italy in the next two years, they would send back home something like $1,000,000,000, which would go far toward raising the exchange value of Italian money.

This kind of immigration should be strictly prohibited by our government. The Italian and Sicilian assimilate slowly; a large percentage of them are criminals; and their avowed intent is not to become a part of our people, but to exploit our resources.

Labor and Socialism

THE GUILDS

In very early times the artisans of the different crafts were classified, but this classification was more in the nature of a social rank than an organization for protection of rights.

In paganism labor was the function of the slave, and those who were dependent on their labor for their living were obliged to become the slaves of the State or of the rich. The pagans held labor in dishonor.

"I could not affirm," says the father of history, Herodotus, "whether the Greeks derived from the Egyptians the contempt which they have for work, because I find the same contempt established among the Thracians, the Scythians, the Persians, the Lydians; in a word, because among most barbarians, those who learn mechanical arts and even their children are regarded as the meanest of their citizens. All the Greeks have been nurtured in this principle, particularly the Lacedaemonians." (Herodotus, Bk. II.)

"At Athens the citizens were veritable nobles who had to concern themselves but with the defense and the administration of the community, like the savage warriors from whom they descended. Since they must thus have all their time free to watch over the interests of the republic, with their mental and bodily strength, they laid all labor upon the slaves. Likewise at Lacedaemon, even the women were not allowed to spin or weave that they might not detract from their nobility." (Biot. De L'abolition de L'esclavage ancien en Occident, 1840.)

"Nature," said Plato in his social utopia, his model republic, "Nature has made no shoemaker nor smith. Such occupations degrade the people who exercise them. Vile mercenaries, nameless wretches, who are by their very condition excluded from political rights. As for the merchants accustomed to lying and deceiving, they will be allowed in the city only as a necessary evil. The citizen who shall have degraded himself by the commerce of the shop shall be prosecuted for this offense. If he is convicted, he shall be condemned to a year in prison; the punishment shall be doubled for each repeated offense." (Plato's "Republic," Bk. V.)

In his "Economics," Xenophon writes, "The people who give themselves up to manual labor are never promoted to public offices, and with good reason. The greater part of them, condemned to be seated the whole day long, some even to endure the heat of the fire continually, cannot fail to be changed in body, and it is almost inevitable that the mind be affected." "What honorable thing can come out of a shop?" asks Cicero. "What can commerce produce in the way of honor? Everything called shop is unworthy an honorable man. Merchants can gain no profit without lying, and what is more shameful than falsehood? Again, we must regard as something base and vile the trade of those who sell their toil and industry, for whoever gives his labor for money sells himself and puts himself in the rank of slaves."

Christianity gradually changed these conditions. In the name of Christ Christianity taught that slave and master are equal in the sight of God.

"For in one spirit were ye all baptized into one body, whether Jews or Greeks, whether bond or free; and were all made to drink of one spirit." (I. Cor. XII., 13.)

"For he that was called in the Lord, being a bondservant, is the Lord's freed man." (I. Cor. VII., 22.)

"There can be neither Jew nor Greek, there can be neither bond nor free, there can be no male and female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus." (Galatians, III., 28.) When St. Paul sent back Onesimus, the fugitive slave, to his master, Philemon, he declares that he sends the Christianized slave back "no longer as a bondservant, but more than a bondservant, a beloved brother." (Philemon, 16.)

From the beginning, the Church became the defender of the slave, demanding for him the rights of a man, and protecting him in the possession of these rights. Through the centuries the Church maintained her mighty struggle for the law of Christ against the power of the worldly spirit operating in multitudinous ways with its innumerable allies. The Church could not always change existing customs, so that the full effect of Christ's teachings should have place; often her divine spirit was hindered in its operations by the corruption or inefficiency of her human element. She must act by means of men; men are fallible; some of her own betrayed her, as Judas betrayed his Master. But the Church's life was divine and indestructible. Through the dark pages of human history we see one mighty power combating the spirit of the world in all its manifestations.

In the Eleventh Century in England appear the merchant guilds. These were really manufacturers' guilds, for each craft bought its raw materials and sold its wares.

These guilds enjoyed many substantial privileges. At times they were given by law a monopoly of trade. A charter given by Henry II. declares "that no one who is not of the guild shall presume to deal in merchandise either within the city or the suburbs." (Quoted by Husslein, "Democratic Industry," p. 117.)

This may seem at first sight an unjust restraint of trade. Undoubtedly it had its defective side. But the law of the land endeavored to prevent these guilds from practising the methods of modern monopolies.

It was not a perfect system. Selfish humanity cannot put into effect a perfect system; only the law of Christ can transform the world into a better state. During the days of faith the influence of religion was deeply impressed upon the guilds and was a protection against an abuse of power. It was not a grave disability inflicted on the non-guild member to refuse him the rights that the members enjoyed, since membership in the guild was offered to him, and since the guild promoted his spiritual and temporal interests. We cannot however, allege the Church's co-operation with these guilds as a certain proof of the morality of their laws and practises. Whenever justice and charity controlled their activities, they seem to have been beneficial to society, but the restraint upon lawful liberty was better fitted for the control of children than for an adult state. No one wishes to go back to their ordinances, but whatever was good in their spirit might be adapted to modern conditions.

In their development many of the merchant guilds became exclusive, tyrannical, and oppressive. When the craft-guilds were organized, a little later, the merchant guilds, now largely fallen into the power of the wealthy, opposed these craft guilds and ostracised their members. The sympathy of the Church was with the craft-guilds, and many bishops and abbots openly championed the liberties of the workers against the tyranny of the powerful lords.

These craft-guilds endeavored to get every craftsman to join his respective guild. They also federated when possible and endeavored to establish a monopoly as a condition under which they could more effectively control the economic status of the guild. They thus established the price of the raw product, the price of the finished article, the hours of labor, the number of apprentices allowed to a single master crafts-

man, the years of apprenticeship, the pay of assistants, and they regulated weights and measures. Skill and a fair name were the qualifications for admission to the guild. The guilds were an incentive to good workmanship. The worker looked forward with pleasing anticipation to his admission.

In order that there might be work enough for all, no craftsman might at the same time practise two crafts. This ordinance was aimed to prevent unemployment.

The usual length of the working day was measured by the daylight, and thus was longer in summer and shorter in winter. But they worked leisurely, and all Sundays were days of rest and worship. There were many Holy Days. The institution of Holy Days, against which an unbelieving generation inveighs so bitterly, is a beneficent custom. They break the monotony of the laborer's life, give him the necessary rest and relaxation, and inject that element of cheerfulness into the laborer's life that is necessary for a healthy, contented, human life. Besides all the Sundays, the laborers had about thirty-eight holidays for rest and recreation.

In some occupations, such as mining, the hours were shortened, and the rewards increased.

In North Southwark in the year 1919, the labor party widely circulated amongst the electorate an extract of a mining law prepared by Philip II. of Spain, as a practical illustration of the interest of a Catholic monarch in his workmen. The document was discovered by Commander Allard, and is an edict of Philip II. of Spain from 1550 to 1596. It was registered in the Parliament of Dole, 1579. His Majesty "ordains that mine workers will labor eight hours a day, in two shifts of four hours. If the work is to be accelerated it will be done by four workers, that is, by four shifts laboring six hours each, without a break; each worker having finished his six hours will pass his tools on to the hands of the next, thus having 18 hours' rest out of the twenty-four. . . . We will and ordain that on feasts of precept, the workmen to be paid as if they had worked. Item—on Easter, Christmas and Pentecost he will labor for half week only, except the boys drawing water (to prevent the mines being inundated). On the four feasts of Our Lady, and on the twelve feasts of the Apostles, the workmen will quit work half a day before the vigil of each feast." The edict sets out that the miners had a market in the mines, and it was not permitted to officers, lessees, and landlords to buy provisions before the workmen were supplied.

A fundamental principle of the guilds was the private ownership of property. They were also religious organizations; they placed man's duty to God before all other considerations, and helped the guild member to develop his moral character.

The Reformation changed the religious, social, and economic status of Europe. It substituted naturalism for supernaturalism. It threw the spiritual restraint off of pride and worldly ambition, and fostered a cold, heartless worldliness, which gradually threw the masses of the people back into a helpless subjection to the favored classes.

One of the ablest Protestant historians of England, Thorold Rogers ("History of Agriculture") declares:

"The craft-guilds assisted in steadying the price of labor, and formed a permanent center for those associations which filled the function that in more recent times trade-unions have striven to satisfy. . . .

"The shameless confiscation of the entire property of the craft-guilds, one of the worst kinds of wanton plunder in European history, perpetrated under Henry VIII. and Edward VI. to fill the royal purse, brought untold misery to the masses of the working people."

The craft-guilds could not survive this catastrophe. It would be vain to endeavor to return to them. Too many changes have come into the life of man to make a return to these guilds possible. But in their justice, in their strong principles of religion, and in their honest industry we should find inspiration to readjust our present institutions to a more equitable basis.

Before the Civil War in our country, Socialism was confined to small groups of German immigrants in New York and adjoining states.

In 1853 Joseph Weydemeyer, a disciple of Marx, founded a *General Labor Union*, exclusively of Germans. In the same year a number of English-speaking workingmen joined Weydemeyer's Union, and formed the *Amalgamated American Society of Workingmen.* Its principles were socialistic. It soon collapsed and passed out of existence.

The Germans continued their efforts to form a socialistic Labor Union. The war of secession made the movement for the time impossible.

In 1867 followers of the extreme socialist, Lassalle, formed the political "Social Party," but it failed in the election of 1868, and collapsed.

Rise of the Labor Unions

The stream of German immigrants brought into the country many Marxians, and thus in 1869 there was formed in New York *The German Section of The International Workingmen's Association.* This was intensely socialistic, according to the principles of Marx. Other sections of Marx' *International* soon followed. These embraced various nationalities.

In 1874 was formed by a fusion of the various groups *The Social Democratic Workingmen's Party of North America.* Its principal press organs were the "Sozial Democrat" and "The Socialist."

In the early seventies *The Labor Party of Illinois* was formed. Its executive center was Chicago. Its principles were Marxian.

In 1876, at Philadelphia these organizations were amalgamated into the *Workingmen's Party of the United States.* In 1877, at Newark, N. J., the name was changed to the *Socialist Labor Party of North America.*

The principles of this organization were thoroughly socialistic as is evident from their *manifesto* issued at Baltimore, Md., in 1883:

"Labor being the creator of all wealth and civilization, it rightfully follows that those who labor and create all wealth should enjoy the full result of their toil. Therefore we declare:

"That a just and equitable distribution of the fruits of labor is utterly impossible under the present system of society. This fact is abundantly illustrated by the deplorable condition of the working classes, which are in a state of destitution and degrading dependence in the midst of their own productions. While the hardest and most disagreeable work brings to the worker only the bare necessaries of life, others, who labor not, riot in labor's production. We furthermore declare:

"That the present industrial system of competition, based on rent, profit-taking, and interest, causes and intensifies this inequality, concentrating into the hands of a few all means of production, distribution, and the results of labor, thus creating gigantic monopolies, dangerous to the people's liberties; and we further declare:

"That these monster monopolies and these consequent extremes of wealth and poverty supported by class legislation are subversive of all democracy, injurious to the national interests, and destructive of truth and morality. This state of affairs, continued and upheld by the ruling political parties, is against the welfare of the people.

"To abolish this system, with a view to establish co-operative production, and to secure equitable distribution, *we demand that the resources of life, namely, land, the means of production, public transportation, and exchange, become, as fast as practicable, the property of the whole state.*"

From the beginning the socialists endeavored to absorb the trade-unions. They succeeded in large measure. In New York the Central Labor Union, founded in 1882, adopted a socialistic platform. The United German Trades of the City of New York were entirely dominated by Socialism. Their chief press organ was the *New Yorker Volkzeitung* founded in 1878, and since its founding the principal champion of German-American socialists. In Philadelphia, Cleveland, Baltimore, Buffalo, and other cities German Trade-Unions became affiliated to Socialism.

From the beginning the socialists have tried to control the workingmen. They make their chief appeal to the workers of the world; they base their propaganda on the evils which existing conditions inflict on labor; they declare their aim to be to give to the laborer his just part of what his labor creates. It must be admitted that the socialists have drawn the greatest part of their membership from the ranks of the laborers.

The aim of the Socialist Party in America in the early Nineties was to get control of the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor.

In 1893 the socialists succeeded in electing delegates to the General Assembly of the Knights of Labor. A dissension arose soon after and in 1895 most of the socialists left the Knights.

In 1894 the socialists failed to insert socialistic planks in the platform of the American Federation of Labor.

At this juncture Daniel De Leon, a disaffected Knight of Labor, organized *The Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.* The membership of this party was made up mainly of trade-unions.

A fierce hostility existed between *The Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance* and the *Trade-Unions* who had refused to join them. Internal war also broke out within the ranks

of the *Alliance*, culminating in a secession in 1899 of a faction which formed a new party under the name of *The Social Democratic Party*. The chief promoter of this last named party was Eugene V. Debs of unsavory fame. In 1901 the *Social Democratic Party* adopted the name, *The Socialist Party*.

The *Socialist Labor Party* has rapidly declined in power; while the *Socialist Party* has grown with great rapidity. The platform of the Socialist Party approved in the Chicago Convention, 1904, is as follows:

SOCIALISM'S PLATFORM

NATIONAL PLATFORM OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY. ADOPTED MAY 5, 1904.

I.

"The Socialist Party, in convention assembled, makes its appeal to the American people as the defender and preserver of the idea of liberty and self-government, in which the nation was born; as the only political movement standing for the program and principles by which the liberty of the individual may become a fact; as the only political organization that is democratic; and that has for its purpose the democratizing of the whole of society.

"To this idea of liberty the Republican and Democratic parties are equally false. They alike struggle for power to maintain and profit by an industrial system which can be preserved only by the complete overthrow of such liberties as we already have, and by the still further enslavement and degradation of labor.

"Our American institutions came into the world in the name of freedom. They have been seized upon by the capitalist class as the means of rooting out the idea of freedom from among the people. Our state and national legislatures have become the mere agencies of great propertied interests. These interests control the appointments and decisions of the judges of our courts. They have come into what is practically a private ownership of all the functions and forces of government. They are using these to betray and conquer foreign and weaker peoples, in order to establish new markets for the surplus goods which the people make, but are too poor to buy. They are gradually so invading and restricting the right of suffrage as to take away unawares the right of the worker to a vote or voice in public affairs. By enacting new and misinterpreting old laws, they are preparing to

attack the liberty of the individual even to speak or think for himself, or for the common good.

"By controlling all the sources of social revenue, the possessing class is able to silence what might be the voice of protest against the passing of liberty and the coming of tyranny. It completely controls the university and public school, the pulpit and the press, and the arts and literatures. By making these economically dependent upon itself, it has brought all the forms of public teaching into servile submission to its own interests.

"Our political institutions are also being used as the destroyers of that individual property upon which all liberty and opportunity depend. The promise of economic independence to each man was one of the faiths upon which our institutions were founded. But, under the guise of defending private property, capitalism is using our political institutions to make it impossible for the vast majority of human beings ever to become possessors of private property in the means of life.

"Capitalism is the enemy and destroyer of essential private property. Its development is through the legalized confiscation of all that the labor of the working class produces, above its subsistence-wage. The private ownership of the means of employment grounds society in an economic slavery which renders intellectual and political tyranny inevitable.

"Socialism comes so to organize industry and society that every individual shall be secure in that private property in the means of life upon which his liberty of being, thought, and action depend. It comes to rescue the people from the fast increasing and successful assault of capitalism upon the liberty of the individual.

II.

"As an American Socialist Party, we pledge our fidelity to the principles of international socialism, as embodied in the united thought and action of the socialists of all nations. In the industrial development already accomplished, the interests of the world's workers are separated by no national boundaries. The condition of the most exploited and oppressed workers, in the most remote places of the earth, inevitably tends to drag down all the workers of the world to the same level. The tendency of the competitive wage system is to make labor's lowest condition the measure or rule of its universal condition. Industry and finance are no

longer national but international, in both organization and results. The chief significance of national boundaries, and of the so-called patriotisms which the ruling class of each nation is seeking to revive, is the power which these give to capitalism to keep the workers of the world from uniting, and to throw them against each other in the struggles of contending capitalist interests for the control of the yet unexploited markets of the world, or the remaining sources of profit.

"The socialist movement therefore is a world-movement. It knows of no conflicts of interest between the workers of one nation and the workers of another. It stands for the freedom of the workers of all nations; and, in so standing it makes for the full freedom of all humanity.

III.

"The socialist movement owes its birth and growth to that economic development or world-process which is rapidly separating a working or producing class from a possessing or capitalist class. The class that produces nothing possesses labor's fruits, and the opportunities and enjoyments these fruits afford, while the class that does the world's real work has increasing economic uncertainty, and physical and intellectual misery, for its portion.

"The fact that these two classes have not yet become fully conscious of their distinction from each other, the fact that the lines of division and interest may not yet be clearly drawn, does not change the fact of the class conflict.

"This class struggle is due to the private ownership of the means of employment, or the tools of production. Wherever and whenever man owned his own land and tools, and by them produced only the things which he used, economic independence was possible. But production, or the making of goods, has long ceased to be individual. The labor of scores, or even thousands, enters into almost every article produced. Production is now social or collective. Practically everything is made or done by many men—sometimes separated by seas or continents—working together for the same end. But this co-operation in production is not for the direct use of the things made by the workers who make them, but for the profit of the owners of the tools and means of production; and to this is due the present division of society into two classes; and from it have sprung all the miseries, inharmonies, and contradictions of our civilization.

"Between these two classes there can be no possible compromise or identity of interests, any more than there can be peace in the midst of war, or light in the midst of darkness. A society based upon this class division carries in itself the seeds of its own destruction. Such a society is founded in fundamental injustice. There can be no possible basis for social peace, for individual freedom, for mental and moral harmony, except in the conscious and complete triumph of the working class as the only class that has the right or power to be.

IV.

"The socialist program is not a theory imposed upon society for its acceptance or rejection. It is but the interpretation of what is, sooner or later, inevitable. Capitalism is already struggling to its destruction. It is no longer competent to organize or administer the work of the world, or even to preserve itself. The captains of industry are appalled at their own inability to control or direct the rapidly socializing forces of industry. The so-called trust is but a sign and form of the developing socialization of the world's work. The universal increase of the uncertainty of employment, the universal capitalist determination to break down the unity of labor in the trades-unions, the widespread apprehensions of impending change, reveal that the institutions of capitalist society are passing under the power of inhering forces that will soon destroy them.

"Into the midst of the strain and crisis of civilization, the socialist movement comes as the only conservative force. If the world is to be saved from chaos, from universal disorder and misery, it must be by the union of the workers of all nations in the socialist movement. The Socialist Party comes with the only proposition or program for intelligently and deliberately organizing the nation for the common good of all its citizens. It is the first time that the mind of man has ever been directed toward the conscious organization of society.

"Socialism means that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall by the people in common be owned and administered. It means that the tools of employment shall belong to their creators and users; that all production shall be for the direct use of the producers; that the making of goods for profit shall come to an end; that we shall all be workers together; and that all opportunities shall be open and equal to all men.

V.

"To the end that the workers may seize every possible advantage that may strengthen them to gain complete control of the powers of government, and thereby the sooner establish the co-operative commonwealth, the Socialist Party pledges itself to watch and work in both the economic and the political struggle for each successive immediate interest of the working class; for shortened days of labor and increases of wages; for the insurance of the workers against accident, sickness, and lack of employment; for pensions for aged and exhausted workers; for the public ownership of the means of transportation, communication and exchange; for the graduated taxation of incomes, inheritances, franchises and land values, the proceeds to be applied to the public employment and improvement of the conditions of the workers; for the complete education of children, and their freedom from the workshop; for the prevention of the use of the military against labor in the settlement of strikes; for the free administration of justice; for popular government, including initiative, referendum, proportional representation, equal suffrage for men and women and municipal home rule, and the recall of officers by their constituents; and for every gain or advantage for the workers that may be wrested from the capitalist system, and that may relieve the suffering and strengthen the hands of labor. We lay upon every man elected to any executive or legislative office the first duty of striving to procure whatever is for the workers' most immediate interest, and for whatever will lessen the economic and political powers of the capitalist, and increase the like powers of the worker.

"But in so doing, we are using these remedial measures as means to the one great end of the co-operative commonwealth. Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry, and thus come into their rightful inheritance.

"To this end we pledge ourselves, as the party of the working class, to use all political power, as fast as it shall be entrusted to us by our fellow-workers, both for their immediate interests and for their ultimate and complete emancipation. To this end we appeal to all the workers of America, and to all who will lend their lives to the service of the workers in their struggle to gain their own, and to all who will nobly and disinterestedly give their days and energies unto the workers' cause, to cast in their lot and faith with the Socialist

Party. Our appeal for the trust and suffrages of our fellow-workers is at once an appeal for their common good and freedom, and for the freedom and blossoming of our common humanity. In pledging ourselves, and those we represent, to be faithful to the appeal which we make, we believe we are but preparing the soil of that economic freedom from which will spring the freedom of the whole man."

The Socialist Party aims to absorb the trade-unions of the world. They appended to their platform the following resolution on Trade-Unionism:

"The trades-union struggle requires the political activity of the working class. The workers must assist and permanently secure by their political power what they have wrung from their exploiters in the economic struggle. In accordance with the decisions of the International Socialist Congresses in Brussels, Zurich, and London, this convention reaffirms the declarations that the trades and labor unions are a necessity in the struggle to aid in emancipating the working class and we consider it the duty of all wage-workers to affiliate with this movement.

"Political differences of opinion do not and should not justify the division of the forces of labor in the industrial movement. The interests of the working class make it imperative that the labor organizations equip their members for the great work of the abolition of wage slavery by educating them in socialist principles."

On April 7, 1917, an *Emergency Convention* of the Socialist Party was held at St. Louis to declare the Socialists' war policy. The convention sent out a report from which we excerpt the following most important principles:

"The Socialist Party of the United States, in the present grave crisis, solemnly reaffirms its allegiance to the principle of internationalism and working class solidarity the world over, and proclaims its unalterable opposition to the war just declared by the government of the United States.

"The Socialist Party of the United States is unalterably opposed to the system of exploitation and class rule which is upheld and strengthened by military power and sham national patriotism. We, therefore, call upon the workers of all countries to refuse support to their governments in their wars. The wars of the contending national groups of capitalists are not the concern of the workers. The only struggle which would justify the workers in taking up arms is the great struggle of the working class of the world to free itself from economic exploitation and political oppression as against

the false doctrine of national patriotism. We uphold the ideal of international working class solidarity. In support of capitalism, we will not willingly give a single life or a single dollar; in support of the struggle of the workers for freedom we pledge our all.

"Our entrance into the European conflict at this time will serve only to multiply the horrors of the war, to increase the toll of death and destruction and to prolong the fiendish slaughter. It will bring death, suffering and destitution to the people of the United States and particularly to the working class. It will give the powers of reaction in this country the pretext for an attempt to throttle our rights and to crush our democratic institutions, and to fasten upon this country a permanent militarism.

"We recommend to the workers and pledge ourselves to the following course of action:

"1. Continuous, active, and public opposition to the war, through demonstrations, mass petitions, and all other means within our power.

"2. Unyielding opposition to all proposed legislation for military or industrial conscription. Should such conscription be forced upon the people, we pledge ourselves to continuous efforts for the repeal of such laws and to the support of all mass movements in opposition to conscription. We pledge ourselves to oppose with all our strength any attempt to raise money for the payment of war expense by taxing the necessaries of life or issuing bonds which will put the burden upon future generations. We demand that the capitalist class, which is responsible for the war, pay its cost. Let those who kindled the fire furnish the fuel.

"3. Vigorous resistance to all reactionary measures, such as censorship of press and mails, restriction of the rights of free speech, assemblage, and organization, or compulsory arbitration and limitation of the right to strike.

"4. Consistent propaganda against military training and militaristic teaching in the public schools.

"5. Extension of the campaign of education among the workers to organize them into strong, class-conscious, and closely unified political and industrial organizations to enable them by concerted and harmonious mass action to shorten this war and to establish lasting peace.

"6. Widespread educational propaganda to enlighten the masses as to the true relation between capitalism and war, and to rouse and organize them for action, not only against present war evils, but for the prevention of future wars and for the destruction of the causes of war."

The report was signed by

KATE RICHARDS O'HARE, *Chairman.*
VICTOR L. BERGER.
JOB HARRIMAN.
MORRIS HILLQUIT.
DAN HOGAN.
FRANK MIDNEY.
PATRICK QUINLAN.
C. E. RUTHENBERG.
MAYNARD SHIPLEY.
GEORGE SPIESS, JR.

ALGERNON LEE, *Secretary.*

The action of the Emergency Convention was subsequently endorsed by a referendum of 11,041 to 782, so that it becomes a law of the Socialist Party.

In the Socialist Emergency Convention a proposal was submitted to affiliate the socialists of America with what is known as the *Third International*, the Communist Party of Moscow, which was formed at Moscow, March 2-6, 1919. The *Third International* was signed by Trotzky, Lenin and others. Among its declarations are the following:

"Wherever the masses are awakened to consciousness, workers', soldiers' and peasants' councils will be formed.

"The imperialistic war which pitted nation against nation has passed and is passing into the civil war which lines up class against class. . . . The working class must answer blow for blow. . . . This makes necessary the disarming of the bourgeoisie at the proper time, the arming of the laborer, and the formation of a Communist army as the protector of the rule of the proletariat.

"Under the standard of the workmen's councils, under the banner of the Third International, in the revolutionary struggle for power and the dictatorship of the proletariat, proletarians of all countries unite!

"Seizure of political power by the proletariat means destruction of the political power of the bourgeoisie. Conquest of the political power means . . . annihiliation of the enemy's apparatus of government . . . disarmament of the bourgeoisie, arming of the proletariat . . . . Victory of the proletariat consists in . . . destruction of the bourgeoisie and upbuilding of the proletarian state apparatus.

"The Communist International calls the whole world proletariat to this final struggle. Down with the imperialistic conspiracy of capitalism. Long live the international republic of the proletarian councils."

In its present status we are forced to admit that Socialism exercises a powerful influence upon trade-unions. In 1902 the Western Labor Union, with a membership of about 150,000, the Western Federation of Miners, and the United Association of Hotel and Restaurant Employees, in conven-

tion assembled at Denver, Colorado, adopted the Socialist Platform. In November of 1902 in a convention at New Orleans of the American Federation of Labor an attempt was made to introduce a socialist resolution. It was defeated by a vote of 3,744 against 3,344. (Hillquit, "History of Socialism.") The defeat of the resolution gives small comfort, when we realize that nearly half of the Trade-Union delegates voted for the resolution.

The complete control of unionized labor which Socialism has obtained in other countries, it aims to acquire in our country. In the Socialist Convention in New York (1920) George Bauer, delegate from New Jersey, declared:

"We must not keep running away from the millions in the federation. We must begin working from within through its local unions, eventually to control it, instead of forcing it apart from us."

The socialistic tendencies of labor-unions in England are acknowledged with alarm by the great publicist, Frederic Harrison. In the London *Daily Chronicle* (1919), Mr. Harrison, who has always championed the cause of Labor-Unions, writes:

"It rests with you, the trained and chosen leaders of labor, to make your fellow workers understand how close to ruin and starvation our people stand. This is no panic cry. It is the plain truth, which your experience of economic realities must have forced upon your own minds. Make those who look to you for guidance see it as clearly as you see it yourselves.

"Trade-unionism, which during two whole generations has won for our people untold gains by gradual and skillful action, is menaced today from within by mutiny. It is challenged by the outlandish craze for local *Soviets* and wildcat visions of foreign anarchism. Unless you, the responsible leaders, can enforce discipline, restore union and common sense in the masses of labor, trade-unionism itself is lost—and in the breakdown of it ruin and starvation await millions of our people at home." . . . .

"The wages paid enormously exceed the real value of the work done. Bread, coal, houses, sea and land transport are all subsidized, as very soon meat and milk will be subsidized. That means that producers of all of these necessaries are paid far more than the goods really earn.

"A large part of wages now paid to workmen are doles, *i. e.*, gifts paid over and above the value of their work out of the taxes of their fellow citizens. So far labor is being

pauperized; it is being given money which it does not earn: it is sucking down the savings of thrift and piling up debts to lie heavy on our children.

"This cannot go on. If some ten or fifteen millions of men and women continue to receive a large portion of their wages out of the pockets of the taxpayers, this monstrous form of charity must soon end—because the fund that supplies it will speedily dry up. No country in the world can make a practise of paying its workers a bonus of £200,000,000 more than they really earn. Besides which the whole transaction is one of paper credit, *i. e.*, promises to pay, not of money or money's worth. The most unthinking can see that it means bankruptcy for the state, ruin to the private citizen, starvation to the workman."

The close alliance between labor-unions and Socialism is an indisputable fact of history. It is not asserted that a Labor-Union by any intrinsic necessity must be socialistic. The Catholic Labor-Unions of Belgium and Canada are not thus far socialistic. But history is not what it may be, but what it is. The Jew may be a Christian, and, in isolated cases, is a Christian; but the Jews as a race are antagonistic to Christianity. The Labor-Union as an historical movement has been and is socialistic. It may adroitly, to appeal to popular opinion, repudiate certain radical socialistic principles but it retains others. Liebknecht, who was surely competent to speak in the matter, declares:

"Every wage-earner is either a socialist already, or on the high road to become one."

Inasmuch as Liebknecht is declared by Mr. Spargo to be the "most astute political leader the Socialist movement has yet produced," Liebknecht's views as quoted by Spargo ("The Substance of Socialism," pp. 131-135) are here cited:

"We must not limit our conception of the term 'working class' too narrowly. As we have explained in speeches, tracts, and articles, we include in the working class all who live exclusively *or principally* by means of their own labor, and who do not grow rich through the work of others.

"Thus, besides the wage-earners, we should include in the working class the small farmers and small shopkeepers, who tend more and more to drop to the level of the proletariat—in other words, all those who suffer from our present system of production on a large scale.

"Some maintain, it is rue, that the wage-earning proletariat is the only really revolutionary class, that it alone forms the Socialist army, and that we ought to regard with

suspicion all adherents belonging to other classes or other conditions of life. Fortunately these senseless ideas have never taken hold of the German Social Democracy.

"The wage-earning class is most directly affected by capitalist exploitation; it stands face to face with those who exploit it, and it has the special advantage of being concentrated in the factories and yards, so that it is naturally led to think things out more energetically and finds itself automatically organized into 'Battalions of workers.' This state of things gives it a revolutionary character which no other part of society has to the same degree. We must recognize this frankly.

"Every wage-earner is either a Socialist already, or on the highroad to becoming one. The wage-earners of the national workshops in France, whom the middle class government of the February Republic wished to make use of against the Social proletariat, went over to the enemy at the crucial moment. In the same way we see how those trades unions that were started by the agents of the German middle-class to oppose the Socialist workmen, either have maintained only the shadow of an existence or have in their turn been swept into the current of Socialist ideas. The wage-earner is led toward Socialism by all his surroundings, by all the conditions in which he finds himself. He is forced to think by the very conditions of his life, and as soon as he thinks he becomes a Socialist.

"But if the wage-earner suffers more directly and visibly under the system of capitalist exploitation, the small farmers and shopkeepers are as truly affected by it, although in a less direct and obvious manner.

"The unhappy situation of the small farmers almost all over Germany is as well known as the artisan movement. It is true that both small farmers and small shopkeepers are still in the camp of our adversaries, but only because they do not understand the profound causes that underlie their deplorable condition; it is of prime importance for our party to enlighten them and bring them over to our side. *This is a vital question for our party, because these two classes form the majority of the nation.* . . .

"The German Socialists . . . have long understood the importance of propaganda and the necessity of winning over the small shopkeeping class and the small farmers.

"*A tiny minority alone demands that the Socialist movement shall be limited to the wage-earning class.*

* * * * * * * *

"The hyper-revolutionary dress-parade Socialism, that addresses itself exclusively to 'the horny-handed sons of toil' has two advantages for the reaction. First, it limits the Socialist movement to a class that in Germany at least is not large enough to bring about a revolution; and besides this, it is an excellent way of frightening the main body of the people who are half indifferent, especially the peasants and the petty bourgeoisie, who have not yet organized any independent political activity.

* * * * * * * *

"We ought not to ask, 'Are you a wage-earner?' but 'Are you a Socialist?'

"*If it is limited to the wage-earners, Socialism cannot conquer. If it includes all the workers and the moral and intellectual elite of the nation, its victory is certain.*"

There is in Brooklyn, N. Y., an American Bureau of the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions. In March, 1921, the Bureau, through its secretary, James Crawford, has issued a call to all Union labor to force their unions to join the Third International, and to send representatives to a congress of revolutionary Labor-Unions to be held in Moscow in May, 1921.

Morris Hillquit declares:

"The Socialist movement in the United States has grown immensely in extent and influence during the last few years. It has penetrated into the broad masses of the American workingmen, it is gaining adherents among other classes of the population, and rapidly invading all parts of the country." ("History of Socialism.")

The California State Federation of Labor in its program contemplates the gradual establishment of Socialism. The State Federation of Labor of Ohio has adopted a socialistic platform. The Chicago Federation of Labor has organized an Independent Labor Party with a socialistic platform.

If we could save the Trade-Unions from Socialism, Socialism would die of inanition in a short time in the United States.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR-UNIONS

TRADE-UNIONISM IS INTERNATIONAL

In July, 1919, at Amsterdam, Holland, an international trade-union conference assembled in which delegates from America, Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Austria,

Denmark, Holland, Luxembourg, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway, Spain, and Czecho-Slovakia took part. America was represented by Samuel Gompers, Daniel J. Tobin, and John Hynes. The total membership represented by the delegates was 17,740,000. The German delegates represented the largest membership and were given 14 votes; Great Britain stood next in numerical strength and was given 11 votes. America was third with 9 votes. The basis of representation is:

One vote for 250,000 members or less.

Two votes for 250,000 to 500,000 members.

Three votes for 500,000 to 1,000,000 members.

One vote for each 500,000 or fraction thereof, over and above 1,000,000 members.

The Headquarters are located permanently at Amsterdam. The contribution is fixed on the basis of one-half cent per member. None of the officers are American. The organization is called the *International Federation of Trade Unions.*

The objects of the *International Federation of Trade-Unions* shall be:

1. The promotion of the interests and endeavors of the organizations affiliated on a national and international basis.

2. The promotion of the Trade-Union movement, both national and international in the countries not affiliated.

3. The promotion of combined action on all questions of mutual trade-union interest.

4. The prevention of international blacklegging.

5. The provision of funds for the promotion and furtherance of the foregoing objects, and such other Trade-Union objects as may from time to time be incorporated in the rules.

Their program is made up of eleven paragraphs, of which the following seem to be most important:

(c) The issue of an appeal for combined assistance in case of need. It is thus a league of nations without reservations.

(d) The promoting of Trade-Union propaganda in the countries affiliated when proposed by the respective national center. The "*Labor League of Nations*" shall thus help to effect the closed shop when requested by the national center of labor of any country.

(f) The promoting of Trade-Unionist objects in the countries non-affiliated as far as this appears possible.

This last purpose is being effected now in regard to South America. The American Federation of Labor is actively engaged in promoting Trade-Unionism in South America.

The membership of the American Federation of Labor is about 3,000,000. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, and the Railroad Conductors' Order have not yet affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, but such an affiliation is now being consummated. This amalgamation will give organized labor a membership of over 5,000,000 out of a laborer census of about 43,000,000.

The first recorded Trade-Union in America was a little local organized by the Philadelphia Shoemakers in 1792.

In 1833 the first federation of unions of various crafts was formed in New York. It only comprised the crafts of New York City.

In 1836 the shoemakers formed their first national union of their craft in this country. The growth of Labor-Unions has been remarkable, notwithstanding the fact that many strong corporations refuse to employ union men if they are known. Justice is not contravened by this right of the employer, but its enforcement might be against charity if no other reason could be brought against the workers save his membership in a union which he has a perfect right to join. If an employer has followed an established policy of a non-union shop; if he deals justly with his operatives, and a state of peace and good will reigns there, it would be within his right, even in charity, to refuse to admit union men. He might reasonably fear that they might disrupt the just and peaceful conditions established. His exclusion of the man who wishes to work is not absolute. The union man may drop his membership in the union without dishonor, and thus qualify himself for admission.

The general attitude of the different departments of our Government and the public opinion of the people are very favorable to labor. The Clayton Act, which declared that "labor is not a commodity" gave labor a dignity and a right which place the laborer on the plane of true equality. In every just strike and in some unjust strikes public opinion is with the laborer. I believe that it will be impossible to show where an injunction of a court has been granted against strikers who conducted their strike in a just and orderly manner.

The cause of the Labor-Unions has been injured by the I. W. W. and by the Socialists. The I. W. W. developed out of the Trade-Unions by a process of combination of the lowest sediments. The I. W. W. is made up of the lowest

strata of our industrial population. The leaders are freebooters who aim at personal advantage by agitation. They have no hope of accomplishing their destructive program, but the agitation serves to hold their ignorant followers in their power, and serves to enable them to exact tribute from the workers.

THE GREAT STEEL STRIKE

The extreme aims of some of these leaders brought on them the name of "Impossibilists." The shrewder, though equally unscrupulous leaders, recognizing the need of a more practical program in order to hold their following, became the "Possibilists." Their chief program seems to be to keep the workers inflamed by revolutionary literature and speeches and to foment strikes. Thus Foster was at first an "Impossibilist." He developed into a "Possibilist" and as such precipitated the great steel strike of 1919.

An extended report of this strike is published in the "Monthly Labor Review," December, 1919. The strike was an outcome of an attempt to make the steel mills a "closed shop." Soon after the formation of the United States Steel Corporation in 1901 the following resolution was passed:

"That we are unalterably opposed to any expansion of union labor, and advise subsidiary companies to take a firm position when these questions come up, and say that they are not going to recognize it—that is, any extension of the unions in mills where they do not now exist; that great care should be used to prevent trouble, and that they promptly report and confer with the corporation."

This policy has been consistently maintained. Mr. Gary testified before the Senate Committee as follows:

"It has been my policy, the policy of our corporation, not to deal with labor leaders. . . . When an employer contracts with the union labor leaders he immediately drives all of his employees into the unions. Otherwise they can not get employment. That is a part of the reason for trying to organize the men, and that is why we have been such an obstruction. I am not antagonizing unions; I am not saying that they have not a perfect right to form unions; of course they have; but we are not obliged to contract with them if we do not choose to do so; and we think, because of many things that have happened—and some of them are happening today—that unionism is not a good thing for the employer or employee."

As an evidence that the Steel Corporation did not exclude union labor the union officials admit that 100,000 of the 500,000 men employed belonged to various labor unions.

The demands of the organized men became increasingly insistent and in June, 1919, Mr. Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, wrote to Mr. Gary, chief executive officer of the United States Steel Corporation, asking that he accord a committee an opportunity to meet him for the purpose of discussing the grievances of the steel workers. The letter appears to have been unanswered. On July 24, 1919, a meeting of the 25 unions represented in the steel industry was called to discuss the demands of the men. It was decided to put the matter to a strike vote. Within the month before the strike vote was compiled an additional 50,000 men were reported as having joined the union. Ninety-eight per cent of the votes cast were in favor of authorizing the representatives to call a strike in the event of failure to get consideration.

On August 26 the steel and iron workers' committee wrote to Mr. Gary asking for a conference.

Judge Gary replied as follows:

"GENTLEMEN: Receipt of your communication of August 26 instant is acknowledged.

"We do not think you are authorized to represent the sentiment of a majority of the employees of the United States Steel Corporation and its subsidiaries. We express no opinion concerning any other members of the iron and steel industry.

"As heretofore publicly stated and repeated, our corporation and subsidiaries, although they do not combat labor unions as such, decline to discuss business with them. The corporation and subsidiaries are opposed to the "closed shop." They stand for the "open shop" which permits one to engage in any line of employment whether one does or does not belong to a labor union. This best promotes the welfare of both employees and employers. In view of the well-known attitude, as above expressed, the officers of the corporation respectfully decline to discuss with you as representatives of a labor union, any matters relating to employees. In doing so no personal discourtesy is intended.

"In all decisions and acts of the corporation and subsidiaries pertaining to employees and employment their interests are of highest importance. In wage rates, living and working conditions, conservation of life and health, care and comfort in times of sickness or old age, and providing

facilities for the general welfare and happiness of employees and their families, the corporation and subsidiaries have endeavored to occupy a leading and advanced position among employers.

"It will be the object of the corporation and subsidiaries to give such consideration to employees as to show them their loyal and efficient service in the past is appreciated, and that they may expect in the future fair treatment."

About August 28, following, Mr. Gompers and a committee of the steel workers conferred with President Wilson and asked him to try to bring about a conference with Mr. Gary. The President said he would try to prevail upon Mr. Gary to permit such conference to take place.

On September 8, Mr. Gompers advised that the strike be deferred, but the committee decided that in view of the temper of the men, due in part to the fact that I. W. W. organizers had been busy among the unskilled workers, and of the certainty felt by the committee that the strike was inevitable, it would be better to conduct the strike according to the peaceful methods of the American Federation of Labor than to leave the men to the influence of the more radical I. W. W. element. They wired the President asking him what degree of progress, if any, he had made in his efforts to adjust matters in the controversy. The President wired that he was somewhat discouraged with his efforts, leading the men to assume at least that negotiations had not developed to a degree where the President had any assurance that results would be forthcoming. The strike was ordered for September 22.

The demands which the committee intended to bring to the attention of the United States Steel Corporation, in case the request for a conference should be conceded, are as follows:

"Right of collective bargaining.

"Reinstatement of men discharged for union activities.

"An eight-hour day.

"One day's rest in seven.

"Abolition of the 24-hour shift.

"Increase in wages sufficient to guarantee American standard of living.

"Standard scales of wages in all trades, and classification of workers.

"Double rate of pay for all overtime, holiday and Sunday work.

"Check-off system of collecting union dues and assessments.

"Principle of seniority to apply in maintenance, reduction, and increase of working forces.

"Abolition of company unions.

"Abolition of physical examination of applicants for employment."

On September 23 the Senate passed a resolution instructing the Committee on Education and Labor to investigate the dispute and report to the Senate upon the causes which brought it about. Mr. Gary's testimony in the hearings before this committee includes the following statistics of wages paid in the steel industry:

"The lowest wage rates pertain to unskilled labor working 10 hours per day at 42 cents per hour on the basic 8-hour plan, 42 cents per hour for 8 hours and for the hours over 8, time and one-half, at the rate of 63 cents per hour, making $4.62 for the 10-hour day. There are a few boys getting $3 a day.

"Where strikes are pending 46,638, or 24.4 per cent, of the employees are receiving the 42-cent rate, 154,327, or 75.6 per cent, are receiving more than 42 cents an hour.

"The average wage for all employees including superintendents and foremen is $6.27 per day. The average for unskilled labor is $5, and for the skilled is $6.70.

"There are a number of the more skilled workers receiving $28 or $29 per day, one roller receiving as high as $32.56 per day. . . . In some cases these men have helpers who are paid out of this wage."

In his testimony before the Senate committee Mr. Gary said:

"With reference to the 12-hour-turn employees, 26½ per cent. of all employees work the 12-hour turn, and the number is 69,284. The number working 8 and 10 hours is 191,896; approximately 8 hours, 88,994, and 10 hours, 102,902.

"Out of a total of 191,000 employees in the manufacturing plants 82 worked a continuous 24 hours once in each month, 344 men worked a continuous 18 hours twice each month. These are all in the blast furnace department. No other employees work a continuous 24 or 18 hours except in emergency times, like the war or something of that sort."

THE SENATE REPORT ON THE STRIKE

The Senate Committee on Education and Labor authorized to investigate the dispute held hearings in Washington and Pittsburgh, at which witnesses on both sides of the con-

troversy were examined. The report of the committee was issued November 10. In this report the committee declared that the underlying cause of the strike was the determination of the American Federation of Labor to organize the steel workers in opposition to the known and long-established policy of the steel industry against unionization; that both parties are at fault in refusing to heed the request of the President and evidence a lack of consideration for that great third party, the public, which is always the greatest sufferer in a strike of this character.

"The committee also presents these propositions:

"(a) That the laborers in the steel mills had a just complaint relative to the long hours of service on the part of some of them and the right to have that complaint heard by the company.

"(b) That they had the right to have the representatives of their own choosing present grievances to the employers.

"(c) That behind this strike there is massed a considerable element of I. W. W.'s, anarchists, revolutionists, and Russian soviets, and that some radical men not in harmony with the conservative elements of the American Federation of Labor are attempting to use the strike as a means of elevating themselves to power within the ranks of organized labor."

Wishing to be more fully informed of the merits of the steel strike, I wrote to a source which has every qualification of a competent and truthful witness. I here present the reply:

"Gary, Indiana, January 6, 1920.

"Rev. A. E. Breen, D.D., Professor of Sacred Scripture, St. Francis Seminary, St. Francis, Wisconsin.

"Dear Doctor Breen: Your letter of recent date was handed over to me for an answer. This brief exposition of the local Steel Strike represents our candid opinion of the industrial controversy, but for considerations of policy, we shall be grateful to you if you will withhold our names, should you incorporate same in your essays.

"The people here, very generally, seemed to be satisfied with wages and working conditions until the advent of outside agitators, who worked among them sedulously for over a year. Even in spite of their efforts it was difficult to induce the men to strike, though the great majority of them quit their places when the order was given to do so. Most of them did it reluctantly, out of fear of physical violence on the part of the few violent agitators in their midst and, chiefly, because they dreaded to be branded as 'scabs.' The psycholog-

ical import of this appellation, as you well know, is of prime importance and the most powerful ally of labor unions that order strikes and lockouts.

"The workmen of the foreign quarters of the city, constituting sixty per cent of the total mill forces, fell almost immediately under the influence of professional demagogues and local radicals, who promised them all sorts of things when the Steel Companies would capitulate in the near future. This they held to be a certainty. The sovietizing of the Mills was one of their favorite promises. Thus the foreigners held back, while foreigners from other towns, as well as Americans, commenced to return to their places. At last, seeing the futility of their obstinacy, they went back en masse, and for weeks the Mills have been working full force and full time, though the strike, technically speaking, is still on. Many of these people, who were earning from six to ten and twelve dollars a day, found their places taken, and had to accept the lowest and poorest paid jobs, none of which, however, pays less than five dollars a day. They were, however, promised advancement as soon as possible.

"The strike was ill-advised and unjustifiable. The only real grievance they had was the fact they had to work too long hours, ten and twelve per day, but the Company promised to remedy this as soon as possible. A diminution of time, however, means a corresponding diminution of pay, and many workmen, especially the sturdy foreigners, prefer to work longer and earn more money.

"We know nothing of living and working conditions in other mill towns, but here in Gary same are good. The machinery and buildings are of the latest type, and each man has a locker where he can change clothes upon going to and returning from the mills, and ample facilities are afforded to him for washing and bathing. With the wages the men received there is no reason why they should not live in a healthy and commodious house. The Company encourages them to build their own homes and helps them do so by actually building it for them on small monthly payments and a small rate of interest, which are taken from their wages. The city is most modern in every respect, and is kept, every part of it, very clean. There are no unsanitary quarters or slums.

"The Steel Company does not object to its men belonging to the Union, or dealing with them in matters concerning local grievances, but it will not countenance the 'closed shop.'

"Trusting that you will pardon the unavoidable delay in answering your letter and with heartiest greetings for a happy New Year, I remain, "Yours fraternally."

The proving force of this letter is not weakened by the fact of the suppression of the writer's name. I have the writer's name, and am willing to produce it to the proper persons with the writer's permission. I know the writer and I testify that his character is unimpeachable.

I received also from the National Americanization Bureau of Gary, Indiana, the following facts:

"Socialist agitators are making use of foreign-born workers to organize a veritable whirlpool of industrial chaos in which they hope to engulf the four basic industries of America. Modern industry rests upon Oil, Coal, Steel and Transportation. Paralyze any one of these and you threaten the stability of every investment in the country. Once the Reds gain control of these basic industries, all others must capitulate. Once the Bolshevists win their objective, no power can save the Republic, or prevent a reign of terror in which the loss of the propertied class will be complete.

"Do you know that the Steel Strike was organized to promote the general conspiracy against capital? Submission to the demands of Fitzpatrick and Foster, the Bolshevist leaders, would have been fatal. The nation owes Judge Gary a debt of everlasting gratitude for refusing to surrender to the forces of anarchy and treason.

"The Reds in the United Mine Workers Union timed the Coal Strike so as to back up the demands of Foster and Fitzpatrick, and FORCE the coal operators and officials of the Steel Industry of America to their knees, and compel the public to acquiesce in their conspiracy or freeze to death. Officials and members of the Miners' Union not only defied the government for weeks, but gloried in their treason. They did not yield until they saw revolution was not quite ripe. The cost of this strike, in life, misery, and loss of wages and business, is staggering. The army has agreed to suspend operations for a short time, but the war is not over.

"They also have up their sleeve a great Railroad Strike which they expected to spring at the psychological moment, if it became necessary in order to help win the coal and steel strikes.

"Win or lose, these conspirators will immediately reform their forces for another grand assault. Once they tie up the coal mines, steel mills and transportation lines, it would be an easy matter to convince their suffering, starving, freez-

ing, hopeless victims that civilization is a failure, religion a hoax and the American government a joke.

"Very few strikes are called in these days to better working conditions. They are propaganda strikes to establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

"This is the Bolshevist idea, and program. It applies to every industry in America.

"Bolshevist leaders in their literature say:

" 'We shall take possession of the industries for three reasons: because we need them, because we desire them, and because we have the power to take them. Whether it is right or wrong, moral or immoral, just or unjust, is of no concern to us.'

"Here we have in crystal the morals, ethics, and religion of Socialism. It would restore the old law of tooth, and claw, and fang. It is a cold-blooded proposition to dehumanize the human race.

"And they know how to do it.

"A flood of magazines, papers, pamphlets and leaflets, printed in the native tongue of the workers, attacking capital, and lauding Bolshevism as the specific for the cure of all political, social, industrial and economic ills, is pouring like a Niagara into the homes of our wage earners. More than fifty Bolshevist publications entered this field in the last sixty days. These all advocate the abolition of our Republican form of government and the socialization of all land and industry."

CO-OPERATION BY STOCK PURCHASE

Just wages, just hours of labor, brotherhood of man, and co-operation are the one means of solving the labor question. The only sound co-operation is joint ownership of the business, where the business is economically sound enough to exclude excessive risk. If a risk be involved in the investment of the laborer's savings in the stock of the business for which he works, it is better for the laborer to choose safer investments. A comparison will illustrate this point. In the last decade of the last century the New York and Kentucky Distilling Co. was formed with a center at Rochester, N. Y. It was capitalized with many millions, paid large dividends and enjoyed great credit. A poor man at Rochester, N. Y., in the employ of the aforesaid Company invested his small savings in twenty shares of the company at $200 per share. Soon after the president of the New York

and Kentucky Co. formed another stock company to build and operate a large department store. The aforesaid poor man bought thirty shares of the stock of the store. The poor man thus thought to provide for his old age.

I drew his will some years later and became his executor at his death. He left several children to whom he bequeathed the stock. The store failed; the stock is worthless. The New York and Kentucky is in process of liquidation. I have received thus far 60% on the dollar.

A few years later The Independent Telephone Co. was formed also at Rochester, N. Y. Men were told that ten shares of its stock would make a man independent. Many invested. It failed. The stockholders sued the promoters and after a long and expensive battle they recovered about 30% of their investment.

At the beginning of the year 1920 the Fidelity Trust Co. of Rochester, N. Y. was merged into the Rochester Trust and Safe Deposit Co., forming the largest Trust Co. between New York and Chicago. The merger necessitated the issuance of 1,250 additional shares of stock. These were a very attractive investment and were apportioned to the stockholders pro rata of their holdings of stock. The Directors of the bank wished to obtain some of the stock for the employees, and therefore requested all stockholders to assign their warrants for fractional shares to the bank to be distributed among the employees. This was generally done, as the fractional shares draw no dividend as long as they remain fractional. Thus these fractional shares are combined into whole shares, and as whole shares are offered to the employees on very easy terms. I believe that every employe of the bank will become a stockholder. The corporation is very strong; the risk is practically nil. This is the real co-operation, which will rapidly grow and be one of the greatest means of a more equitable distribution of wealth. It will prove to the world that Marx and his followers are wrong when they assert that capital is the surplus value held back from the labor which created it. Capital is accumulated savings, and the opportunity to possess it is open to all.

The "closed shop" operates against such co-operation. The "closed shop" theory would make it possible for Foster or some other I. W. W. to tell the joint owners of the U. S. Steel that they should not work in their own joint business. The "closed shop" tends to destroy the community of interest that should exist between employer and employee. By the principle of the "closed shop" the minimum wage is in effect

the maximum wage, and incentive to honest efficiency is removed by the leveling process of the union wage. The qualification of an employee is not his skill and faithfulness, but his union card.

Public opinion is strong against the autocratic principles of the Labor-Union and strong against the agitator. Socialism finds strong allies in the "closed shop" and in the agitator or walking delegate.

"Hoboken, N. J., Jan. 25, 1920.—A warning that union labor is menaced by the activities of Bolshevists, I. W. W. and radical Socialists within its ranks, and that their schemes must not be tolerated, was sounded today by Marsden G. Scott, president of the International Typographical Union, in a letter read at the convention of the Union Printers' League of New Jersey. Delegates representing twenty-one unions were present, also visiting printers from Washington, D. C. and cities in New England and Pennsylvania.

"It is stupid to deny the fact," Scott wrote, "that vicious alien propaganda has obtained a foothold in American trade unionism. There is more than a coincidence in the disclosures that show some of the same traitorous influences which sought to handicap our government during the war, are today co-operating to disrupt the American trades union movement."

He declared the "ultimate objects of the 'one big union' question of the I. W. W., radical Socialists, and Bolshevists is the destruction of unions like ours, the creation of political trades unions, and the substitution of general strikes for the orderly procedure of conciliation and arbitration."

"The man or men," he added, "who unnecessarily bring hunger and privation into the homes of the workmen is a criminal and a coward by every moral law, a social leper and menace to our country. It is unthinkable that American wage-earners will accept propaganda that includes precepts of the radical leaders of foreign lands, where murder, assassination and every unthinkable brutality is common to every-day existence."

Baltimore, Md.—Commissioners decreed on Saturday that all members of Baltimore's fire fighting forces must sever their connection with the firemen's union by Feb. 16, 1920. The firemen will be permitted to organize a welfare association, but it must be sanctioned by the commissioners, and must not be affiliated with any labor organization. Some time ago members of the police force were given similar orders.

Washington, Feb. 5, 1920.—The case of the bituminous coal industry, of the five states comprising the southwestern field, were laid before the coal strike settlement commission today by representatives of the operators and of the United Mine Workers' districts involved.

THE CLOSED SHOP

As spokesman for all operators in the field, H. N. Taylor, president of the National Coal Association, launched an attack on what he described as the "black and rotten record" of union leadership in the southwestern mines that precipitated a controversy between himself and John L. Lewis, acting president of the United Mine Workers of America.

Union heads have inflicted "economic loss and even poverty upon the willing worker in the mines," by calling "useless strikes" mostly of a "wildcat variety," Mr. Taylor declared. There were 364 strikes in the Kansas district alone in 1918 which cost the miners in lost wages $1,644,000, he added.

Mr. Lewis took exception to Mr. Taylor's term of "wildcat" strikes and declared the record should be cleared as to the precise connotation of "wildcat" as used by Mr. Taylor.

"Perhaps Mr. Taylor has used the term loosely," he said. "I would state that 'wildcat' as accepted in the parlance of labor circles and I believe elsewhere is properly a term to be applied only to unauthorized, irresponsible walkouts called in violation of contract agreements. As Mr. Taylor has laid the responsibility for these strikes upon the union heads I think the inconsistency should be cleared."

Mr. Taylor rejoined that inasmuch as the strikes had been called in spite of the existence of supposedly strike-proof contracts between operators and miners he still believed he was right in his choice of terms. He added that he believed the miners in the southwestern field did not need an increased wage scale as much as "an unmolested opportunity to work," the lack of which "could not in justice be balanced against the present scale."

In an address in 1919, before the National Geographic Society on the topic of Capital and Labor, former President William H. Taft declared that organizations of labor, though sincerely opposed to bolshevism, were in danger of embracing soviet methods.

"It seems to me very important," said Mr. Taft, "to point out that organizations of labor, though sincerely opposed

to bolshevism, are, by their proposed plans, in danger of embracing soviet methods.

"The hope of the country is in the bringing as near together as possible for common action the liberal employers and the conservative labor leaders," said Mr. Taft. "Nothing will promote this so much as a sincere effort at collective bargaining. But it must be collective bargaining in the full spirit of harmony, and not one with limitations which beget suspicion and furnish an excuse for breaking off negotiations and resorting to some extreme measures.

"I believe in trades unionism because only by trades unions can justice be secured to workingmen. But trades unions, like corporations, must be kept within the law.

"My experience satisfied me that the most powerful aid to the peaceful adjustment of adverse interests on a proper and just basis is the bringing together of employer and employe into the closest and most direct interchange of their counter claims.

"A labor union representative who leads his men into a strike on every occasion imperils his position among them in the long run much more than the one who saves them from strikes.

"The use of the injunction by a court is necessary in extreme cases to protect the business and property of the employer. This is when the employees step over the line of the law and seek by compound boycott or by violence to terrorize employers into yielding to their terms. Not infrequently the injunction has been effective to prevent such methods. But the injunction is a last resort.

"The employer who maintains a closed, non-union shop by contracts with his men that they shall not join unions and by dismissing them when they do, may free himself from inconvenience for the time, but he is not helping the relations between labor and capital in the community in which he lives. He creates outside of his shop a bitterness of feeling that does not make for the good of all. So those unions which use the closed shop to force men to join are engaged in a similarly unjust, selfish and injurious system."

The chief reason for the remarkable success of the Socialist Party of Italy in the November elections was the close and well-planned co-operation between the co-operative, unionist (syndicalist) and Socialist forces, according to Paul Faure, noted French writer and editor of Le Populaire.

"I wasn't surprised by the returns, because I had been at the congress of Bologna, where I had been impressed by

the lusty confidence and enthusiasm of the members. Three hundred thousand war veterans in a block joined the Socialist campaign. Their idealistic and solidly organized propaganda penetrated the masses of the people.

"And most important, the workingmen's co-operatives and the general federation of labor marched hand in hand with the Socialist party. Even the libertarians gave up all open hostility to the movement.

"The party went into the fight upon an absolutely revolutionary basis. When the capitalist press, as always, tried to discredit them by calling them 'Bolsheviks' they proudly lived up to the title, and made their war-cry—'Long live the Italian soviet republic!' Their platform, adopted at the congress, declared:

" 'The capitalist instruments of oppression can never in any way transform themselves into instruments of liberation for the proletariat.'

"There was no camouflage, no reform-smear on the Italian program. That's why they won over the people."

At Albany, N. Y., February, 1920, Hillquit declared that "In England, the Labor party and the Socialists are close together and it is nearly impossible to distinguish between them."

At the trial of the five Socialist assemblymen-elect in Albany, N. Y., Mr. Peter Collins gave valuable testimony.

Mr. Collins said that while serving as a labor leader he had had every opportunity to study Socialism and Socialists and had met "thousands" in public debate.

He declared from a study of principles from Marx to Debs, he was convinced the prime object of Socialists in forming an industrial organization was "to capture the working class machinery, the trade union movement," and using it as a crowbar by mass and revolutionary action to overturn entirely the existing institutions of society.

He gave a "virtual quotation" from the Communist Manifesto issued by Marx in 1848, to the effect that Communists, "then the term for Socialists, should unite with every revolutionary movement for the destruction of the existing order by physical force. Mr. Stedman asked the witness if "by physical force" was a direct quotation and he said it was.

SOCIALISTIC LABOR-UNIONS

In the "Milwaukee Leader", December 13, 1919, Berger bases his hopes on the workingmen. We quote the following:

"The tendency manifest among workmen of our country today is decidedly against 'politics' and in favor of direct action. The only politics the workingmen know in this country—with the exception of a very few places in the Middle West and the Northwest—is capitalistic politics. And this politics is so discredited that even the Boston policemen would not trust the promises of politicians, but preferred direct action and the strike.

"There is a growing distrust of representative government everywhere, even in the classic land of parliamentarism, in England.

* * * *

"Although the advocates of the British Labor Party point to the fact that Lloyd George has lost to the laborites practically every election held since last December, there are in many quarters symptoms of indifference and even contempt for parliamentary methods. This fact almost resulted in the triple alliance of miners, transport workers and engineers declaring a general strike against British intervention in Russia and against conscription. If such a general strike ever should take place, England will see the beginning of a social revolution.

"There is the same indifference to parliamentarism in France and Italy, and it is commencing to show itself in Germany and the Scandinavian countries.

* * * *

"If it were not for the Socialist parties everywhere, representative government would soon come to an end in Europe.

"In one instance after the other, labor unions are showing their willingness to accept the strike, and especially the general strike, as their sole weapon, and they are willing to use this weapon to enforce all of their demands, political and economic."

In January, 1920, a committee headed by Senator Lusk at Utica, N. Y., through testimony and documentary evidence brought out facts indicating the following points regarding anarchy in Utica and Central New York:

That the activities of the amalgamated textile workers and the amalgamated garment workers responsible for recent prolonged strikes and two bloody riots in Utica have been closely allied with the activities of the Communist party of America which seeks to overthrow the government of the United States by force.

Evidence was adduced at the hearing to prove that organizers for the amalgamated during the strike here openly

announced their bolshevistic beliefs, and documentary evidence submitted to the Lusk committee by Archibald Stevenson of New York, associate counsel for the legislative body showed that the same arguments and the same propaganda are used in literature of the amalgamated and the Communist Party of America.

Radicalism in Utica and Central New York, both in the revolutionary Socialist wing and in the Communist party's branches for the most part is controlled by a group of the more intelligent men and women, most of them American born, who because of the weakness of existing statutes are able to carry on their work of organization and propaganda without becoming amenable to the law for violation of the criminal anarchy statute.

In 1920, one of the leading British piano making firms took an action which is regarded as an object lesson in the economic fallacy of pushing the demand for improved labor conditions to the extreme.

John Brinsmead and Sons announced their decision to retire from business and close their factory, in which over 300 people are employed, some of whom have been in the firm's employ for forty years.

The Brinsmeads pointed out that for each piano turned out per week there are now twenty-six employees, against twelve in 1918, and six before the war.

The factory wages alone per piano exceeds the selling price. The cost of polishing alone is approximately equal to the pre-war prime cost of the completed piano, including materials. The director of the company said:

"We can not go on manufacturing at the present high cost and selling at the outrageous figures we do at a loss. We shall not recommence manufacturing, if ever we do, until we can manufacture economically and sell at prices that will not be robbing the public. This is no quarrel with our work people. We have no difference with them. It is simply an unfortunate state of events that we are drifting into by the whole tendency of labor at the present time, which is to force prices up to such an extent that it is impossible to manufacture any more economically."

Other piano making firms are in the same difficulty as the Brinsmeads. Sir Harry Foster, president of the Pianoforte Manufacturers' Association, speaking of general conditions in the trade, said:

"There is a fallacy general in the labor world today that by increasing production you either deprive a fellow worker

of employment or run the risk of overproduction and consequent unemployment for yourself. We agreed twice within the last twelve months to an increased minimum wage, and to the principle of maximum number of working hours. We also offered a bonus on increased production either for an individual or for a shift, but the labor leaders and men, who seem passive under them, have the foolish notion that any attempt to give the men the means of increasing their earnings by this method is what they call the thin end of a wedge to get back to piece work.

"It is the almost universal experience of the trade that since the introduction of minimum wage the production per man has decreased by 25 to 40 per cent.

"Human nature being what it is, I believe that without some incentive to individual effort the result of the minimum wage must be a reduction in output."

The action of Brinsmead seems to have sobered the laborers. A little later in the same year a cable from London announced that Brinsmead's factory would reopen for a probationary period under conditions agreed upon in a conference between the directors and a deputation of workers.

Goodbody and Co., bankers of New York, make the following announcement:

"Prosperity will not return, in full measure, until labor once more becomes worthy of its hire. Experience is a bitter school; apparently, labor will learn in no other."

Socialism and the State

Public opinion in the United States during the war and after it was foully debauched. We lied and believed lies on a grand scale. A vulgar, boastful, unjust thing was set up as patriotism. Under its cover villains robbed the country and terrorized the citizens. False ideals, false principles of faith and morals, and false war aims were set up. A false patriotism was deified. Lieutenant Henry de Man truthfully declares (op. cit., p. 157):

"If you talk from a soap-box to a crowd at home in order to incense it against the enemy, there is no nonsense you can not make it swallow, provided that you appeal to the sense of morality and chivalry which it will take a childish pride in demonstrating."

Again he says (ibid. p., 172):

"Civilian hatred, however passionate, may be purely hostility against a system of government or of thought, or against men who have been proven responsible for that system. In that case, it is sacred. But it ceases to be worthy of any respect when it takes the form of somebody's bragging declamation against men whom he is certain he will never face and in regard to whom he will never himself experience what it means to have to destroy life. When to preach the doctrine of hatred is (as now it often seems to be) but a hypocritical means to get rid of a clever commercial competitor, it is wholly despicable."

This Satanic war-spirit evoked from Cardinal Billot of France the following noble declaration:

"At the present moment there is particularly one circumstance illustrating how the devil found it possible to smuggle himself into the good graces of the people. For, since the religious renaissance is determined by the misfortune and the danger menacing our country, he knew how to avail himself of this opportunity by permitting the fatherland to become a thing which subordinated the Deity to itself and ceded to love of country a place to which it, great and sacred though it be, was by no means entitled. This ruse is evidenced in the praise showered on the priests falling in battle for their country, and in the exaggerated commendation of the activity

and usefulness of the priest in uniform, who has become little short of an ideal. Let us beware of these snares! Let us beware, each in his own sphere, of yielding in our speech and writing and our actions, to sentiments which are in direct opposition to the Gospel and which must lead to a deplorable turning away from that great movement, the final aim of which is the return to God." (p. 24.)

Cardinal Billot deplores the popular thought which extolled the soldier-priest. This thought, he says, "has been eagerly propagated everywhere. What more was needed to arouse the public? What a low standard of ideas it was, that sponsored the legislation obligating the priest to shoulder arms! A law born of a spirit of hatred against God, religion, and the Church, and which is now turning against its Creator. For, in order to preserve ourselves from undue enthusiasm for the law, we need but listen to the cries of complaint coming from priests at the front, with the ambulances and in the hospitals, from priests who are shedding their blood and going to ruin in surroundings and at an occupation which is not their own; let us hark to the cries of those poor seminarists, who left their own devices, deprived of their superiors, robbed of spiritual consolation of which they stand in greater need than ever, lest they sacrifice that attitude of mind which has led them to aspire to the priesthood. One should have attended the councils of our foremost bishops who were tortured—the expression is none too emphatic—by fear for the future of the Church in France, bishops, three-fourths of whose priests at that time were in the field, according to the statistics of the Ministry of War." (p. 28.)

"I wish to declare that we may not sanction these facts whereby we would contribute towards creating a mentality which, if it were permitted to spread, would result in nothing less than deplorable weakening, if not indeed in a complete destruction, of Christian thought. As against such a development we must realize keenly that the law enforcing the enrollment of the clergy in the military forces is a sacrilegious, revolutionary, and atheistic piece of work, opposing the divinely ordained order and violating the most sacred rights of the Church, and transgressing against immunities which have until now been considered inviolable by all nations and at all times. And what a picture do the armies of Europe present at this time in this regard? Neither Protestant England, nor schismatic Russia, nor Lutheran Germany, nor Faithless Turkey, not to mention Belgium and Austria,

has ever even thought of mobilizing its priests. We French alone offered this disgrace, this insult." (*Catholic France in Rome.*)

We publish these views as a corrective of some of our Catholic (?) war propaganda.

Ill-regulated nationalism has been a cause of many religious errors in history. Excessive nationalism has led over one hundred and forty Czech priests into schism, and has filled Bohemia with schismatic principles. "I was born before I was baptized," says one of their leaders, Zahradnik; "that is to say, I am a Czech first and a Catholic afterward."

This is a weak sophism. The fact that natural birth in the order of time precedes spiritual rebirth does not give natural birth a priority of excellence. By natural birth a man is a child of wrath, an outcast from the Kingdom of Heaven. It is only by the rebirth in the life of grace that man enters into the proper estate of a man made after the likeness of God. To say that a man owes his first allegiance to the State, and his second allegiance to God, is a heresy.

The entire history of our participation in the world's war is burdened with infamy. Those responsible for the war and those who directed the war lied, robbed, persecuted, wasted the people's property, violated treaties, broke solemn covenants, and wrote into American history such a record of shame, that it is not in the power of the human mind to grasp it.

Washington, D. C.—The story of how the war department in September insisted on purchasing 1,000,000 tons of bituminous coal at the high prices then prevailing, despite the plea of Col. D. B. Wentz that the purchase be delayed in order that the government might get the benefit of receding prices, was told in December, 1920, to the Senate Committee on Reconstruction by Col. Wentz, who is the president of the National Coal Association and the head of some of the largest bituminous properties in this country.

J. D. A. Morrow, a vice-president of the organization, told how the association drafted orders for the Interstate Commerce Commission to issue on transportation matters, paid the expenses of the United States Geological Survey in collecting official figures on coal production, kept Joseph P. Tumulty, secretary to President Wilson, informed of all steps, and successfully fought proposals to re-establish a fuel administration although coal prices continued to mount.

The war department gave orders to its purchasing agents to pay as high as $11 a ton for the coal. Had the department

delayed the transaction it would have been able to have obtained most of the coal at $4 or even less per ton.

Col. Wentz said that on Sept. 16 the war department came into the market for 4,000,000 tons. He was one of a number of prominent coal men asked by the department to negotiate the purchase, the government fixing its maximum price at $11 a ton and allowing a fixed commission of 50 cents per ton.

"When the representative of the department came to me," said Col. Wentz, "I advised him to buy only a little of the coal at that time, and then buy a little more later on, explaining that if this was done a large sum of money would be saved to the government as a result of the certainty of receding prices. They insisted, however, on immediate purchases and they got the coal by going into the open market and paying the high prices then prevailing."

"Had your advice been taken that would be the cost of the government on the supposition, what most of it would have been purchased at about this time?" asked Senator Edge.

"I think it would be possible to get high grade Virginia coal at $4 a ton, while it would be possible to obtain it at a still lower figure in other fields," replied Col. Wentz.

Washington, D. C.—Illegal transactions covering millions of dollars in fraudulent war claims have been discovered by the Department of Justice, according to an announcement, 1920, by Attorney General Palmer.

His statement says:

"Questionable vouchers unearthed in one class of contracts alone have resulted in the withholding of payments by the government amounting to approximately $4,420,000. These contracts have been under government investigation for months, and they affect a very restricted area.

"Reports to the department indicate that as a result of indictments already returned against fifteen defendants in the Northern Pacific division at Seattle, about $150,000 will be recovered from ship builders and former representatives of the United States Shipping Board, emergency fleet corporation, in that section. Similar cases in the same district involving approximately $265,000 will be presented to grand juries within the next few days.

"The Bureau of Investigation of the department now has before it fifteen large fraud cases, in which special investigations have been ordered. All of these involve large sums claimed from the government. One of them, which is now

being prepared for presentation to the grand jury in Ohio, involves $350,000."

From official lists of expenses presented to the United States Government it is proven that it cost our country $1,600,000 to exhibit President Wilson and his lady at Paris.

Mr. Martin J. Gillen, former special assistant to John Barton Payne testified before the Congressional Investigating Committee, 1920, that the United States lost billions through the Shipping Board. He cited an instance where an item of $120,000,000 due the government became "lost" so that it was uncollectable.

Another instance was cited in which the United States paid Williams Jebeson, Norwegian, $2,045,000 for the construction of a ship at San Francisco, and spent $317,000 to finish it. Jebeson paid the builder only $62,000.

New York, Nov. 16.—Testifying before the congressional committee investigating the U. S. Shipping Board, William N. Morton, formerly a special agent for the board, told of a case he worked up for the Department of Justice against the Seattle Construction and Dry Dock Co., which, he said, was ignored by agents of the department. Morton said he found evidence of contractors' frauds. He charged that John F. Blaine, Emergency Fleet Corporation agent at Seattle, was paid $500 every fifteen days by the Skinner & Eddy Company, and a $25,000 annual salary by the Seattle Dry Dock Company.

"Blaine was indicted, but the case came to nothing, as in all other cases we rounded up."

He charged that the Skinner & Eddy Ship Building Company was twice paid for $623,000 worth of materials.

"At Norfolk, Va.," said the witness, "I recall that there was a firm called the Union Iron Works, whose plant could be moved in a truck. Their whole personnel consisted of 52 men. However, they had 588 men on their payroll.

"I also found that there was a large shipbuilding concern at Norfolk which existed on contracts sublet by the Union Iron Works.

"Lester George, government shipbuilding inspector at Norfolk, who stood well with the Shipping Board office, was given shares in the Union Iron Works, but, after keeping them four months, returned the stock when our investigation got under way."

Much graft was uncovered at Norfolk in a three-days' investigation, said the witness, adding, "but we were called in."

He told of his investigation resulting in the indictment of E. D. Wood, brother of the collector of the port at Norfolk, for alleged embezzlement.

Unskilled men were put on vessels and were kept aboard day and night, "spending their time shooting craps and drawing as high as $200 a man per week."

The witness cited many cases of overcharging for repair work.

"At Norfolk, Va.," he said, "one firm charged $161 to put an 83-cent hinge on a galley door."

On May 27, 1920, Mr. Mason, representative from Illinois, declared thus in the House of Representatives:

"I'm willing to vote to have your attorney-general bring suit against Barney Baruch, the chief man, the closest man to the President of the United States, who stole $50,000,000 in copper alone."

The contention of Mr. Mason is that Mr. Baruch "under the leadership of John D. Ryan, with 95 per cent. of the copper producers combined, robbed the government." He said they bought nearly 600,000,000 pounds of copper and that Baruch fixed the price at 26 cents a pound.

The result, he said, "was to feed this informal trust which had its fingers on the throat of the country and let them make profits entirely unjustified by the needs of the government."

Mr. Baruch, former chairman of War Industries Board, protested to Mr. Mason and demanded proof.

Mr. Mason, in a letter of reply, said that since looking over his previous statement, he would amend it to say that "you and your associates stole $200,000,000 in copper alone." He added that the matter on which he had based his charges already were before congress in connection with the investigation of war expenditures.

"You certainly do not expect me to present this matter to your particular friend, Mr. Palmer, attorney general," Mr. Mason said, and added, "I shall, if I live, ask the attorney general of the United States, after March 4, 1921, to proceed civilly and criminally against you and your associates."

It is not the writer's intention to approve or deny these charges. They are offered as a curious record of contemporaneous history. It is not necessary to rely on this part of the evidence submitted to prove that the war was an orgy of extravagance, incompetence, and dishonesty.

In 1914 Gabriel Hanoteaux wrote a history of the World War (Histoire de la Guerre). Mr. Hanoteaux is an eminent

member of the French Academy, former Minister of Foreign Affairs. He gives the clearest exposé of the causes which drew drew us into the war. He writes from a Frenchman's viewpoint:

"Sympathy began to be voiced for the defenders of the right, and especially for the crucified nation, France, in remoter and wider circles. At the very moment that the French Government was being transferred from Paris to Bordeaux, there arrived at Havre the new American ambassador, Sharp, who was to succeed Mr. Herrick; at the same time arrived Mr. Bacon, former ambassador, who came, as did also that member of the fine arts, Mr. Whitney Warren, and several other pro-French Americans, to serve France's cause on France's own soil.

"The meeting in Paris of the three ambassadors under such affecting circumstances was in itself a highly significant conjunction. Now one of them, an intimate friend of Roosevelt, made the following statement in a memorable conversation with the author:

" 'There are in America 50,000 persons who realize that it is inevitable for the United States to enter the war without delay on your side. But there are 100,000,000 Americans to whom the thought is strange. Our object is to reverse these figures and to turn the 50,000 into 100,000,000. We shall succeed!'

"Together we prepared the bill of specifications: The violation of all treaties, and especially the Hague conventions, to which America was a signatory; the danger to mankind from German militarism; the certainty that a German victory would give Germany increased sea power in the Atlantic; that Germany would seize the British fleet and take possession of Dunkirk, Cherbourg and Brest, so that America would find herself helplessly confronted by the strongest military power and the most formidable political and economic arrogance the world had ever seen. It would therefore appear the wiser policy to regard a rupture as inevitable and to prepare for it at once.

" 'That is my conviction,' repeated my interviewer, doggedly, 'and it conforms with the logic of events. Feeling as I do, I shall return to America, but not until I have seen Sir Edward Grey through the mediation of Lord Bryce, so that I may be well supplied with arguments to lay before Roosevelt, Root and all who are capable of grasping the interests of America.'

"In the meantime, thanks to effective friendly intercession, American aid began to arrive. The process of supply-

ing us with arms and food took organized shape. Propositions were even made to the French Government which insured it a unique position of advantage and elasticity in a financial way. In a word: Republican and Democratic America rallied to the cause of liberty.

"Since France had nothing more to fear from the side of the Pyrenees and the Alps, it now had no longer need of apprehension from the side of the Atlantic Ocean. On the contrary, it was relieved of one great source of anxiety: it could freely expand its lungs."

Representative Calloway in 1917, on the eve of our entering the war, charged on the floor of the House that in March, 1915, the Morgan interests, the steel, shipbuilding and power interests and their subsidiary organizations assembled twelve men, high in the newspaper world, and employed them to select the most influential newspapers in the United States to control generally the policy of the daily press of the United States. These twelve men, he declared, worked the problem out by selecting 179 newspapers, and then began, by an elimination process, to retain only those necessary for the purpose in view. They found it was necessary to purchase the control of but 25 of the greatest papers. The 25 papers were agreed upon; emissaries were sent to purchase the policy, national and international, of these papers; an agreement was reached; an editor was furnished to each paper properly to supervise and edit information regarding the questions of preparedness, militarism, financial policies and other things of national and international nature considered vital to the interests of the purchasers.

"This contract is in existence at the present time," declared the speaker, "and it accounts for the news columns of the daily press of the country being filled with all sorts of preparedness arguments and misrepresentation of the present condition of the United States Army and Navy and the possibility and probability of the United States being attacked by foreign foes.

"This policy also includes the suppression of everything in opposition to the wishes of the interests served. The effectiveness of this scheme has been conclusively demonstrated by the character of stuff carried by the daily press since March, 1915. They have resorted to anything necessary to commercialize public sentiment and sandbag the National Congress into making extravagant and wasteful appropriations under the false pretense that it is necessary.

Their stock argument is that it is 'patriotism.' They are playing on every prejudice and passion of the American people." (Congressional Record, February 9, 1917.)

On March 3, 1916, the late Senator James P. Clarke, an administration Democrat from Arkansas, declared in the United States Senate: "There is no overlooking the fact that all our public acts and declarations have been in a certain direction and have created a distinct impression that official America, at least, was interested in the success of one of the parties to the great struggle. It will not require much ingenuity to guess which one, because it has almost become a saying that anyone who professes to be neutral is in sympathy with the Germans, and that everybody else occupying an official position has taken a stand on the other side of the controversy."

As corroboratory evidence we quote the following extracts from the correspondence of Mr. John T. Adams of Dubuque, Iowa, who was residing in Germany when the war broke out:

"I would like to write a chapter myself on the causes of this horrible war, but this letter may not reach its destination. I will make the assertion, however, that there are no more peace loving people in the world than the Germans, from the Kaiser himself to the humblest citizen, and there are no people who have progressed farther in all that is best in culture and in civilization.

"But Germany in recent years has surpassed all other countries in Europe in prosperity and she has interfered incidentally with the foreign commerce of Great Britain. This is really her great crime, and this is the principal reason why the small war party in England headed by that arch-hypocrite, Sir Edward Grey, has nursed the anti-German sentiment among the "bloody shirt" politicians of France and the degenerate aristocracy of Russia. This is the reason why Sir Edward Grey, while making a few plays to the galleries in behalf of peace, was actually working twenty-four hours a day to make certain the outbreak of hostilities.

"It is now perfectly clear to all of us who have been living in Germany that when France and Russia were secretly planning to make Austria's determination to punish the Servian assassins the occasion for a sudden attack on the German borders, these two countries were given satisfactory assurances that England would support them.

"That France had intended to march her troops through Belgian territory in order to flank the right wing of the Ger-

man army and that she was to do so with the knowledge and approval of England is absolutely certain, and that Belgium was a party to the understanding is highly probable.

"When Germany crossed the Belgian border first that was England's excuse for declaring war but not her reason. She had already decided that this was the opportunity to restore her commercial supremacy by helping France and Russia destroy the German empire.

"That such motives should impel the rulers of England to help impose a terrible war upon the people of Europe is incredible to those who are ignorant of English history."

"Several years ago ,during the reign of King Edward, the war party of England decided to join with France and Russia in the plan to protect and conserve civilization by the destruction of the German empire. In preparation for this event an important part of the plan was to discredit the German Kaiser by misrepresenting his character and his purposes. * * * With the possible exception of Lincoln, who during the Civil war was given special attention by this same bureau, no man has ever been so maligned, and by reason of its infamous work no living man today is so misunderstood.

"No one knew better than the rulers of England the real character of the Kaiser; and yet in order to carry out their purpose and to shield themselves they did everything possible to poison the mind of the world against him and to place upon his shoulders the responsibility for the greatest crime in history.

"But when the truth is all made known, Benedict Arnold denouncing Washington as the great American traitor will make a picture no more striking than that of Sir Edward Grey pointing to the German Kaiser as the cause of the European war."

These disclosures are the food which nourishes Socialism. As a preliminary to an honest refutation of Socialism we must condemn the abuses of our present institutions.

Inflamed by the disclosures of M. Hanoteaux, the Editor of the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' Journal (Chicago, Feb. 19, 1920) writes:

"An American, whose powers of mental analysis could see through and beyond the lies of a subsidized press, serving as the house organs of big business, and who ventured to assert that the world war was due solely and alone to commercial rivalry and would, according to the history of all wars ever fought, make the rich still richer and the poor more poverty-stricken than ever, was immediately proclaimed a traitor, an anarchist or a socialist, and when the foreign word,

that few knew the real meaning of, came to this country, he was termed a Bolshevik.

"Gabriel Hanoteaux, French Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1892 to 1898, and long credited with being one of the most eminent historians of France, in a book just published, charges the house of J. P. Morgan & Co. with being one of the chief factors in beginning the world war.

"Hanoteaux reveals how as black-hearted a crew of financial pirates as ever sailed under the banner of the skull and cross-bones, cut a throat or scuttled a ship, to keep France fighting their war, promised in the fall of 1914 to bring the United States immediately into the conflict. Then they double-crossed France, with the assistance of Great Britain, and the same company, still in the driver's seat of the world's cortege, is now offering to 'restore' France—at 7 per cent. interest.

"After the first battle of the Marne, in the fall of 1914, which was evidently not such a brilliant French success as it has been painted, France was eager to make peace with Germany. The plan was instantly nipped in the bud. Neutral diplomats at London got wind of it and immediately a British ultimatum was sent to Bordeaux, threatening France with a blockade if she left the fight.

"By indisputable documentary evidence, Hanoteaux proves that it was an American member of the house of J. P. Morgan & Co. that started the fatal machinery going in August, 1914, and then kept it grinding out millions of human lives for more than four years. Hanoteaux, in his book, charges that at the time of the decision in the fall there were in Paris, Robert Bacon, of the house of Morgan and former minister; Myron T. Herrick, retiring minister, and William G. Sharp, the new minister. These three men, he claims, made an actual contract with France that if she would remain in the war they would see that America came in at once.

" 'There are at present only 50,000 influential men in the United States who want war,' they said, 'but give us a little more time and there will be 100,000,000 dead set for it.' Hanoteaux declares that the sum which was provided to arouse the people of the United States to war is too large even for American comprehension.

"If what Hanoteaux offers the world is the truth, then every allegation against America's oligarchy is founded on fact and the American lives lost were sacrificed, not on the

altar of universal democracy and freedom, but upon the blood-stained sacrificial stone of inhuman avarice and greed.

"Nobleness of mind makes its possessors credulous, for being governed by a highly developed sense of humor such a mind seems incapable of comprehending the utter baseness of character Hanoteaux exposes: that is why the trade unionists of America were so easily misled.

"American labor in general and organized labor in particular accepted the press statements during the war as undodgeable facts, and patriotically governed itself accordingly. But to be told now by a Frenchman, who was in a position to know the actual facts, that American labor was duped by an unscrupulous combination of wealth, that through its kept literary harlots seduced the noble patriotism of American citizenry, in order to merely enrich themselves, is not a pleasant thought, but one that no man worthy of being an American will shrink from facing and demanding the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth."

An element which played a large part in our war hysteria was a sentimental admiration of France. We heard pathetic descriptions of the soul of France. A demon beguiled us in the appearance of an angel of light. From abundant evidence it is proven that the "Soul of France" is very black. It is a black stain on her history that she permitted the outrages committed by her colonial troops on the women of the occupied portions of Germany. From the cumulative evidence of this crime we submit the following from French sources:

By Ed Morel

"London, April 13, 1920—I have received conclusive information that the French militarists are perpetrating abominable outrages on womanhood, on the white race, on civilization.

"Not content with using hundreds of thousands of primitive African barbarians in the war, they are overrunning Europe with them today. They have employed them to massacre Russian peasants; they have planted them in Turkey and Bulgaria; they have massed them in Syria, too.

"But it is in the Palatinate that they have employed them on the largest scale—to the number, I understand, of between 30,000 and 40,000.

"They have become a terror unimaginable. They are attacking women and girls, spreading disease, murdering inoffensive civilians, and often getting completely out of control. They are a terrible incarnation of the barbarous

policy embodied in the so-called Peace Treaty which puts the clock back 2,000 years."

The character of M. Morel is warmly endorsed by another noted Frenchman.

By JEAN LONGUET
Noted French Socialist Leader
Special to Universal Service

"Paris, April 13, 1920—Ed Morel's revelations of the reign of horror unloosed by France on the Rhine are undoubtedly founded on the strongest and indisputable evidence. Morel is a man who never speaks without having the facts to back him up, but who does not hesitate to speak when he is convinced he is right."

The following appeared in the Paris Clarté:

"Apart from the barely restrainable bestiality of the black troops, disease is making terrible ravages."

In his "The Inside Story of The Peace Conference," Dr. Dillon charges that immorality was officially forced upon the German people by French Army Regulations. We submit an official order as given by Dr. Dillon (l. c. p. 51.):

"MANAGEMENT AND REGULATION OF THE PUBLIC HOUSE IN MÜNCHEN-GLADBACH

"(1) The two women who are the only inmates of the public house in Gladbach (2 Gasthausstrasse), declare that they cannot accommodate the many patrons of their establishment.

They declare that the house is constantly besieged by a crowd of waiting men. They assert that they can provide accommodations for only twenty a day of the division (10 for each).

The house is not open at night and is closed on Sundays. The resources of the town prohibit an increase of the female inmates. Under these circumstances, in order to avert trouble, and to limit the time of labor of the women, the following regulations are ordered:

(2) HOURS OF WORK: All days of the week save Sunday.

MAXIMUM LIMIT: Every day each woman accepts ten men, or twenty for the two women. One hundred and twenty per week.

HOURS OF OPENING: 5 P. M. to 9 P. M. Outside of these hours nobody will be accepted.

PAYMENT: 5 Marks for a quarter of an hour.

DRINKS: No drinks are sold. There is no waiting room. Always two customers have to come together.

(3) REGULATION: The six days of the week are:

Monday—1st bat. 164 and C. H. R.

Tuesday—1st bat. 169 and C. H. R.

Wednesday—2nd bat. 164 and C. H. R.

Thursday—2nd bat. 169 and C. H. R.

Friday—3rd bat. 164 and C. H. R.

Saturday—3rd bat. 169 and C. H. R.

(4) Each battalion will get for its day twenty tickets. They may be obtained in the office of the sergeant-major. Five tickets will be given to each Company. The men who wish to pay visits to the house should go to the office of their resp. sergeant-major and ask for their tickets."

München-Gladbach is a town in Rhenish Prussia of about 80,000 inhabitants.

This is only a specimen of French culture. The descendants of the men for whose scalps the English offered the North American Indians eight dollars apiece, fought to perpetuate that same England's power and to spread the influence of infidel France.

The consensus of competent opinion of the world accepts as a first principle that Germany, France, Russia, Austria, and England rest under a "distributed responsibility" for the war. The entrance of Italy was an infamous contract by which she abandoned her allies for the land promised her by the Pact of London. Creel ("The War, the World, and Wilson") says well of Italy:

"Italy is standing outside the good opinion of the world" (p. 297).

His estimate of the other Allies is as follows:

Japan: "Militaristic and imperialistic, the spirit of Japan has rasped the United States" (p. 271).

France: "The French Government followed its usual practice of presenting the case of the world in colored and distorted form best suited to French purposes" (p. 294).

Great Britain: "America alone had the will and the power to block the program of (British) imperialism plotting to ravage 'Mesopotamia, Persia and the Hedjaz,' and turning an Egyptian protectorate . . . into a title of the fee simple" (p. 343).

Collectively, England, France, Italy, and Japan are "predatory powers" (p. 366).

England's responsibility is enhanced by the fact that it was in her power first to prevent the war from spreading, and, secondly, because she refused a just peace often offered.

On Aug. 1, 1914, the German Ambassador asked Sir Edward Grey to formulate the terms on which England would remain neutral. Grey refused. In the British White Book Grey alleges that the request of the Ambassador did not have official sanction. The German Chancellor declares against Grey that the German Ambassador spoke with official sanction. The nature of such an important request indicates that it had sanction. Why did not Grey by wire inform himself if the Ambassador spoke with sanction? Viviani believed that the Ambassador spoke the will of the German government.

At the sitting of the Chamber on September 16, 1919, M. Viviani, who was the head of the French Government when the war broke out, said: "Do you not feel assured that if England had spoken sooner, Germany would have hesitated to draw the sword from the scabbard?"

Lord Loreburn's comment ("How the War Came," 1919) is as follows:

"It is a very strange thing, if that be true. . . . If (Sir E. Grey) could have saved Belgium that day by promising our neutrality, he would not do it. Why not? It must have been because of some duty to France. He must have now felt that he at least was in honor tied to France. He was asked by the German Ambassador to formulate himself the terms on which Great Britain would remain neutral, and refused to do so. Why did he refuse? Was it not because he began to feel that he had so bound himself that he could not in honor be neutral on any terms at all if France were engaged in this war and gave no provocation, even if France came in not in any quarrel of her own but purely because of her treaty with Russia? In other words, was he not really tied to Russia?"

The action of Lord Grey gives rise to the horrible suspicion that England was watching her opportunity, ready to sacrifice the world to her militaristic ambition.

Germany's responsibility is lessened by the fact that she urged Austria to submit the Serbian question to arbitration. Austria finally yielded, but at a moment when Russian mobilization rendered her yielding ineffective to stop the war.

Germany's responsibility is lessened by the fact that she was prepared to make peace and was repulsed.

On December 15, 1916, the Russian Foreign Minister, replying in the Duma to the public peace offer addressed three days before by the Central Empires to the Entente, said:

"During the two and a half years that the war has lasted Germany has often spoken of peace . . All her efforts are met with the calm and resolute resistance of the Allied Powers."

Germany's responsibility is lessened by the fact that England's policy of "encircling Germany," admitted by Lord Haldane, compelled her to defend herself.

"As this century opened we had in Europe an order that was obviously nearing its end. That order, that social organization, was built upon an economic fact that there were in North America, either in your territory or in the territory of Canada, large areas of land capable of producing food, either in the form of wheat or in the form of meat, and that food was not wanted for consumption in North America, but was available for easy transport to Europe. And as this century opened your increasing industrial development had produced here a vast increase in population which was beginning to intercept that food, and believe me, I have gone into this thing fairly carefully and I think that it is not very difficult to show that the development of your population here was the principal cause in making the European War inevitable.

"Germany was being forced into a position with rising food costs—look at the change in the price of wheat in the first ten years of this century—Germany was being forced into a position in which she almost had to fight."—Sir Auckland Campbell Geddes, British Ambassador to the United States, at Princeton University, June 15, 1920.

One of the most infamous acts of the war was the betrayal of Germany by Wilson's "Fourteen Points."

Under date of Jan. 3, 1918, Edgar Sisson, a tool of Trotzky and Lenin in Russia, addressed to George Creel, Chief of our Bureau of Information, the following telegram:

"If President will re-state anti-imperialistic war aims and democratic peace requisites of America, 1,000 words or less, short, almost placard paragraphs, short sentences, I can get it fed into Germany in great quantities in German translation, and can utilize Russian version potently in army and everywhere. Excerpts from previous statements will not serve. Need it for internal evidence that President is thinking of the Russian and German common folk in their situation of this moment and that he is talking to them. Can handle German translation and printing here. . . ."

Wilson responded. On Jan. 8, 1918, he re-stated his "Fourteen Points" in Congress.

On Jan. 13, 1918, the same Sisson telegraphed to Creel:

"President's speech placarded on walls of Petrograd this morning. One hundred thousand copies will have this display within three days; 300,000 handbills will be distributed here within five days. Proportionate display at Moscow by end of week. Y. M. C. A. has agreed to distribute a million Russian and a million German copies along the line. Other channels into Germany are being opened. . . . "

Russia and Germany believed the "Fourteen Points." The people clamored for peace; the morale of the German army collapsed; and Germany asked for an armistice. The people of Germany were starving, and they longed for peace, which seemed now assured on a just basis.

This act of Wilson would have been fully justifiable had he carried out his promise. His failure is one of the saddest tragedies of history.

Dr. E. J. Dillon ("The Inside Story of the Peace Conference") describes the fearful failure:

"Europe, when the President touched its shores, was as clay ready for the creative potter. Never before were the nations so eager to follow a Moses who would take them to the long-promised land where wars are prohibited and blockades unknown. And to their thinking he was that great leader. In France men bowed down before him with awe and affection. Labor leaders in Paris told me that they shed tears of joy in his presence, and that their comrades would go through fire and water to help him to realize his noble schemes.

"To the working classes in Italy his name was a heavenly clarion at the sound of which the earth would be renewed. The Germans regarded him and his humane doctrine as their sheet-anchor of safety." . . . .

"Since then the world knows what to think of the literal fighting at the peace table. The freedom of the seas was never as much as alluded to at the peace table, for the announcement of Mr. Wilson's militant championship brought him a wireless message from London to the effect that that proposal, at all events, must be struck out of his program if he wished to do business with Britain. And without a fight or a remonstrance the President struck it out. The fourteen points were not discussed at the conference. One may deplore, but one cannot misunderstand, what happened.

"The disheartening effect of the contrast between the promise and the achievement of the American statesman was

felt throughout the world. It was doubtless a noble ambition which moved the Prime Ministers of the Great Powers and the Chief of the North American Republic to give their own service to the Conference, for they considered themselves to be best equipped for the purpose.

"But one must admit that all three plenipotentiaries were essentially politicians, old parliamentary hands, and therefore expediency-mongers whose highest qualifications for their own profession were drawbacks which unfitted them for their self-assumed mission. What they lacked, however, might in some perceptible degree have been supplied by enlisting as their helpers men more happily endowed than themselves; but they deliberately chose mediocrities.

"The truth is that each was obsessed by his own political problems and stimulated by his own immediate needs, and each one moved over his own favorite route toward his own goal. It was an apt illustration of the Russian fable of the swan, the crab and the pike being harnessed together in order to remove a load. The swan flew upward, the crab crawled backward and the pike made all haste for the water, and the load remained where it was."

The debasement of the principles of human society, the systematized lying, the profiteering in war contracts, and the protected untruthfulness and dishonesty of public officials powerfully operated to destroy respect for government and law. Judge Anderson of the United States District Court declared at Boston, January, 1920, that "more than 99 per cent. of the pro-German plots never existed. This diseased condition of the people has in many cases become chronic."

This cheap ignorant hatred characterized the United States during the war. A debased paid press fomented it. The people drew their ideas from lurid lying posters, motion pictures, harangues in the pulpits, and in the market-places, cartoons, made-to-order newspaper lies, and official misrepresentations. Truth was banished from the scene. Men must risk property, liberty, and life to speak the truth. The course of justice was blocked. The whole nation had become a mob. It is one of the darkest pages in our history.

The readiness with which the American people surrendered to the lying spirit is due to the fact that the American people know less about the great problems of life than any other civilized people on earth. Drunken men do not reflect. All Americans are drunk with boastful pride, love of pleasure, and love of money.

In 1920 the Anglican Bishop of Middleborough, England, made the following courageous and most true statement:

"Nations, like individuals, are animated by the passion of greed, greed of gold, greed of territory, greed of extended commerce at the expenses of their neighbors. In the pursuit of this insatiable passion the stronger nation browbeats and despoils its less powerful neighbor. Might comes to be accepted as right. The greatest war the world has ever known arose assuredly out of this passion for supremacy in the world of commerce."

"A few days ago I made a very simple statement. I said in five words what other people are saying in five hundred. 'This is a trade war.' I repeat and emphasize the statement. We were told that if it had not been for Belgium, England would not have gone into the war. That simply is not the truth. It is false. Everybody knows it to be false."—Archbishop Mannix of Melbourne, Australia.

The injustice of the Treaty of Versailles is a leading cause in the world's unrest. British labor is socialistic because British statesmanship is false and unjust. Establish a truthful, just, and sane leadership in the world, and the people will return. The decadence of a people never has its origin in the common people; the cause is higher up.

At Scarborough, England, in 1920, the Birmingham Central Labor Party presented in convention the following resolution:

"The conference declares that the terms of the allied peace treaties grossly violate the professed objects for which the governments of the allied and associated peoples entered and prolonged the war. The war settlement clearly established the fact that the peoples were hatefully tricked and victimized by their governments and that the terms they imposed are dictated not by needs or principles, but solely by the expansion of allied militarism and imperialism. For these reasons this conference repudiates all responsibility for the treaties and instructs its executive committee to inaugurate a great campaign for their revision."

Sir Philip Gibbs ("Now It Can be Told.") thus analyzes the infamous treaty:

"In war France was wonderful, most heroic in sacrifice, most splendid in valor. In her dictated peace, which was ours also, her leaders were betrayed by the very evil which millions of young Frenchmen had gone out to kill at the sacrifice of their own lives. Militarism was exalted in France above the ruins of German militarism. It was a peace of

vengeance which punished the innocent more than the guilty, the babe at the breast more than the Junker in his *Schloss*, the poor working-woman more than the war lord, the peasant who had been driven to the shambles more than Sixt von Arnim or Rupprecht of Bavaria, or Ludendorff, or Hindenburg. It is a peace that can only be maintained by the power of artillery and by the conscription of every French boy who shall be trained for the next 'war of defense' (twenty years hence, thirty years hence), when Germany is strong again —stronger than France because of her population, stronger then, enormously, than France, in relative numbers of able-bodied men than in August, 1914. So if that philosophy continue—and I do not think it will—the old fear will be re-established, the old burdens of armament will be piled up anew, the people of France will be weighed down as before under a military regime stifling their liberty of thought and action, wasting the best years of their boyhood in barracks, seeking protective alliances, buying allies at great cost, establishing the old spy-system, the old diplomacy, the old squalid ways of international politics, based as before on fear and force. Marshal Foch was a fine soldier. Clemenceau was a strong Minister of War. There was no man great enough in France to see beyond the passing triumph of military victory and by supreme generosity of soul to lift their enemy out of the dirt of their despair, so that the new German Republic should arise from the ruins of the Empire, remorseful of their deeds in France and Belgium, with all their rage directed against their ancient tyranny, and with a new-born spirit of democratic liberty reaching across the old frontiers.

"Is that the foolish dream of the sentimentalist? No, more than that; for the German people, after their agony, were ready to respond to generous dealing, pitiful in their need of it, and there is enough sentiment in German hearts —the most sentimental people in Europe—to rise with a surge of emotion to a new gospel of atonement if their old enemies had offered a chance of grace. France has not won the war by her terms of peace nor safeguarded her frontiers for more than a few uncertain years. By harking back to the old philosophy of militarism she has re-established peril amid a people drained of blood and deeply in debt. Her support of reactionary forces in Russia is to establish a government which will guarantee the interest on French loans and organize a new military regime in alliance with France and England. Meanwhile France looks to the United States and British people to protect her from the next war when,

Germany shall be strong again. She is playing the militarist role without the strength to sustain it."

. . . . .

"Our generals, it is true, hated the Germans. 'I should like one week in Cologne,' one of them told me, before there seemed ever a chance of getting there, 'and I would let my men loose in the streets and turn a blind eye to anything they liked to do.'

"Some of our officers were inspired by a bitter, unrelenting hate.

" 'If I had a thousand Germans in a row,' one of them said to me, 'I would cut all their throats, and enjoy the job.'

. . . . .

"Everybody was having a good time. Munition-workers were earning wonderful wages and spending them on gramophones, pianos, furs, and the 'pictures.' Everybody was gadding about in a state of joyous exultation. The painted flapper was making herself sick with the sweets of life after office hours in government employ, where she did little work for a lot of pocket-money. The society girl was dancing bare-legged for 'war charities,' pushing into bazaars for the 'poor, dear wounded,' getting her pictures into the papers as a 'notable war-worker,' married for the third time in three years; the middle-class cousin was driving staff-officers to Whitehall, young gentlemen of the Air Service to Hendon, junior secretaries to their luncheon. Millions of girls were in some kind of fancy dress with buttons and shoulder-straps, breeches and puttees, and they seemed to be making a game of the war and enjoying it thoroughly. Oxford dons were harvesting, and proud of their prowess with the pitchfork—behold their patriotism!—while the boys were being blown to bits on the Yser Canal. Miners were striking for more wages, factory hands were downing tools for fewer hours at higher pay, the government was paying any price for any labor—while Tommy Atkins drew his one-and-twopence and made a little go a long way in a wayside *estaminet* before jogging up the Menin road to have his head blown off. The government had created a world of parasites and placemen housed in enormous hotels, where they were engaged at large salaries upon mysterious unproductive labors which seemed to have no result in front-line trenches. Government contractors were growing fat on the life of war, amassing vast fortunes, juggling with excess profits, battening upon the flesh and blood of boyhood in the fighting lines. These old men, these fat men, were breathing out fire and fury

against the Hun, and vowing by all their gods that they would see their last son die in the last ditch rather than agree to any peace except that of destruction. There were 'fug committees' (it was Lord Kitchener's word) at the War Office, the Board of Trade, the Foreign Office, the Home Office, the Ministry of Munitions, the Ministry of Information, where officials on enormous salaries smoked cigars of costly brands and decided how to spend vast sums of public money on 'organization' which made no difference to the man stifling his cough below the parapet in a wet fog of Flanders, staring across No Man's Land for the beginning of a German attack.

. . . . .

"In the peace terms that followed there was but little trace of those splendid ideas which had been proclaimed by President Wilson. On one point after another he weakened, and was beaten by the old militarism which sat enthroned in the council-chamber, with its foot on the neck of the enemy. The 'self-determination of peoples' was a hollow phrase signifying nothing. Open covenants openly arrived at were mocked by the closed doors of the Conference. When at last the terms were published their merciless severity, their disregard of racial boundaries, their creation of hatreds and vendettas which would lead, as sure as the sun should rise, to new warfare, staggered humanity, not only in Germany and Austria, but in every country of the world, where at least minorities of people had hoped for some nobler vision of the world's needs, and for some healing remedy for the evils which had massacred its youth. The League of Nations, which had seemed to promise so well, was hedged round by limitations which made it look bleak and barren."

The thinkers of our age recognize the weakness of our national character. We live in a hurry on the outside of life. "Very few Americans can hear straight or see straight. It is striking how incompetent they are in these directions," said Charles W. Eliot, president emeritus of Harvard, at a conference of New England educators in 1921. Dr. Eliot made a plea for a radical transformation of the educational system to obliterate "herd impulses" and to release individuality.

"There is an extraordinary amount of credulity in the American people in flying rumors and news of the day," he declared. "That credulity is something to which attention of the educators must be devoted. It is a new development, highly unpromising, in the last thirty years. We are more

and more becoming subject to what I may call 'herd impulses,' gregarious impulses, common emotions."

. . . . .

"We are leading hasty, busy, too busy, lives," he continued. "It is a great, threatening blight; it threatens not only the mental health of the people, but physical health as well. More and more we see men in active business breaking down, and we see reduced capacity of women for child-bearing all due to this bustling life to which we are subjected."

One of the most infamous of our war-lies is the Lusitania case. To move the people to war it was asserted that the Lusitania was a passenger ship carrying no contraband cargo It was torpedoed without warning, and thus American citizens had been wantonly deprived of life, against the recognized *jus gentium*.

At the time that the Lusitania cleared from New York warnings against embarkation were issued by the German government and by some of the few honest American officials. But the English government wished a *casus belli*, and by the usual English methods obtained a large passenger list.

At the time Mr. Dudley Field Malone was collector of the Port of New York. On Oct. 29, 1920, Mr. Malone made the following public statement:

"We do not know and never will know actually what was in all the boxes and cases which made up this cargo. But we did know that there was one consignment on board the Lusitania of 4,200 cases of Springfield metallic cartridges, each case containing 1,000 cartridges, with five pounds of black powder to each 1,000 cartridges. Therefore, there was concentrated in one consignment in the hold of the vessel a shipment of nearly 11 tons of black powder, which, by the impact of the torpedo, may very well have contributed to the incredibly rapid sinking of the great liner."

"When the record of the Wilson administration becomes a matter of open history," Mr. Malone declared, "the world will realize that no government perpetrated such a reign of oppression and secrecy upon a people."

"When Senator La Follette was on trial before the senate elections committee, within his right as a senator," the speaker said, "he demanded from the treasury department a copy of the report of the collector of the Port of New York on the cargo of the Lusitania. The treasury department referred him to the state department, and the state department refused on the ground that the report had become a part of the secret archives.

"As it happened, I wrote this report on the Lusitania, because I had examined the Lusitania, in my capacity as collector of the Port of New York.

"And it was upon the evidence compiled by me that the Lusitania was not armed that President Wilson wrote his famous second Lusitania note to the German Imperial Government.

"When I heard that Senator La Follette was refused access to my report, I informed his counsel and told his counsel to inform the government that I would testify in support of the senator's statements, and that I would not remain silent and see any man crucified for telling the truth. Whereupon the trial was postponed from week to week and finally dropped."

The principles of ethics have little influence on the policies of the nations of the world. There is no Christian nation. A nation may pretend to move to defend high moral principles, but this is hypocrisy, and is intended to gain the support of the people by appealing to the better sentiments of humanity. England duped the world to believe that through lofty principles of international honor she came forth to defend Belgium's integrity, when her real motive was to prevent a break in the chain which encircled Germany. Belgium's neutrality was a mere farce; her Walloon ruling class had made her an ally and a rallying point in the foreseen attack on Germany.

The men who plunged us into war declared America's war aims to be to save the liberties of all nations; their real purpose was commerce. The people were deceived by catchwords to believe that their honor demanded that they enter the great struggle. The exact opposite is true. By entering the war and by our conduct during the war we stained our national honor, and descended to the level of England. We used her methods. We suppressed true liberty at home while pretending to fight for liberty. We instituted a reign of terror and of despotism. We lied about the enemy and confiscated property to which the law of nations gave us no right. The clamor of Wilsonism ascends to high Heaven as ascended of old the clamor of Sodom.

The crime of the war was followed by the crime of the Treaty of Versailles.

In 1920, Senator France delivered a speech in the Senate from which we quote the following paragraph:

"You have condemned Bolshevism for its confiscation of property, but you have supported the worst Bolshevism,

which robs men of their real and personal rights. Confiscation of property affects only the few, while the robbery of personal liberty impoverishes all. . . . I demand an end of this taxing of the people to pay swarms of federal spies, agents, and special officers, who may become parasites, blackmailers, sappers of political morality, and a menace to liberty. . . . Under autocratic leadership the Democratic party has become apostate to Jefferson and, without scruple, voted such executive, legislative, and judicial powers to the President that he has been created the most powerful despot in all the world. The Republican party has joined with the Bourbon reactionaries and connived in the setting up of this autocracy, which has been an utter repudiation of the Constitution and of every principle of the Republic."

The man who plunged us into war himself declared that the war was a commercial war.

President Wilson, on September 5, 1919, speaking in St. Louis, stated as follows:

"Why, my fellow citizens, is there any man here, or any woman, let me say, is there any child here, who does not know that the seed of woe in the modern world is industrial and commercial rivalry? The reason why the war we have just finished took place was that Germany was afraid her commercial rivals were going to get the better of her, and the reason why some nations went into the war against Germany was that they thought Germany would get the commercial advantage of them. The seed of the deep-seated hatred was hot, successful, commercial and industrial rivalry. . . . This war in its inception was a commercial and industrial war. It was not a political war."

A profound analysis of President Wilson's character and role in the World War is given by Mr. Stewart E. Bruce ("The War Guilt and Peace Crime of The Entente Allies," 1920):

"Mr. Wilson knew full well the arbitrary and almost despotic power with which he was vested; and that for another period of four years. He knew Congress and he knew his people. It is true that he realized that the majority of the people, although holding strong opinions, were not in favor of war; but he knew that the press was with him, the ultra-patriots, and the noisy flag-wavers, and the hordes of greed and graft (fifteen thousand of whom since have become millionaires), and he was taught the lesson by the European nations that once war is declared and the national honor is at stake, and the bands begin playing and patriotic hymns are being sung, and the flags are set to the breeze—opposition

will die away and any protest will be smothered in the roar of noisy applause. If Congress should balk, he knew what spurs he could use on their haunches; and if unmanageable —how they could be curbed. Never did a European despot sit on his throne with more confidence in being able to carry out his own individual will, in spite of parliaments or peoples, than Woodrow Wilson in 1916. He carried into the White House the petty despotism of the schoolroom. Long before he even dreamed of the presidency he was a sincere believer in one-man authority.

. . . .

"He knew that the people of Britain did not want war, or the people of Germany, or France, but he observed that once their leaders had declared for war, and the poisons of hate skilfully let loose, and the War god enthroned, that millions instantly stood ready to make supreme sacrifices on the cruel and bloody altar of pagan patriotism.

"Europe had set up her altars for a blood sacrifice, and the high priests of the Entente, especially refused to believe, in order to further their own ends, that there was any salvation for the peoples, except through the shedding of human blood. Their eyes were blind and their ears were deaf to compromise, rapprochement or reconciliation.

"The high priest of America shared in that belief, and in support thereof set up an altar for an American blood sacrifice. Instead of acting the part of the world's greatest mediator, he chose to be his country's greatest sacrificer. Instead of using his office and position in the spirit of fairness, impartiality, and Christian charity and forbearance, he became an uncompromising partisan of one group against the other. His own conscience, his heart and his brain told him that the issues between the warring nations were not clean-cut, they were not one-sided, that each was guilty. He knew the particular disease that was convulsing each and all of them.

"In the face of this he committed, without stint or limit, and with but nebulous reservations, the blood and treasure of America; in common cause with despotic and barbarous Russia, revengeful and degenerate France, cruel and pagan Japan, and designing and envious Britain. These were the noble associates of America. It certainly was like a Don Quixote going forth in the company of a band of angels to slay the dragon.

"Woodrow Wilson knew intimately the character of each of the belligerents. He knew what animated them in

the past, and he was not blind to each of their hidden aims and objects in the great war. He had no misgivings as to which way Russia was heading; the prize France was after; and Britain's hidden expectations. His sense of fairness in the beginning of the struggle told him that the interests of the world would be best served by 'peace without victory.' This exalted, if not inspired declaration, was made early in the struggle; when all the main facts were fresh and obtainable. They were certainly made with a full belief that no belligerent was guilty, or all were guilty. There is no question but that he deemed them all guilty; and their guilt only a question of degree.

. . . .

"When one beholds today the terrible results manifest on every hand of Peace by Victory—Peace by complete physical domination of practically half the civilized world over the other half, resulting in universal anarchy and ruin the wide world over, and as one witnesses the depths of degradation into which the world has fallen as the result of this 'Victory,' we can well imagine future historians writing into history, Woodrow Wilson as the most tragic and colossal failure, considering his opportunities, of all time. It will be recorded that he let fall from his nerveless grasp the sword with which he could have cut the cords that were binding the nations of Europe in a hopeless, struggling, and of themselves—inextricable mass. The power was given him to sever these bands, separate the writhing mass, tell each the plain truth about themselves, lay down the basis for a just settlement, and if this were not acceptable to one group and acquiesced in by the other, join with the reasonable group, or in the event both refusing these good offices, have America cut off communications entirely with both groups and leave them to their own self-imposed destruction.

"During the course of the war there were many psychological opportunities for a whole-hearted, fair-minded, and impartial injection of the good offices of America in the struggle. Instead of taking the transcendent question up in a businesslike, let alone statesmanlike way, Mr. Wilson raised not even a hand to stop those actions of his countrymen which created suspicions of America in Germany and gave corresponding encouragement to the Entente group. He allowed his countrymen to wax rich as a result of Europe's misfortunes; thereby creating a premium for the continuance of the war indefinitely. He employed his precious time in

blowing meaningless word bubbles and watching them rise and float into thin air, before an admiring audience that applauded his acrobatic and nice use of words and phrases, which were as meaningless as they were impotent. When he theorized he was indefinite; when he was definite he was one-sided and brutally partisan.

"Great Britain announced early that she would be content with nothing less than a complete physical victory over Germany. This was both characteristic and probable. With her powerful allies, and world resources at her command, she was going to see to it, no matter who else would suffer, that this long-looked-for opportunity of crushing her menace and rival, would be turned to the best possible account. She did not therefore like Wilson's early formula, 'peace without victory,' but as to this she was soon put at ease. She soon discovered that this was but a fragile and evanescent dream of the schoolmaster—the statesman reverting momentarily to a simpler type.

"Britain began to understand the Wilson mind. They saw a peculiar combination of schoolmaster, preacher, politician and statesman. They beheld neither an entity nor a non-entity, but a peculiar mixture of softness and hardness, firmness and flexibility. They discovered, for instance, that he was so physically and mentally constituted that he would be liable to make more noise and fuss in having the tips of his toes trampled upon, than in having his leg taken off. They came to understand that he had a very wide vision, but that his peculiarity lay in the fact that he could see only one object at a time; and when star-gazing, he was liable to be thrown on all-fours, by a trivial object at his feet.

"When President Wilson dropped his formula 'peace without victory,' and substituted 'make the world safe for democracy,' casting at the same time a look of disdain at Germany, and one of approval and complacency on those heroic defenders of democracy—Russia, despot and barbarian; Japan, the pagan; and France, late of the Dreyfus fame—there certainly was injected into the whole sad war business the first act of real comedy—a species of humor that even the stolid Englishman could appreciate, admire and enjoy."

Our soldiers died, our maimed, widows, and orphans are multiplied, we are "taxed into Bolshevism" through the vanity and self-will of President Wilson and the greed of our profiteers.

The same lying spirit, which has been the age-long instrument of the devil, endeavors to make us believe that the League of Nations be the salvation of the world.

War is a stupendous evil. There is no civilized war. In every war the brute is let loose. Every war involves at least one national crime; it may involve many crimes.

In olden times wars arose out of the avarice or ambition of leaders of men; now they come upon us because national advantage takes the place of conscience. When we wished to take territory from Mexico, our leaders did not stand on conscience, but took advantage of Mexico's weakness to take one-third of her land. Our war with Spain was controlled not by conscience, but by unscrupulous Chauvinism.

The Confederate Sons of Belial, money, the press, and the preachers, stirred up the war spirit then as they did in our last war. The preachers pander to the passions of the mob; the mob takes their ideas from the press; the press executes the wishes of the money-power, regardless of truth.

When we wished a concession for the Panama Canal, we stirred up a revolution in Colombia and helped Panama to secede.

We have set up as one of our great national heroes Theodore Roosevelt, who gloried in the shame of Panama—"I took Panama and talked about it afterwards."

In 1903 a band of traitors, citizens of the Republic of Colombia, aided and abetted by the Government of the United States, revolted against their government and set up a separate government. Seventy-two hours after the evolt the Republic of Panama was recognized by the United States.

The Panama revolution made possible the immediate building of the great canal. Colombia had shown much hesitancy in granting the United States the canal concession.

An account of the Panama revolution written by Mr. James Du Bois, our Minister to Colombia in President Taft's administration:

"I say, and can prove it, that a handful of men, who were to be the direct beneficiaries of the revolution, conceived it, and not a hundredth part of the inhabitants of the Isthmus knew of the revolt until an American officer, in the uniform of the United States Army, raised the flag of the new republic."

We got our canal, but we lost prestige in all Latin America. Colombia asked for a redress, but was long refused, until it became evident that the dark spot in our history was injuring our commerce. Merchants concerned in Latin American trade insisted that satisfaction be given to Colombia. A bill was passed to deliver to Colombia $25,000,000 as damages, but unaccompanied by any apology for the wrong committed

This reparation smells of pork. The $25,000,000 is to be expended for public works in Colombia, and long ago it was announced that contracts for materials and work were to be given to firms in the United States.

Though we are a comparatively young nation, we have well learned the game of materialistic statecraft.

When Germany interfered with our process of making millionaires by selling munitions of war to the Entente, and rendered our Anglo-French bonds insecure, we stirred up our superficial people by the plea that we must fight to make the world safe for democracy. We have succeeded in making it unsafe for everybody. Benedict Arnold was despised by those for whose gold he pawned his soul. History repeats itself.

"President Wilson's enthusiasm for impractical ideals got the world into a terrible mess," in the opinion of the London 'Post,' expressed editorially. The 'Post' declared:

"We cannot help but admire the United States senate for the stand it has taken in defending itself as a sovereign power and in its determination to look after its own affairs and its own defense. It is idle to disguise the fact that Wilson's enthusiasm for impractical ideals got the world into a terrible mess. We hope the abortive covenant will be separated from the treaty and dropped into deserved oblivion."

The "Express" declared that "the President's attempts to set back the clock may convulse Europe."

The "Daily Sketch" declared:

"Fortunately the world is fool-proof and unsinkable. Wilson's fourteen points look like rusty barbed wire."

The "Manchester Guardian," commenting editorially on the American attitude toward the peace treaty, says:

"Whatever the result it is essential for Europe to understand that American opposition is not the outcome of narrow nationalism or lack of imagination and still less political manœuvering. It is rooted in the faults of the treaty itself."

"All great Neptune's ocean" cannot wash the blood clean from the hand that signed our declaration of war against the Central Powers.

National boundaries should not divide the great brotherhood of man. The love of one's own country should not bring with itself the hatred of another man's country. Christianity demands a comity of all nations.

A national policy founded on magnanimous principles of good will and helpfulness to all nations is most desirable. The world cannot be ruled by one nation. Its division into

several nations is in accordance with the will of God, that law and order universally may reign. The stronger nations should help the weaker nations. This help should be cultural, financial, and protective.

In material power our Country is a colossus among the nations. It should be a big brother to all. But in exercising this beneficent role prudence should control all policies.

It would be a false policy to assist a nation to put through unjust aims, thereby inflicting injury on another nation. This crime we have often perpetrated, and flagrantly in the last war. Our neutrality was a farce. By law Shylock had a right to the pound of flesh. By international law we had a right to sell munitions of war to whomsoever could pay for them. We became a military base for the Allies. English officers supervised the aforesaid manufacture. American money, often obtained by coercion, blackmail, and violence, was loaned the Allies to finance their war. Instead of using our mighty power to restore the peace of the world, we became an accomplice in the greatest crime of history. Our Pharisaic defense is no better than the plea of the first Pharisees, whom we imitate.

There seems to be good evidence that the money filched from the tax-oppressed people of the United States was wasted in reckless, profligate extravagance and dishonesty and that a further crime was contemplated, to cancel our loan to the Allies.

On Oct. 23, 1920, Andre Tardieu, formerly French high commissioner to the United States, published the following statement in the *Illustration:*

"In June I had conversations with Col. House and Thomas W. Lamont, in which we discussed the cancellation of the allied debt. America, by her previous attitude, had shown she was capable of doing this, provided we enlightened her as to the results. President Wilson contemplated taking this matter up after he had ended his campaign for the ratification of the Versailles treaty. Everybody knows the rest."

The retrospect of crime is not pleasant. It is not surprising that the authors of this infamous pact are anxious to deny it. It is impossible, however, to suppress the evidence. The bold, indignant protest of Cain could not stifle the voice that cried to God.

The evils brought upon this country by Wilson and his associates are so vast that only piecemeal by the mind may they be grasped. Human life is a brief span, but history passes into eternity. In its unending records Woodrow

Wilson will stand a conspicuous example of a man to whom the opportunity was offered to save the world, and who failed because he placed vaulting ambition and commercial advantage above the eternal principles of justice and right. The crime of our participation in the war he follows up with an attempt to force us to accept the Treaty of Versailles.

"Constitutional order, lawful functions, rights and duties of positions, oaths of office as affecting the members of this body, he has noticed only to bring into contempt. He has conjured up every power within his domestic domain in his effort to compel the senate to surrender its will and judgment to him, to become the mere automatons to register his mandate—to approve this treaty in its last minute of detail as he sent it to us."

. . . .

"Our national executive, with a stubborn irresponsibility, continues to declare we are at war. But as a practical matter, the only war which he wages is against American citizens and American industry. With Germany he wages no war.

"It is necessary that we at once repeal the declaration of war and so immediately end the despotic war powers with which a power-maddened administration continues to misrule this great people." (Senator Knox in the Senate, 1920.)

In order that the injustice of the Treaty of Versailles may be better understood we submit Germany's reply to the same:

The text of the German note, dated May 29, and addressed to Premier Clemenceau, president of the Peace Conference, was made public by the State Department, as follows:

THE TEXT

Mr. President:

I have the honor to transmit to you herewith the observations of the German delegation on the draft treaty of peace. We came to Versailles in the expectation of receiving a peace proposal based on the agreed principles. We were firmly resolved to do everything in our power, with a view of fulfilling the grave obligations which we had undertaken. We hoped for the peace of justice which had been promised to us. We were aghast when we read in documents the demands made upon us,—the victorious violence of our enemies. The more deeply we penetrate into the spirit of this treaty, the more convinced we become of the impossibility of carrying it out. The executions of this treaty are more than the German people can bear.

With a view to the re-establishment of the Polish state, we must renounce indisputably German territory, nearly the whole of the province of West Prussia, which is preponderantly German, of Pomerania, Danzig, which is German to the core; we must let the ancient Hanse town be transformed into (a) a free state under Polish suzerainty. We must agree that Prussia shall be amputated from the body of the state, condemned to a lingering death, and robbed of its northern portion, including Memel, which is purely German. We must renounce upper Silesia for the benefit of Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, although it has been in close political connection with Germany for more than 750 years, is instinct with German life, and forms the very foundation of industrial life throughout East Germany.

Preponderantly German circles (Kreise) must be ceded to Belgium without sufficient guarantees that the plebiscite which is only to take place afterwards, will be independent. The purely German district of the Saar must be detached from our empire and the way must be paved for its subsequent annexation to France, although we owe her debts in coal only, not in men.

For fifteen years Rhenish territory must be occupied, and after those fifteen years the Allies have the power to refuse the restoration of the country; in the interval the Allies can take every measure to sever the economic and moral links with the mother country, and finally to misrepresent the wishes of the indigenous population.

Although no statement of the cost of the war has been expressly announced as yet, Germany, thus cut in pieces and weakened, must declare herself ready in principle to bear all the war expenses of her enemies, which would exceed many times over the total amount of German state and private assets.

Meanwhile, her enemies demand in excess of the agreed conditions reparation for damage suffered by their civil population, and in this connection Germany must also go bail for her allies.

The sum to be paid is to be fixed by our enemies unilaterally and to admit of subsequent modifications and increase. No limit is fixed save the capacity of the German people for payments, determined not by their standard of life, but solely by their capacity to meet the demands of their enemies by their labor. The German people would thus be condemned to perpetual slave labor.

In spite of the exorbitant demands, the reconstruction of our economic life is at the same time rendered impossible.

We must surrender our merchant fleet. We are to renounce all foreign securities. We are to hand over to our enemies our property in all German enterprises abroad, even in the countries of our allies.

Even after the conclusion of peace, the enemy states are to have the right of confiscating all German property. No German trader in their countries will be protected from these war measures. We must completely renounce our colonies, and not even German missionaries shall have the right to follow their calling therein. We must renounce the realization of all our aims in the spheres of politics, economics and ideas.

Even in internal affairs we are to give up the right to self-determination. The International Reparation Commission receives dictatorial powers over the whole life of our people in economic and cultural matters. Its authority extends far beyond that which the empire, the German Federal Council, and the Reichstag combined ever possessed within the territory of the empire. This commission has unlimited control over the economic life of the state, of communities and of individuals. Further, the entire educational and sanitary system depends on it. It can keep the whole German people in mental thralldom. In order to increase the payments due by the thrall, the committee can hamper measures for the social protection of the German worker.

In other spheres also Germany's sovereignty is abolished. Her chief waterways are subjected to international administration. She would construct in her territory such canals and such railways as her enemies wish; she must agree to treaties, the contents of which are unknown to her; to be concluded by her enemies with the new states on the east, even when they concern her own functions. The German people is excluded from the League of Nations, to which is entrusted all work of common interest to the world.

Thus must a whole people sign the decree for its own proscription, nay its own death sentence.

Germany knows that she must make sacrifices in order to attain peace. Germany knows that she has, by agreement, undertaken to make these sacrifices and will go in this matter to the utmost limits of her capacity.

(1) Germany offers to proceed with her own disarmament in advance of all other peoples, in order to show that she will help to usher in the new era of the peace of justice. She gives up universal compulsory service and reduces her army to 100,000 men, except as regards temporary measures.

She even renounces the warships which her enemies are still willing to leave in her hands. She stipulates, however, that she shall be admitted forthwith as a state with equal rights into the League of Nations. She stipulates that a genuine League of Nations shall come into being, embracing all peoples of good will, even her enemies of today.

The league must be inspired by a feeling of responsibility toward mankind and have at its disposal power to enforce its will sufficiently strong and trusty to protect the frontiers of its members.

(2) Territorial questions: Germany takes up her position unreservedly on the ground of the Wilson program. She renounces her sovereign right in Alsace-Lorraine, but wishes a free plebiscite to take place there. She gives up the greater part of the province of Posen, the district incontestably Polish in population, together with the capital. She is prepared to grant to Poland, under international guarantees, free and secure access to the sea by ceding free ports at Danzig, Königsberg and Memel, by agreement regulating the navigation of the Vistula and by special railway conventions. Germany is prepared to insure the supply of coal for the economic needs of France, especially from the Saar region, until such time as the French mines are once more in working order. The preponderantly Danish districts of Schleswig will be given up to Denmark on the basis of a plebiscite. Germany demands that the rights of self-determination shall also be repeated where the interests of the Germans in Austria and Bohemia are concerned.

She is ready to subject all her colonies to administration by the community of the League of Nations if she is recognized as its mandatory.

(3) Germany is prepared to make payments incumbent on her in accordance with the agreed program of peace to a maximum of 100,000,000,000 of gold marks, 20,000,000,000 by May 1, 1926, and the balance, 80,000,000,000, in annual payments without interest. These payments shall in principle be equal to a fixed percentage of the German imperial and state revenues. The annual payment is all approximate to the former peace budget. For the first ten years the annual payments shall not exceed 1,000,000,000 of gold marks a year. The German taxpayer shall not be less heavily burdened than the taxpayer of the most heavily burdened state among those represented on the reparation commission.

Germany presumes in this connection that she will not have to make any territorial sacrifices beyond those mentioned

above and that she will recover her freedom of economic movement at home and abroad.

(4) Germany is prepared to devote her entire economic strength to the service of reconstruction. She wishes to co-operate effectively in the reconstruction of the devastated regions of Belgium and Northern France. To make good the loss of production of destroyed mines in Northern France, up to twenty million tons of coal will be delivered annually for the first five years and up to eight million tons for the next five years. Germany will facilitate further deliveries of coal to France, Belgium, Italy and Luxemburg.

Germany is prepared to make deliveries of benzol, coal tar and sulphate of ammonia, as well as dyestuffs and medicines.

(5) Finally, Germany offers to put her entire merchant tonnage in a pool of the world's shipping, to place at the disposal of her enemies a part of her freight space as part payment of reparation, and to build for them for a series of years in German yards an amount of tonnage exceeding their demands.

(6) In order to replace the river boats destroyed in Belgium and Northern France, Germany offers river craft from her own resources.

(7) Germany thinks she sees an appropriate method for the prompt fulfillment of her obligation to make reparations by conceding participation in industrial enterprises, especially in coal mines, to insure deliveries of coal.

(8) Germany, in accordance with the desires of workers of the whole world, wishes to see the workers in all countries free and enjoying equal rights. She wishes to insure to them in the treaty of peace the right to take their own decisive part in the settlement of social policy and social protection.

(9) The German delegation again makes its demands for a neutral inquiry into the responsibility for the war and culpable acts in its conduct. An impartial commission should have the right to investigate on its own responsibility the archives of all the belligerent countries and all the persons who took an important part in the war.

Nothing short of confidence that the question of guilt will be examined dispassionately can have the peoples lately at war with each other in the proper frame of mind for the formation of the League of Nations.

These are only the most important among the proposals which we have to make. As regards other great sacrifices

and also as regards the details, the delegation refers to the accompanying memorandum and the annex thereto.

The time allowed us for the preparation of this memorandum was so short that it was impossible to treat all the questions exhaustively. A fruitful and illuminating negotiation could only take place by means of oral discussions. This treaty of peace is to be the greatest achievement of its kind in all history. There is no precedent for the conduct of such comprehensive negotiations by an exchange of written notes only.

The feeling of the peoples who have made such immense sacrifices then, demand that their fate should be decided by an open, unreserved exchange of ideas on the principle: "Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international undertaking of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly in the public view." Germany is to put her signature to the treaty laid before her and to carry it out.

Even in her need, justice for her is too sacred a thing to allow her to stoop to achieve conditions which she cannot undertake to carry out. Treaties of peace signed by the great powers, have, it is true, in the history of the last decades again and again proclaimed the right of the stronger. But each of these treaties of peace has been a factor in originating and prolonging the world war.

Whenever, in this war, the victor has spoken to the vanquished, at Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest, his words were but the seeds of future discord. The lofty aims which our adversaries first set before themselves in their conduct of the war, the new era of an assured peace of justice, demand a treaty instinct with a different spirit. Only the co-operation of all nations, a co-operation of hands and spirits, can build up a durable peace. We are under no delusions regarding the strength of the hatred and bitterness which this war has engendered, and yet the forces which are at work for a union of mankind are stronger now than ever they were before. The historic task of the Peace Conference of Versailles is to bring about this union.

Accept, Mr. President, the expression of my distinguished consideration.

(Signed) BROCKDORFF-RANTZAU.

The causes of the war and their relation to the discontent of the masses are thus described by Sir Philip Gibbs ("Now It Can be Told"):

"Not to face that truth is to deny the passionate convictions of masses of men in Europe. That is one key to the heart of the revolutionary movement which is surging beneath the surface of our European state. It is the belief of many brooding minds that almost as great as the direct guilt of the German war lords was the guilt of the whole political society of Europe, whose secret diplomacy (unrevealed to the peoples) was based upon hatred and fear and rivalry, in play for imperial power and the world's markets, as common folk play dominoes for penny points, and risking the lives of common folk in a gamble for enormous stakes of territory, imperial prestige, the personal vanity of politicians, the vast private gain of trusts and profiteers. To keep the living counters quiet, to make them jump into the pool of their own free will at the word 'Go,' the statesmen, diplomats, trusts, and profiteers debauch the name of patriotism, raise the watchword of liberty, and play upon the ignorance of the mob easily, skilfully, by inciting them to race hatred, by inflaming the brute-passion in them, and by concocting a terrible mixture of false idealism and self-interest, so that simple minds quick to respond to sentiment, as well as those quick to hear the call of the beast, rally shoulder to shoulder and march to the battlegrounds under the spell of that potion. Some go with a noble sense of sacrifice, some with blood-lust in their hearts, most with the herd-instinct following the lead, little knowing that they are but the pawns of a game which is being played behind closed doors by the great gamblers in the courts and Foreign Offices, and committee-rooms, and counting-houses, of the political *casinos* in Europe.

"The official propaganda, the words and actions of British statesmen, did actually express the conscious and subconscious psychology of the multitude. The call to the old watchwords of national pride and imperial might thrilled the soul of a people of proud tradition in sea battles and land battles. Appeals for the rescue of 'the little nations' struck old chords of chivalry and sentiment—though with a strange lack of logic and sincerity Irish demand for self-government was unheeded. Base passions as well as noble instincts were stirred easily. Greedy was the appetite of the mob for atrocity tales. The more revolting they were the quicker they were swallowed. The foul absurdity of the 'corpse-factory' was not rejected any more than the tale of the 'cruci-

fied Canadian' (disproved by our own G. H. Q.) or the cutting off of children's hands and women's breasts, for which I could find no evidence from the only British ambulances working in the districts where such horrors were reported. Spy-mania flourished in mean streets, German music was banned in English drawing rooms. Preachers and professors denied any quality of virtue or genius to German poets, philosophers, scientists, or scholars. A critical weighing of evidence was regarded as pro-Germanism and lack of patriotism. Truth was delivered bound to passion. Hatred at home, inspired largely by feminine hysteria and official propaganda, reached such heights that when fighting-men came back on leave their refusal to say much against their enemy, their straightforward assertions that Fritz was not so black as he was painted, that he fought bravely, died gamely, and in the prison-camps was well-mannered, decent, industrious, good-natured, were heard with shocked silence by mothers and sisters who could only excuse this absence of hate on the score of war-weariness.

"The people of all countries were deeply involved in the general blood-guiltiness of Europe. They made no passionate appeal in the name of Christ or in the name of humanity for the cessation of the slaughter of boys and the suicide of nations and for a reconciliation of peoples upon terms of some more reasonable argument than that of high explosives.

"There was no forgiveness, no generous instinct, no large-hearted common sense in any combatant nation of Europe. Like wolves they had their teeth in one another's throats, and would not let go, though all bloody and exhausted, until one should fall at the last gasp, to be mangled by the others. Yet in each nation, even in Germany, there were men and women who saw the folly of the war and the crime of it, and desired to end it by some act of renunciation and repentance, and by some uplifting of the people's spirit to vault the frontiers of hatred and the barbed wire which hedged in patriotism. Some of them were put in prison. Most of them saw the impossibility of counteracting the forces of insanity which had made the world mad, and kept silent, hiding their thoughts and brooding over them. The leaders of the nations continued to use mob-passion as their argument and justification, excited it anew when its fires burned low, focused it upon definite objectives, and gave it a sense of righteousness by the high-sounding watchwords of liberty, justice, honor, and retribution. Each side proclaimed Christ as its captain and invoked the blessing and aid of the God

of Christendom, though Germans were allied with Turks and France was full of black and yellow men. The German people did not try to avert their ruin by denouncing the criminal acts of their war lords nor by deploring the cruelties they had committed. The Allies did not help them to do so, because of their lust for bloody vengeance and their desire for the spoils of victory. The peoples shared the blame of their rulers because they were not nobler than their rulers. They cannot now plead ignorance or betrayal by false ideals which duped them, because character does not depend on knowledge, and it was the character of European peoples which failed in the crisis of the world's fate, so that they followed the callback of the beast in the jungle rather than the voice of the Crucified One whom they pretended to adore.

"The character of European peoples failed in common sense and in Christian charity. It did not fail in courage to endure great agonies, to suffer death largely, to be obedient to the old tradition of patriotism and to the stoic spirit of old fighting races."

The great English historian Lord Bryce, on August 2, 1921, at Williams College, Williamstown, Mass., spoke as follows of the Versailles Treaty:

"Their work has received in Europe nothing but censure. Comparing the treaties they framed with those which were made by the congress at Vienna in 1914-15, European critics observe that the men of Vienna, Alexander and Metternich, Talleyrand and Hardenburg and Castlereagh, may have had bad principles and employed despotic methods and misconceived the interests of their peoples but they at least knew what they were doing and gave effect to their principles. Their work bestowed upon Europe a tolerable peace which lasted for more than thirty years, but there is no one of the treaties of 1919-1920 which is not now already admitted to need amendment, while some are seen to lead straight to future wars.

"One hears people say, 'the sort of peace that these negotiators have given us is as bad as the war.' The negotiators at Paris differed in their principles and ideals and some at least of them do not seem to have believed in the principles they professed."

He added, however, that the task before them "was one of unprecedented difficulty. New states had to be created, territories re-distributed, indemnities secured and all on a scale incomparably greater than any international congress ever before had attempted."

Taking up the position in which the European countries find themselves as the result of the peace treaty, Lord Bryce said:

"Germany, which though reduced in area is still Germany, and continues to call herself the reich (the realm), albeit now a republic instead of a monarchy—Germany is still the most populous of European countries after Russia, with highly educated and industrious inhabitants and great productive industries. Between her and France, the ancestral anatagonism, dating back to the days of Louis XIV's aggressions, now is more bitter than ever and seems likely to last in France as long as the generation lives which remembers the devastations wrought in 1917 by the retiring German army, and in Germany as long as her government continues to pay immense sums in reparation for the losses in the war by France.

"This war has shown one unprecedented feature, painful in the prospect it opens. The victors bear as much resentment against the vanquished as the vanquished do against the victors. There is no blacker cloud, pregnant with future storm, hanging over Europe now than that which darkens the banks of the Rhine."

Of Austria and Italy's aspirations in regard to Tyrol the speaker said:

"Italy had, of course, no historical title whatever to the purely Germanic region she sought to acquire. However, the principle of nationality was, in this case, thrown overboard by the allied powers and a quarter of a million of German Tyrolese, countrymen of the heroic Andreas Hofer, who had led their forefathers in a gallant resistance when Napoleon turned them over to Bavaria in 1805, were delivered up to Italy as if they had been so many cattle."

When the true history of this great war shall be written it shall be recorded that there were in the U. S. Senate nine men whom the President, Wall Street, and the bribed press could not coerce to betray their country. They were not able to keep us out of war, but they saved us from the crime of Versailles. They are:

Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts, chairman.
William Edgar Borah, Idaho.
Frank B. Brandegee, Connecticut.
Albert B. Fall, New Mexico.
Philander C. Knox, Pennsylvania.
Warren G. Harding, Ohio, now our President.
Hiram W. Johnson, California.
Harry S. New, Indiana.
George S. Moses, New Hampshire.

That England systematically employed infamous lying in order to discredit Germany, and that our country aided her in the foul campaign, is proven beyond the possibility of doubt. England lied in charging that Germany caused the war. Englishmen who wish to be fair acknowledge this:

"It is monstrously unfair to thrust on the German leaders all the responsibility of the present conflict. It may be true that they held a pistol to the head of Europe, but is there not some justification for a man whipping out a pistol when he is surrounded by armed enemies plotting his downfall? That has been the position of Germany. During the past ten years Great Britain, France and Russia have deliberately schemed to isolate and degrade Germany."—London Labor Leader.

Before public opinion was suppressed in America some of our profoundest scholars declared the same:

"It may be true that Germany desires commercial expansion (and certainly this is the cause of the arrail of British arms against her) but this is necessary economic right, not a crime. She desires it, however, not in the interest of luxurious living, as of England, but for the sake of her higher civilization and culture; and there is no modern nation whose people as a whole are so thoroughly permeated with this spirit."—(Prof. Herbert Sanborn, Vanderbilt University.)

On August 11, 1914, Robt. C. Long, former correspondent of the International News Service, one of the last men to leave Berlin, cabled:

"Kaiser William did everything in his power for peace. Despite the protest of Von Moltke, he delayed the mobilization decree."

The causes of the war was the mobilization of Russia, the enormous loans made to Russia by France, the rise of Germany's industries outrivaling England's former ascendancy, French desire of revenge, and semi-savage Slav nationalism. Germany was forced into a conflict which she neither desired nor provoked.

It is not necessary to discuss the causes which led Italy into the war. Italy sold herself to the highest bidder.

Having induced our superficial people to believe that the Kaiser was the "Beast of Berlin," the lying spirit furnished us a continuous series of manufactured German atrocities. The stigma on the allied nations will grow blacker in the perspective of history. Honor has fled from English diplomacy and English warfare. While a bribed press has filled

the world with these infamous lies, Premier Asquith, who, through the war office, had access to every means of information, declared in the House of Commons:

"No information has reached the Minister of War concerning the repeated stories that German soldiers had abused the Red Cross flag; killed and maimed the wounded; and killed women and children, as has been alleged so often in stories of the battlefields."

Joseph O'Donnell Bennett cabled to the Chicago Tribune:

"I marched for days with the German columns, often only one day behind the fighting, with the houses that had been burned still smouldering, the ground freshly broken by shells and trampled by horses and men, and the memory of the German advance vivid in the minds of the inhabitants. I interviewed at least twenty persons in each of a dozen towns, and found only one instance of a non-combatant who had been killed without provocation. In this case the evidence did not prove that this man had been wantonly murdered. Neither in Brussels or its environs could we find on diligent inquiry, a single offense. Investigation failed to substantiate any of the rumors, nor could we find any one in the immediate vicinity who credited them. We have seen no atrocities, we can get proof of none."

The cowardly British, beaten in the field, resorted to the poison gas of lying to overcome a superior nation.

In the Boer war, one of the long line of England's infamies, Lord Roberts gave the following order:

"When any attempt has been made to destroy a railroad line, all the farms and residences within a circumference of ten miles must be destroyed; cattle and all provisions taken away and residents driven away without food and shelter."

Germany never used such methods.

Father Golden of Michigan, a chaplain who saw service at the front, declared in a public address quoted by the *Manistee News-Advocate*, 1920, that the atrocities attributed to the Germans were exaggerated. He stated that the British had cut the hands from dead Belgian children, had mutilated the bodies of dead women, and had crucified their own dead children that they might secure photographs and charge these outrages to the enemy.

Col. Repington (Diary) makes the following declaration:

"I was told that the Pope promised to make a great protest to the world, if a single case could be proved of the violation of the Belgian nuns or the cutting off of children's hands. An inquiry was instituted and many cases

examined with the help of Cardinal Mercier, who was here. Not one case could be proved.

"One handless child was found, but the evidence pointed to the (Belgian) mother's having amputated the child's hand for the purpose of begging."

The unholy coalition of England and President Wilson has succeeded in creating the impression in our country that our country must draw close to England to defend justice and liberty throughout the world. Hypocrisy has always been England's long suit: we are contaminated by our alliance with her.

On the tenth of April, 1920, at Amritsar, India, about 5,000 natives of India were congregated to protest against a despotic law known as the Rowlatt Act. There had been some antecedent agitation for freedom from accursed British rule in India. The crowd of 5,000 in the park were unarmed. A man was addressing them. Brigadier-General R. E. H. Dyer of the English army marched to the park, picketed it to prevent the unarmed natives from escape, and then entered and opened fire without warning. In ten minutes his soldiers killed about 500, and wounded 1,500. Dyer's testimony at Lord Hunter's investigation is as follows:

"He led the Gurkhas in. There were very few exits, probably one large and two or three small ones. He had never seen the place before.

"When he got to the place he opened fire. 'At once?' asked Lord Hunter, evidently surprised.

"Witness said, 'Yes.' He had thought about the matter. He explained it did not take him more than thirty seconds. In the center of the crowd a man was standing, his demeanor showing that he was making an address. He ran away to the right and managed to climb over the wall and got away. A great mass was on the farther side. So far as witness knew there was nothing going on, but his addressing the meeting. Witness estimated the crowd roughly at 5,000. He was told afterward many more were there.

"It was possible that many of them could not have heard the proclamation prohibiting meetings to be held. It did not occur to him to warn. He merely felt his orders were disobeyed and martial law defied. So he felt his duty to fire. Only a few of them ran away. When he began to fire the big mass began to run away. Although martial law had not been proclaimed he did not think it necessary to consult the Deputy Commissioner (the civil officer in that town). Besides, there was no Deputy Commissioner. Witness looked

at it from the military point of view. If he did not fire he thought he was failing in his duty. When he left Rambagh (the park where his troops were encamped) he had thought of firing. It did not occur to him to have civil authority with him. There were two police officers, but he did not consult them. Witness made up his mind as he came along that if they did not obey, he would fire.

"As soon as firing was opened, the crowd began dispersing. Still he continued firing, because he thought a little firing was bad. The firing lasted about ten minutes or less. He thought less from the number of rounds fired.

"He could not say if the crowd had sticks. He assumed they had sticks. He knew they would be arriving with sticks. . . . It was possible the crowd would disperse at the sight of the troops. But they would all be coming back again and only making a fool of him. His view was that the situation was serious. He thought they wanted to isolate him, and the movement was not confined to Amritsar, but was wide-spread. He looked on the crowd as rebels and enemies of the Crown. They wanted to isolate him. So he fired and fired well. No other consideration weighed with him.

"After firing he returned to Rambagh and counted the number of rounds. He did not ascertain the casualties. He guessed from the number of rounds fired, about three hundred must have been killed. He had since seen the figures in the papers. Instead of dividing the rounds by six, if he had divided by five, it would have worked out very nearly to the published figures. It was individual and not volley firing, and the crowd was dense in the center. If the fire was directed on the center there was no chance of missing. It was quite possible that the deaths numbered four or five hundred.

"He did not render aid to the wounded. He should have done if they had asked him. It was not his job. It was a medical question. The next day he issued an order regarding the disposal of the dead."

In neglecting to care for the wounded, Dyer *out-Shylocks* Shylock, who would not "have by some surgeon to stop Antonio's wound," because he could not find it in his bond.

This wholesale murder was followed by public floggings without trial, and by an order compelling all Indians wishing to pass through a certain street in Amritsar, to crawl through it on their stomachs. In this street a Miss Sherwood had been attacked by a mob and had been rescued by other Indians. Even the London *Times* declares that "Dyer's conduct appears

to us indefensible, and its worst feature is that he did not stop firing when they began instantly to disperse."

The British Government endeavored to suppress the knowledge of the event. The London *Times* declares, "that disclosure has only been made in Great Britain nine months after the event occurred."

The aforesaid *Times* continues:

"The scene of this new 'frightfulness' is not Belgium, but India: the general responsible is not German, but British. The Government which has practised this concealment—in its way one of the most shocking features of the whole concern—is British. The victims are not even technically enemies, but 'rebels,' in General Dyer's words, that is to say, British subjects who innocently or otherwise ventured to act in contravention of his decrees."

A correspondent of the London *Morning Post* in 1917 relates with great admiration the fact that British drill sergeants lent to the American troops taught them a brutal hatred of the Germans.

"It is in teaching the men how to capture a trench that the lesson in German killing is most thoroughly emphasized. As we saw the work there was a squad of men assembled at the head of a trench, and in every recess of it were dummies representing Germans. They crept quietly, one by one, down the trench, for the theory was that it was a surprise attack, and every detail of their movements was controlled and criticized. They were shown how to avoid letting their bayonets be seen, and each man was encouraged to simulate a battle hate as he stuck his German dummy. And the sergeant kept up a running fire of comment, thus: 'Make a good *Boche*, and there's no good *Boche* but a dead *Boche*.' 'There are two of them there; one has got some rum and the other a sandwich; you take the sandwich and I'll have the rum.' 'Don't make a mistake about it; Fritz is no fool; he'll stick you if you don't stick him.' 'What you've got to do is to kill Fritz, as many Fritzes as you can.' 'That's it (as a bayonet thrust went home); 'pull it out and make a good bayonet of it again,' and so on."

But is not this an isolated case of soldier brutality that can happen and has happened in every land? We might treat it thus were it condemned by public sentiment in England. But the foul deed is approved and gloried in by the majority of England. In fact, the action of the Army Council which relegated Gen. Dyer to civil life was condemned in the House of Lords by a majority of 139 to 86. English opinion was

not ignorant of the merits of the case. The Right Hon. Edwin Samuel Montagu, Secretary of State for India, after making all allowances for the "immensity of the responsibility which Gen. Dyer felt," declares:

"But he was not entitled to select for condign punishment an unarmed crowd which, when he inflicted that punishment, had committed no act of violence, had made no attempt to oppose him by force, and many members of which must have been unaware that they were disobeying his commands."

England was obliged to make some pretence of protest against the butchery of the Indians. She ordered an inquiry by Lord Hunter's Commission. The summary of the report of Lord Hunter's Commission reminds us of the decision of the negro jury, who gave verdict on a negro charged with theft of chickens. They found the defendant not guilty, but cautioned him not to commit the offense again. The brutal Dyer is removed from office of Commander in the Punjab; he is debarred from holding any military office in India; and is reduced to half-pay. But he is the hero of the Tories in England, that evil brood whose sinister influence is powerfully operative in our country. They drew us into the World War and made us a party to the infamous Treaty of Versailles. We employed their methods of wholesale lying in the press, and spent about five million dollars on our Committee of Public Information. Most of this was spent to debauch public opinion by deliberate lying. Even Wilson's infamous "fourteen points" were a dishonest ruse to divide public opinion in Germany and strengthen the Socialists against the government. In fact, the "fourteen points" were not discussed at Versailles.

The following estimate of Wilson shall be history's verdict:

By Dr. Karl Von Helfferich

(Former Vice Chancellor of the German Empire)

"President Wilson was the most fateful man in the world during the war. While appearing as a peacemaker he drove the United States into the war. Without the interference of America in 1917 there would have been a peace which would have assured the peace of all European peoples in the future.

"Wilson's interference gave the advantage to one side which later bore down Wilson himself. History will criticize

Wilson at the peace conference. Wilson, in 1918, induced the German people to lay down their arms. He gave his word and that of the entente that peace would be made on the basis of the fourteen points as pronounced by him in congress.

"Wilson, with the strength of America behind him, could have brought about a democratic peace, but he gave away to a peace based on force, and is guilty of the chaotic state which threatens to ruin Europe."

No man should approve the lawless acts of certain individuals who carry on a guerilla warfare in Ireland. The leaders of thought in Ireland squarely and severely condemn these outrages. They are individual acts of men driven to desperation by the tyranny of England.

Dublin, Aug. 30, 1920.—Cardinal Logue, primate of Ireland, in a vigorous letter read in the Dundalk churches on Sunday denounces impartially the shooting of Constable Brennan, who was assassinated at Dundalk a week ago by masked men.

His Eminence also denounced reprisals by British soldiers in southern Ireland. The Cardinal said:

"The poor victim I know to have been a quiet, upright man who never gave offense to anyone in the discharge of his duty.

"Am I to be told that this is an act of war? that it is lawful to shoot at sight anyone wearing a policeman's uniform and honestly discharging a policeman's duty? I prefer to call it by its true name—cold, deliberate, wilful murder. Hence, anyone who plans, encourages, abets or even sympathizes with such an act participates in the guilt before God."

Equally condemning reprisals the Cardinal continues:

"I know we are living under the harsh tyrannical regime of militarism and brute force, which invites and stimulates crime; that all pretense of discipline has been thrown to the winds; that those professing to be guardians of law and order have become the most ardent votaries of lawlessness and disorder; that they have been overrunning the country and making the night hideous by raids, rifle fire, burnings and the destruction of valuable property; that towns have been sacked, as in the rude warfare of the earlier ages, and that those who run from fear are shot at sight, and that reckless firing in crowded places has made many innocent victims.

"And when these things are reported to the authorities either investigation is refused or some hole or corner inquiry

held. But we have never heard of punishment. All this professes to be done by way of reprisals, but reprisals are generally unjust and often fall on the innocent. Crime does not excuse crime."

It is urged in defense of England that the England of today is not the England which perpetrated the crimes of past years against Ireland. The testimony of history is so clear that England's defenders abandon the hope to defend her past record.

Lloyd George, speaking in the British Parliament on March 7, 1917, stated:

"Centuries of brutal and often ruthless injustice, and what is worse . . . centuries of insolence and insult have driven hatred of British rule into the very marrow of the Irish race. The long records of oppression, proscription and expatriation have formed the greatest blot on the British fame of equity and eminence in the realm of government. There remains . . . the invincible fact that today she (Ireland) is no more reconciled to British rule than she was in the days of Cromwell."

But they proclaim that the English people have undergone a complete change of heart and that they wish to grant to Ireland everything compatible with the safety of the empire, which empire they hold equally necessary for the well-being of the two islands. These are fair professions, but present facts do not support this defense. In October, 1920, Arthur Griffith, vice-president of the republic of Ireland, made specific reply to the blanket indictment of Sinn Fein Ireland by Premier Lloyd George.

He gave a list of the outrages Sinn Fein ascribes to the British occupying army and to the black and tan police since Jan. 1, 1919. It includes:

Seventy-seven murders of unarmed civilians, including women and children.

The sacking and burning of 102 towns.

One thousand six hundred and four armed assaults.

Four thousand nine hundred and eighty-two arrests and imprisonments.

Thirty-eight thousand seven hundred and twenty armed raids on private houses.

In October, 1920, the Bishops of Ireland issued a pronouncement on the state of Ireland. It is a sober document drawing necessary conclusions from clearest evidence. Ireland in a normal state has one of the lowest records of crime in the

world. But the attempt of England to repress the rights of the people has led to deplorable consequences. Anarchy reigns in the land.

"Now on a truly appalling scale the people have to endure countless indiscriminate raids and arrests in the depths of night; prolonged imprisonments without trial; savage sentences from tribunals that command and deserve no confidence; the burning of houses, town halls, factories, creameries, and crops; the destruction of industries to pave the way for famine—all done by men maddened with plundered drink and bent on loot.

"The flogging and massacre of civilians are perpetrated by the forces of the British Crown who have established a reign of frightfulness which for murdering the innocent and destroying their property has a parallel only in the horrors of Turkish atrocities or in the outrages of the Red army of Bolshevist Russia."

"Things have become much worse since this was written. Men have been tortured with barbarous cruelty, nor are cases wanting of young women torn undressed from their mother's care in the darkness of the night."

The manifesto refers to the "reprisals" as "indiscriminate vengeance of savages deliberately wreaked on a whole town or countryside without any proof of its complicity in crime by those who ostensibly are employed by the British Government to protect lives and property.

"This," the Bishops declare, "has gone on month after month without restraint, or reproof or public investigation or deterrent punishment on behalf of the authorities; it has continued till the world was horrified; then it was palliated and excused, more than half denied, and less than half rebuked by a minister of the crown; after which it was presented in a false light, and in that light approved by his superior in the British Government.

"Outrage has been connived at, encouraged, and apparently organized not by obscure and irresponsible individuals, but by the government of a mighty empire and professing the highest ideals of truth and justice."

On October 25, 1920, Mr. Arthur Henderson moved in the House of Commons: "That this House regrets the present state of lawlessness in Ireland and the lack of discipline in the armed forces of the Crown, resulting in the death or injury of innocent citizens and the destruction of property; and is of opinion that an independent investigation should at once be instituted into the causes, nature, and extent of reprisals

on the part of those whose duty is the maintenance of law and order."

This request was refused. The English Labor Party then appointed an independent commission for the purpose specified.

The Parliamentary Labor Party appointed three of its members, Right Hon. Arthur Henderson, M. P., Mr. J. Lawson, M. P., and Mr. W. Lunn, M. P., to serve on the Commission, whilst the Executive Committee of the Labor Party appointed its chairman (Mr. A. G. Cameron), its vice-chairman (Mr. F. W. Jowett), and Mr. J. Bromley to represent the Executive of the party. At the first meeting of the Commission Mr. Henderson was unanimously elected as chairman. In view of the importance of the delegation's work, and opportunities which it was thought might arise to assist the establishment of peace in Ireland, the Right Hon. W. Adamson, M. P., was persuaded to join the Commission. Brigadier-General C. B. Thomson became military adviser, and Captain C. W. Kendall, legal adviser. Mr. W. W. Henderson accompanied the Commission as press secretary, and Mr. Arthur Greenwood was appointed secretary of the Commission. Mr. Tom Johnson, secretary of the Irish Labor Party and Trade Union Congress, was attached to the Commission, and the services of Mr. E. Roney as stenographer were placed at the disposal of the Commission by the Irish Transport Workers' Union.

Sir Hamar Greenwood, Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, gave every possible assistance to the Commission. As a result of his instructions the Commissions were supplied with permits to enable them to travel by motor anywhere they wished to go and at any hour.

The Commission left for Dublin on Tuesday, November 30, 1920. It returned to London on December 15, 1920. Its investigations were confined to Dublin and neighborhood and the southwest of Ireland. The inquiry was impartial and aimed to secure reliable evidence of the true state of affairs.

The Commission describes its general method as follows:

"The cases dealt with in this report fall into two groups—outrages committed upon the police and other armed servants of the Crown and upon those associated with the Crown forces, and reprisals committed by the Crown forces. The latter fall under six main heads:

"(1) General terrorism and provocative behavior.

"(2) Arson.

"(3) The wilful destruction of property, otherwise than by fire.

"(4) Looting.

"(5) Cruelty to persons.

"(6) Shooting.

"Often enough the various types of violence are to be found combined in the same occurrences.

"It was made clear to us at the outset that we could not accumulate evidence merely by relying upon witnesses coming forward voluntarily. We may say, however, that at every place at which we stayed people did present themselves to give evidence. It was, of course, necessary to visit many places to make observations on the spot and to take evidence from witnesses on the scene of the occurrences. But, in addition, we had on many occasions to go to the homes of people who could of their own knowledge assist us in our investigations.

"In some cases we found it difficult or impossible to obtain sufficient reliable evidence, either through the absence of important witnesses, who were perhaps 'on the run,' or through the fear of possible consequences if facts were disclosed. The atmosphere of terrorism which prevails in many parts of Ireland renders it extremely difficult to gather information. Those who were eye-witnesses of incidents deserving of inquiry have been threatened with violence, and even death, if they disclose what they saw. We have information of one case where a firm of solicitors declined to swear an affidavit through fear of the consequences which might ensue."

"The Commission finds that there is a state of war in Ireland between the armed forces of the Crown and the Irish Republican Army.

"The Government forces in Ireland consist of:

"(a) The Military Garrison.

"(b) The Royal Irish Constabulary.

"(c) The Auxiliary Division.

"In regard to (a), some fifty thousand soldiers are at present quartered in Ireland; they are in the main young and inexperienced, few of them have had the training given to a recruit in pre-war days before joining a service unit. The majority of the junior officers are equally ignorant of their professional duties; many in Infantry Battalions have not passed through the Royal Military College at Sandhurst. Under the conditions existing in Ireland up to and during the visit of the Commission, these lads were continually

being called upon to support the police against the civil population, a task which has always been distasteful to regular soldiers and should be confided only to highly disciplined troops. As a result, training has been neglected, discipline has become lax, youths at the most receptive period of their lives have been brutalized and demoralized, and all this has been done at enormous cost to the taxpayer."

The Royal Irish Constabulary (b) get their name "black and tan" from the "tan" of their original khaki uniforms and the "black" (dark green) of their caps and belts. The Commission found that these are now mainly recruited from Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Welshmen. It found also that men of dissolute habits and entirely unsuited to their duties were found in this body in sufficient number to discredit the whole force and to make it "an object of general dread and detestation."

"The Auxiliary Division of the R. I. C. is recruited exclusively from ex-officers. Perhaps for this reason a license is permitted among the "cadets" (the rank and file of the division) which makes their conduct depend more on the personality of local commanders than on instructions from headquarters. In Tralee, the Auxiliaries enjoyed a reputation for good behavior and moderation among the inhabitants, but in other districts which we visited they inspired terror as the authors of reprisals whose brutality and destructive effects were only equaled by the skill and forethought with which they had been planned.

"In the Auxiliary Division the men who matter are those possessed of ability and education, who are inflamed by political passion and who, so far as could be seen during the visit of the Commission, were being given a free hand in the south and west of Ireland. Wherever reprisals have been scientifically carried out so as to cause the maximum economic and industrial loss to an Irish countryside or city, they have almost invariably been the work of detachments of cadets. Several cases investigated by the Commission revealed the fact that these detachments had worked independently of, and brooked no interference from, the other forces of the Crown. In view of the recent conduct, after the orders published in the press forbidding all reprisals, they do not seem to recognize even the authority of Dublin Castle, and the question suggests itself—under whom, then, do they serve? Some obvious deductions can be made from much that is uncertain and confused. This division is essentially undemocratic in its composition. It is a class weapon which

is being forged in Ireland and could be used in England. Further, the method of its employment at the present juncture gives color to the suspicion that it is the instrument of those reactionary forces which dictate the Irish policy of the British Government. Hitherto, reprisals by Auxiliaries have been hushed up as far as possible, and efforts have been made to impute the blame for their misdeeds to innocent civilians. Evidently this force enjoys special and powerful protection. Now that martial law has been proclaimed in certain parts of Ireland, it will be interesting to see how far the detachments of cadets in those regions will come under military control.

"The forces of the Crown in Ireland are opposed by the Republican Volunteers. To speak of the forces of Sinn Fein as an army is misleading. The Irish Republican Army may consist of 216 battalions, whose strength vary from 100 to 1,000 men, but it is an army only in name. This remark implies no disrespect for the I. R. A., which, in point of fact, is a far more formidable organization than any army raised from a population of at most three million could ever be. The I. R. A. is formidable because it is intangible; if it functioned as an army it would have to concentrate to fight, and then it could be defeated without difficulty. But, in its present form, it lives and fights dispersed; it is everywhere all the time and nowhere at any given moment. Without the sympathy and support of the vast majority of the population it could not exist. This support is probably more general and effective today than it has been at any previous period. Irish Volunteers are fed and harbored by people who, three years ago, were certainly not Sinn Feiners, and some of whom were Unionists. So great has been the provocation by the forces of the Crown that 80 per cent. of Irish men and women now regard the shooting of policemen and throwing bombs at lorries with the same philosophic resignation that Mr. Lloyd George displays towards arson, pillage, and the shooting of civilians at sight in the presence of their wives and children. Under such conditions it is practically impossible to bring the Irish Republican Army to bay. It might be driven underground by the use of overwhelming military force, but it will spring up again when that force has been withdrawn. Executions and torture are not deterrents; they have, indeed, the opposite effect. It is reported on good authority that the day Kevin Barry was hanged several hundred undergraduates of Dublin University enrolled themselves as Volunteers. The destruction of creameries and manufactories only serves to stimulate recruiting by

increasing the number of desperate men. The policy of reprisals by destruction, if carried to its ultimate conclusion, will ruin Ireland outside Ulster, but will not defeat the Volunteers.

"Members of the Royal Irish Constabulary have been shot, both on and off duty. These cases are regarded by Sinn Feiners (whether they approve of them or not) as 'reprisals' rather than 'outrages.' They were, it is said, the outcome of the British Government's policy of coercion and repression manifested in the imprisonment of people without trial, the prohibition of public meetings, and similar acts. The shooting of members of the Constabulary and the subsequent resignations which took place were largely responsible for the "dilution" of the old R. I. C. by newcomers of a less desirable type, and for the enrollment of the Auxiliary Division of the R. I. C.; though, on the other hand, it is clear that the resort by a section of the Sinn Fein movement to a policy of physical force was itself but the outcome of a coercive policy on the part of the British Government."

The Commission found that the conduct of the Crown forces is insolent and provocative. They display their arms, swagger through the streets, sing ribald songs, glory in their infamous name and record, insult the people, their religion, and their national feelings, indulge in drunkenness, lawlessly invade shops and homes, rob the civilians, and in many other ways arouse the hatred of the Irish people.

"A large number of buildings in Ireland have been destroyed by fire, but the Government has admitted only a very few cases of arson committed by members of the Crown forces. Generally, as, for example, in the recent great fire at Cork, the Chief Secretary denies the existence of evidence showing that the fires were caused by forces which theoretically are under his control. There is, however, ample evidence in our judgment to show that buildings have been deliberately burned and in many cases utterly destroyed by servants of the Crown. The premises which have been destroyed include creameries, factories, and other large business premises, as well as shops, private houses and farms."

The Commission gives detailed evidence of forty-two attacks made upon co-operative concerns, mainly creameries.

The Chief Secretary resorts to lying, England's traditional policy, to defend the action of the Crown forces. The evidence against him submitted by the English Commission is overwhelming.

In 1921, in *The Japan Times* the brilliant journalist, S. Shiba, declared that "No nation that lies to the world will ever rise." It is to be hoped that Mr. Shiba's vision is true, but the cycle of its fulfilment, in some cases, must be long. England has been lying to the world for nearly four hundred years, and yet she comes out of the World War with most of the plunder.

Cork has suffered more than any other city of Ireland. Touching conditions there the Commission makes the following report:

"The atmosphere of Cork prior to the latest acts of incendiarism was beyond description. During the time we were in the city terrorism was at its height. Cork has perhaps suffered longer from the brutal domination of ill-disciplined armed forces than any other town in Ireland, probably because it has been regarded as one of the most important Sinn Fein centers. Within the past twelve months there have been three Lord Mayors of Cork. Lord Mayor MacCurtain was murdered in the presence of his wife. Mr. Terence MacSwiney died in prison. His present successor is 'on the run' and carrying out his duties as best he can.

"The proper administration of the city of Cork by the local authority has been rendered well nigh impossible. Many members of the Council have been marked down for attention by the Crown forces and are able to attend the various meetings of committees only at considerable risk. Attempts have been made to set on fire the City Hall and several raids have been made on the municipal offices.

"The whole of the civilian population has been in varying degrees under the terror. During the month of November alone we were informed by the Cork City Council that over 200 curfew arrests had been made, four Sinn Fein clubs burned to the ground, twelve large business premises destroyed by fire, in addition to attempts made to fire others, including the City Hall; seven men shot dead, a dozen men dangerously wounded, fifteen trains held up, four publicly placarded threats to the citizens of Cork issued, and over 500 houses of private citizens forcibly entered and searched. This by no means completes the list of incidents which occurred in Cork in the space of a single month. There were, in addition, attempted arrests which were unsuccessful, much indiscriminate shooting, and many minor outrages upon the people of Cork.

"During the time that we were in the city there was provocative behavior on the part of Auxiliaries, a large number of searches of individuals, a number of cases of theft from

persons searched, the wanton destruction of property, and the incident of whipping pedestrians in the street. It is not surprising in these circumstances that the economic life of Cork has suffered considerably. As an illustration of the effect upon trade of the prevailing unsettlement and terrorism, we may refer to the information which we received that the receipts of certain traders in the city had during the past three months fallen by 60 to 75 per cent. This economic stagnation arises directly out of the state of terror which exists in Cork. There is, of course, unemployment in the city. People are indisposed to make purchases other than those which are absolutely essential, and few people from the surrounding districts care to come into the city of Cork to shop.

"The Commission was impressed by the sense of impending disaster which overhung the city of Cork during the time it was staying there. This uncertainty was ended by the tragic occurrences of Saturday, December 12, when the Regent Street of Cork was destroyed by incendiaries. By this date the Commission had returned to Dublin, but it decided to send two members of the Commission to Cork to make immediate investigations. The newspaper reports of the Cork fires conveyed but a faint impression of the terrible havoc wrought in the city. The most valuable premises in the town were utterly destroyed, large business houses and massively fronted shops were reduced to piles of smouldering debris, charred woodwork, and twisted iron girders.

"Shortly after 9 p. m. on Saturday, December 12, Auxiliary Police and Black and Tans appeared in large numbers in the streets of the city, and at the revolver point (before actual firing took place) drove people to their homes earlier than the curfew regulations required. This was regarded by the citizens as ominous and increased the nervousness which had been caused by the ambush at Dillon's Cross and the apprehensions of reprisals that were naturally entertained by the people. The streets were soon entirely deserted and the work of destruction begun.

"The first of the burnings took place at Grant's extensive premises in Patrick Street, and during the night new fires broke out. At 4 a. m. the City Hall was fired and the efforts of the firemen failed to save it. It was completely gutted. But a few days previously, the Commission had taken evidence in the City Hall of the unfortunate occurrences in Cork during the past few months. The City Library adjacent to the Hall was also destroyed.

"The members of the Commission made special inquiries regarding the origin and cause of the fires and numerous witnesses were interviewed. They were unanimous in stating that the fires were caused by the Crown forces. Some persons had witnessed the entry of members of the forces into buildings, which shortly afterwards were on fire. In some cases explosions occurred. Others again, saw them engaged in looting. The smashing of glass and doors was heard as men forced their way into business premises for the purpose of looting.

"On receiving the report of the delegates who had visited Cork, the Commission dispatched the following telegram on December 15 to Mr. Henderson:

" 'Statements made by Chief Secretary in House of Commons yesterday concerning the burning of Cork are grossly inaccurate. Parliamentary members of Labor Commission who visited Cork yesterday convinced that fires were work of Crown forces. Suggestion that fire spread from Patrick Street across the river to City Hall, a distance several hundred yards, cannot be entertained by anyone knowing topography of Cork. We stand by our statements regarding the fires in Cork, and can, if safety of witnesses guaranteed, produce reliable evidence on subject. We, therefore, demand independent inquiry into recent incident in Cork. If Government refuse inquiry British public will form its own conclusions.' "

Touching looting and theft, the Commission declares thus:

"There are so many undoubted cases of looting and theft that the Commission must add these crimes to those of burning and destruction with which we have already dealt. We were filled with shame that, in the name of law and order,s ervants of the British Government would be guilty of besmirching in the eyes of Ireland the honesty of the British people."

On October 21, 1920, in the English Parliament Lord Robert Cecil condemned the government policy of reprisals. He asserted conditions were worse than for 120 years. He said evidence had reached him of widespread looting by the Crown forces.

The Commission found that "there have been several ambushes in which many members of the Crown forces have been killed or wounded." British officers and civilians have been shot in cold blood, and acts of victimization, often petty acts, have been committed against the R. I. C. or persons aiding them. These regrettable acts embitter the relations between the Constabulary and the Irish people. But the Commission frankly declares:

"As far as we have been able to ascertain, the terrorization of persons in some way connected with the R. I. C. has not been carried out on a scale comparable with the terrorization of the mass of the Irish people."

The Government of England condones and approves this method of terrorism and violence.

The Commission submits evidence of many crimes of physical violence and brutality.

"Many cases of beating and other forms of brutality came to our notice, some of which we were able to investigate. While we were in Cork we heard on the second day of our visit that during the afternoon Auxiliaries with whips of the kind used by drivers of jaunting cars had struck pedestrians with them. We did not actually see the occurrence, but we took evidence from a town councilor who had witnessed the incident. The Auxiliaries appear to have driven people before them, lashing the while with the whips. Most of the people who were struck did not protest, probably through fear of worse consequences, but one man who did was called 'an Irish swine'—an epithet commonly applied by many members of the Crown forces to the people of Ireland. The event naturally created deep resentment in the city.

"In some places there has been a good deal of flogging of people. We had before us in one town a witness with a record of fourteen years' service in an Irish regiment. He served through the late war, and was a company sergeant major. While in the street he was seized by five police and searched. The statement he made may be given in his own words:

"They then accused me of teaching Sinn Feiners the use of machine guns. This I at once denied and said, 'You should arrest me and put me on trial if you make such a serious charge against me.' One of the police then called me a —— bastard, and used other very vile language to me. I was compelled at rifle-point to kneel in the mud, and on threat of death made to take an oath that I was not a Sinn Feiner. A framed photo of De Valera was then shown me by one of the policemen, and I was ordered to spit on it three times or be shot. I was struck and kicked. I was then ordered to get up and clear off. I did so but was followed by about twelve policemen, who again set on me and very severely beat me with rifles, fists, and feet. I was knocked to the ground and kicked while there. These men were not English; they all spoke with an Irish accent, and one who spoke with a strong brogue served me worst. He said after a time:

'Let him go; he has had enough,' but when the others desisted and I rose, he felled me again. I was eventually allowed to go, but two of them continued to follow me, kicking and beating me. I believed they desired to get me away from the other people and shoot me. Four or five soldiers, members of the regiment, came up and prevented the police doing me any further injury. When handing back my papers, they said, 'Here, take your rubbish, and we have taken no quids from you, so don't write and tell Lloyd George that we have done so.' They said they were going to shoot every ex-soldier in ——."

"At the time we saw this man he bore the bruises caused by the brutal treatment of the police.

"The Black and Tans, at any rate in some places, appear to have taken to themselves the power to administer oaths. The following statement was given to the Commission in evidence by a lad of eighteen who had been searched and a post card photograph of the late Lord Mayor of Cork found in his possession:

" 'The Black and Tan who had searched me said I had a photo of MacSwiney. The man in charge told me to go down on my knees. I did not go down. He struck me across the face with his clenched fist. Then he told me again to go down on my knees. I did not go down, and three or four of the Black and Tans who were around pushed me down on my knees. The leader then took a bound book about the size of a novel from under his arm. He gave it to me and told me to hold it above my head and repeat the following words: 'I swear that I will have nothing to do with Sinn Fein in future.' I took no notice. Then the leader of the Black and Tans put the barrel of his rifle to my forehead and told me to repeat the oath. All this time I had said nothing. I repeated the oath. The leader then said, "Say, 'God bless the R. I. C.' " I said nothing and the leader struck me with his fist on the face, and said, "Repeat 'God bless the R. I. C.' three times." I said, "God bless the R. I. C." Then he took a large framed photo of De Valera from under his arm and told me to spit in De Valera's face three times. I took no notice. The leader again struck me on the face with his fist. I made an attempt to do what I was told, but didn't actually do it, and one of the Black and Tans said, "They are very dry." The leader again struck me on the face. Then they all went away.'

"For refinement of cruelty it would be difficult to find a worse case than that of a witness we examined on the treat-

ment he had received at the hands of men who clearly were members of the Crown forces. This man was taken from his home by masked men with revolvers. He was asked questions which, he says, he was unable to answer. He was kicked and thumped, and later received blows on the head from revolvers, and kicked again while on the ground. He was asked whether he preferred to be shot or drowned. He could not swim. He replied that he would rather be shot. The masked men decided that he should be drowned, and he was thrown into the river. Fortunately the tide was low and he was able to keep his head above water. Two shots were fired after him. Then one of the men said, 'He's gone where MacSwiney's gone,' and left the witness in the belief that he was drowned.

"We give these cases as illustrations of occurrences which are not infrequent, and for which we can find no justification whatever."

. . . .

"We received evidence of a considerable number of cases of shooting—far more indeed than we can refer to here. We give, however, one or two examples. The following evidence was given by a father relating to the shooting of his son:

" 'I was awakened by a loud knocking at our house door. I opened it and saw a group of men standing outside. One of them asked me where my son was, and I answered, "In the British Army." The man then asked me where my other son was, but before I could answer the boy himself shouted from his bedroom, "All right, father, I am here." Three men in the uniform of the R. I. C. then rushed in past me to my son's room; they told him to get dressed and hurry up. He put on a pair of trousers and his coat. The policemen then informed us that they only wished to ask our son a few questions and would not keep him long, after which they took him away. There was a man in a trench coat and soft hat with the party, and, from the way in which he spoke to the others, I concluded he was an officer.

" 'After some three hours, as my son did not return, I went to look for him, and eventually on looking over a wall saw his body lying in a field a few yards away. I carried him back to the cottage. He was quite dead and had several wounds in his body, one in the left wrist, and one at the back of his head. So far as I am aware he was not a member of the I. R. A.'

"Another case which we investigated was that of a man who was taken from his home by men in khaki. Later during

the night his dead body was brought back to the house and the doctor who came with it said, 'They have shot the wrong man.' At the inquest, which was held subsequently, a verdict of wilful murder against the military was returned.

"An eye-witness told us that he saw two policemen walk up to a man at the corner of a street. One policeman struck him with his rifle and the other deliberately shot him. The man died shortly afterwards in the hospital. It is worth noting that the medical men at the hospital who attended the wounded man did not give evidence at the military inquiry."

. . . .

"The Commission took considerable pains to elucidate the case of the Croke Park shootings. Certain points of fact had been admitted by the Government in official statements, and it was, therefore, unnecessary to obtain substantiation of points which were not in dispute. The Commission were more concerned to secure reliable evidence on those points on which the official statements conflicted with unofficial versions or which the Government had categorically denied or glossed over or ignored. The evidence accumulated by the Commission from actual eye-witnesses who were interviewed reveals certain important discrepancies between the official and unofficial accounts. In his official statement in the House of Commons on November 23, Sir Hamar Greenwood said that 'the round-up and search of spectators was carried out by the authorities according to a preconcerted plan with the object of securing Sinn Fein gunmen who had taken part in the assassinations of that morning of fourteen British officers in Dublin. . . . It had been arranged that after the military had surrounded the field an officer should announce to the crowd through a megaphone that a search was to be made by the police, and that no anxiety need be felt by innocent persons. The police force approached the neighborhood of the field while the military were encircling it, but before the military cordon was complete the police were observed by civilians, who had evidently been specially posted to watch the approaches to the field. The police were fired upon from two corners of the field. Simultaneously men rose from their places on the grandstand and fired three quick shots from revolvers into the air. Of this there is indisputable evidence. It seems quite clear that these shots were a prearranged signal of warning to certain sections of the crowd. A stampede was caused not by the firing alone,

which caused considerable alarm, but also by a rush of men seeking to make their escape from the field. They hurried mostly to one side of the field, where a corrugated iron railing was the only barrier to be surmounted. Through the fall a number of people were crushed. Meanwhile the armed pickets outside, joined, no doubt, by gunmen escaping from inside the ground, were maintaining a fire in the direction of the police, who returned the fire. The firing lasted not more than three minutes. About thirty revolvers, thrown away by men who had formed part of the spectators, were picked up on the ground.

"The Commission have no hesitation in recording their opinion that the Croke Park tragedy was not in the nature of a premeditated 'reprisal.' It is quite possible that the authorities had for some time been contemplating a round-up at Croke Park when the match between the Dublin and Tipperary teams took place. But it would appear from Sir Hamar Greenwood's statement that the decision had been finally determined by the assassinations of officers earlier in the day. It is inconceivable that the forces employed in the round-up would not be affected by those assassinations, and accordingly it is only reasonable to expect that special precautions would be taken against any hitch in the carrying out of the plan for the encircling of the field by the military. Sir Hamar Greenwood states that the police arrived before the military cordon was complete, and it would appear from this admission that the round-up, instead of working to plan, was partially disorganized in its preliminary stages. Even if this initial blunder had not taken place, the Commission find it difficult to concur in the view of the authorities that the scheme was a sound one. Mass psychology is often a sensitive and uncertain factor, and mob fears are quickly aroused. This is particularly true in Ireland where the sudden arrival of Crown forces, particularly the R. I. C., has so often been followed by tragedy.

"With regard to Sir Hamar Greenwood's assertion that the police were fired upon from two corners of the field, particular attention was given to the point by the Commission and every effort was made to bring to light evidence in support of it. The Commission are, however, compelled to declare that in the light of the mass of evidence available this charge would appear to be quite untrue. Not one of the many witnesses examined corroborated it. On the contrary, evidence was submitted to the effect that the police commenced to fire almost immediately the lorries came to a halt. Rifle

fire was directed down Russell Street, whence the lorries had come, and also over the turnstile entrance to the football field at the spectators inside. The consequence of this was that a man was mortally wounded about half way down Russell Street, a young woman was shot dead at her fiance's side near the center of the field, and a small boy perched on a tree just inside the turnstile entrance was brought down wounded.

"The Commission was unable to obtain evidence to support or to disprove the contention that signal shots were fired from the stand into the air, and it is quite possible that if this incident did occur the reports of shots from the stand might have so synchronized with those on the bridge as to be practically indistinguishable to anyone at a little distance. That large numbers of spectators stampeded is but natural, and the indiscriminate shooting of panic-stricken men cannot be even partly justified or defended on the ground that there might have been 'gunmen' among them trying to escape. It was manifestly folly to expect the crowd to disperse in an orderly fashion after firing had taken place from the bridge. It would not have been an easy matter to have secured an orderly clearing of the field even if no firing had taken place and the officer had, according to plan, issued police instructions through a megaphone. Finally, it is difficult to understand why, if pickets and 'gunmen' 'maintained a fire in the direction of the police,' there were no casualties among the police or among the militant civilians and no prisoners with arms captured.

"Our conclusion is that the scheme in itself was dangerous, that its execution was a lamentable failure, and that there was no justification for what occurred. Not even panic, itself a sufficiently serious reflection in the case of a disciplined force, can excuse the action of the police, amongst whom there appears to have been a spirit of calculated brutality and lack of self-control which, as has been officially admitted, resulted in twelve innocent persons losing their lives, eleven being injured seriously enough to be detained in hospital, and fifty others being more or less slightly hurt—a grand total of seventy-three victims. According to the evidence furnished to the Commission, the operations were conducted by the R. I. C. and Auxiliaries. The soldiers took no part. Finally, the central point of the Government's defense, namely, that the police were fired on from two corners of the field, does not, in face of the evidence submitted to the Commission, appear to be tenable. Croke Park was a ghastly tragedy resulting from official errors of judgment and incompetence."

This is England of today. England, who vaunts her civilization, and fills the world with her lies about German frightfulness. England succeeds because she knows the weakness of men and brutally uses it to accomplish her purposes. She buys the good opinion of men.

In October and early November, 1915, five ships of an American steamship company set sail for Scandinavia, consigned "to order." This was the recognized method of exporting and financing our exports of meat-products; no objection had ever been raised against it. The ships had all sailed before people in America knew of the provisions of the British October 29th Order in Council, which, among its many other offenses against law, declared that our "to order" shipments to European neutrals were tainted with suspicion of German destination. Upon this ground our ships, with $15,000,000 of meat-products aboard, were seized and thrown into the British prize court.

The shippers protested. Influential journals justly declared that the right of America to use the high seas of the world had been violated. England paid the full indemnity, purchased a renunciation of our rights on the high seas.

The settlement further provides that His Majesty's Government, in consideration of a sum of money paid to the packers, shall regulate the entire shipment by the packers of all packing-house products to neutral European countries during the continuation of the war.

Before our entrance into the war England generally violated our international rights, even to the seizing and detention of diplomatic and consular mails. Our Government protested, specifically charging that "first-class mail was seized, delayed, and censored in British ports.

To escape such outrageous practises, American mails to and from the Continent of Europe which, to gain time, had been routed by way of England, were finally dispatched in ships plying directly between America and Holland and Scandinavia. Some of these vessels, calling at British ports, were boarded and relieved of their mails. Others were held up at sea, taken into British ports, and subjected to the same process.

Knowing the weakness of our "English" President, the vampire of the seas played his own game against him. She met elaborate protests with elaborate evasions, bribed our press by lying, aroused hatred of the Germans, and continued her piratical practices.

On October 21, 1915, President Wilson sent a note of 15,000 words to the English government protesting that an

"incomplete list" records 276 neutral ships laden with American cargoes bound to Scandinavian ports, which were diverted to Kirkwall by British authorities between March 11 and June 17, 1915. While this note was en route to London, England seized the *Hocking*, an American steamship, with American registry, sailing under the American flag from one American port to another. Our sovereignty became a theme of ridicule in England.

Was our moderation to keep us from the evils of war? By no means. We had in our hands an effective economic means. England could not live without our food; she could not carry on the war without our money and munitions. Our leader had not the moral courage to oppose the interests who were making great profits out of foreign shipments. England could buy our goods and could starve the non-combatants of Germany. Therefore Mammon, whom we serve, counseled an alliance with England.

Characteristic cruelty and hatred of the enemy was present in the English generals in the World War:

In war men must kill men, but I deny that success in war demands that brutal hate of men who are in no way responsible for the injustice of the cause. There is no civilized nation in the world that has departed farther from the law of Christ in its national principles. Where shall we find a civilized nation that has England's evil record in its line of kings? in its persecution of the Catholic religion? in its misgovernment of subject peoples? in its deceitful dealings with all nations? in its brutal materialism? And over all these sepulchres of dead men's bones there is a thin veneer of Pharisaic pretense of holiness. With consummate cunning she has entangled us in her aims of power. By our aid she has destroyed her great competitor's navy and forced upon her the most unjust treaty ever drawn up by civilized nations. Even General Smuts, its most able originator, declares that in its present form it is a failure.

Capetown.—"In the first days of its operation the League of Nations has not responded to the great hopes entertained for it," said Jan Christian Smuts, Premier of the Union of South Africa, in the Assembly.

"But," he continued, "rather than rejoice over its failure, every one should bend his energies to make it an instrument of reality and power in the affairs of the world. . . .

"There is grave danger of further alliances unless the five world powers act in complete accord. The Polish war

has done more to make the people realize the impotency of the league than anything else."

Above the bigoted, hateful, intolerant, ignorant egoists, who betrayed the world at the peace table at Paris, Gen. Smuts towers high in ability and honesty. In his Manifesto he apologizes for signing the infamous treaty as follows:

"I have signed the peace treaty not because I consider it a satisfactory document but because it is imperatively necessary to close the war. . . . The promise of the new life, the victory of the great human ideals for which the people have shed their blood and their treasure without stint, the fulfillment of their aspirations toward a new international order and a fairer, better world are not written in this treaty. . . . There are territorial settlements which will need revision. . . . There are punishments foreshadowed, over most of which a calmer mood may yet prefer to pass the sponge of oblivion. There are indemnities stipulated which cannot be exacted without grave injury to the industrial revival of Europe, and which it will be in the interests of all to render more tolerable and moderate. . . . The abolition of militarism . . . in this treaty is unfortunately confined to the enemy."

To make of the League "an instrument of reality and power," the nations must re-write it and make its principles justice and right instead of English greed and French hate. With shameless effrontery England in that lying document professes to adopt the principle of self-determination of all peoples capable thereof while she holds Ireland, India, and Egypt in unwilling subjection, and suppresses in blood peaceful agitation for lawful liberty.

By what right does she claim Ireland? By what right does she exclude Ireland's claim of self-determination? She alleges that Ireland is a necessary integral part of the Empire. Such a claim may be put forth with equal justice by every nation which holds another nation in involuntary subjection. When England was helpless before the conquering German armies, the evil spirits of Hell led the United States into the great temptation of an alliance with England and France against the Central Empires of Europe. To accomplish this great temptation "Satan fashioned himself into an angel of light." (2 Cor. XI, 14.) The President asked for our sacrifices on the plea that we were to liberate the world and give to other peoples the liberty which we possess. At Mount Vernon on July 4, 1918, he declared that among the principles for which we and our allies were fighting was the following:

"II.—The settlement of every question, whether of territory, of sovereignty, of economic arrangement, or of political relationship, upon the basis of the free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned, and not upon the basis of the material interest or advantage of any other nation or people which may desire a different settlement for the sake of its own exterior influence or mastery."

The civilization of England has for many years been infected with an unscrupulous commercialism. Ruskin is reported to have said that if a railroad were built to hell, Englishmen would invest in it, if it paid dividends. The shameful history of England's dealing with China is thus narrated in "The Catholic Tribune," 1920:

"Up to the middle of the nineteenth century, opium was rarely used in China, except as medicine. The Chinese government was well aware of the disastrous consequences to the nation and people, were the use of opium ever to become general among the millions of the followers of Confucius. In order, therefore, to exclude opium from her lands, the Chinese government built several forts on islands near the city of Canton. In this manner, China hoped to bar all vessels bearing opium from the Cantonese port. But China, in her simplicity, did not reckon with the English fleet and the English insatiable desire for trade.

"England had fostered the growing of opium in India. An outlet for this opium was necessary. It could not be sold, at least not in great quantities, to the more civilized nations of the world. Nor was there any one in all England who dared to sell the drug. Hence, the English, in their predicament, turned their eyes toward the millions in China. Here she would set up her counters and bargain. Opium began to enter Chinese territory. The Chinese officials were greatly angered. They remembered the history of our Colonies and thus a sort of second Boston Tea Party was rehearsed. All opium, which amounted to almost three million pounds, found in possession of British merchants was confiscated and thrown into the river at Canton.

"But, just as the Boston Tea Party greatly incensed the British government, so also this opium escapade incensed Englishmen. British warships steamed into the Canton Harbor and demolished the forts. China could not defend herself. With the world as spectator, the infamous peace of 1842 was drawn up between the two nations. China was forced to pay $2 a pound for all the opium destroyed, a $15,000,000 indemnity, and Hong-Kong became a British Island.

Anent this piratical dealing of England, Caleb Cushing, U. S. Commissioner to China from 1843 to 1844, said 'it was base cupidity and violence, and high-handed infraction of all law, human and divine.' But, where English trade is concerned, there is no law. Wherefore, with Hong-Kong firmly in her grasp, the English at once opened five ports for foreign trade. English shells had broken the Chinese opium blockade and the opening being made the flow of opium set in.

"So rapidly did her opium trade increase that, not long after the forcical 'peace of 1842' the yellow stream poured into China at the rate of six thousand tons a year. English cannons had opened a bonanza, and English merchants rallied around the British Jack that flew over Hong-Kong.

"Opium dens multiplied throughout all China. The 'curse of China' had come to stay. Seeing the enormous profits made in the opium trade, Chinese merchants began to enter the traffic. Hundreds, then thousands, of Chinese acres were given over to the cultivation of the poppy plant. China was being flooded with imported opium. Wherefore Chinese merchants and farmers decided to raise their own opium. Not all the profits were to go to British merchantmen. Thus, China—at first against her will, and then because of the desire to profit in a trade that had been forced upon them —became a slave to the poisonous drug.

"Today, England's opium cargo is immense. She is in control of the world's opium trade. It cannot be doubted but that she expects to increase that trade. New semi-civilized countries have been opened to trade, and England has come into control of markets where opium is bound to play a conspicuous part. She is even pouring tons of opium into our coast cities. The evil consequences of the China-English peace of 1842 are increasing. China herself has been wrecked by it. Her several hundred of millions of people turn their eyes to the frowning port of Hong-Kong and curse the day when, through that opening, the opium traffic commenced its ruinous career. Had England been willing to surrender her opium trade "out of regard for the natural feelings of mankind," it is very probable that the use of opium today would be unknown, except to be used as a medicine.

"But alas! England's trade, and the consequent increase of the omnipotent English pound, has no regard for mankind. In this twentieth century, England's opium trade is rapidly expanding and thousands of the human race smoke the poison that is yielding British merchantmen such a rich income."

Today while China is endeavoring to save her nation from the deadly use of morphine, Japan, Great Britain, and the United States are forcing the drug upon the weak unhappy land. It is estimated that there are more than 60,000,000 drug addicts in China.

Christianity has not failed to do what it is commissioned and empowered to do, viz., to raise to a new birth in Christ an elect part of humanity, but it has failed to impress its character upon men who worship Mammon.

In a pamphlet entitled, "English Atrocities in Ireland," published under the auspices of Friends of Irish Freedom (New York, 1920) from court and press records there are compiled facts which prove that England is employing today the same unjust bloody measures which Cromwell employed in his day. Defenseless men of all ages are brutally murdered. Women are assaulted, innocent men are confined in dungeons, inoffensive citizens are fired upon, houses are raided, men are tortured, property destroyed, right of trial denied, freedom of press suppressed. The total revenue exacted by England from Ireland in 1919 was $186,375,000; the civil expenditures for Ireland were $67,685,000. Much of civil expenditures was for salaries of overpaid English officials and for the police.

England's unjust and tyrannical government of Ireland evokes condemnation from able representatives of English thought.

COERCION

"Ireland is governed under a system of coercion such as there has not been within living memory."—*Westminster Gazette*, December 16, 1919.

"Ireland is now being governed under military law. If what is now going on in Ireland had been going on in the Austrian Empire all England would be ringing with denunciation of the tyranny of the Hapsburgs and of denying people the right to rule themselves."—Mr. Herbert Samuel, Ex-Cabinet Minister at St. Albans, December 8, 1919.

DARKEST SPOT IN WORLD

"Lord French is at present Viceroy of Ireland, which is the darkest of the dark spots on the map, not of Great Britain, but of the world."—Hon. Herbert Asquith, June 2, 1919.

FATAL TO ENGLAND'S REPUTATION

" . . . . In a word , every institution of which we as British citizens are so proud—a free press, freedom of

speech, liberty of the subject and trial by jury—are things of the past in a large part of Ireland, and rule by military force, which we sought to destroy when resorted to by Germany, is an established fact in South and Southwest Ireland today. These facts are fatal to our reputation for national good faith, and cannot fail to prejudice our national standing in the eyes of our self-governing Dominions and the Dependencies."—Extract from the Report of the Commission of the British Parliamentary Labor Party which recently visited Ireland.

OFFICIAL PROVOCATION

"Everybody knows that Ireland is a singularly crimeless country in the ordinary sense. Is it a matter for surprise that step by step with every piece of repression there has been a new outburst of disorder? Of course there is. The figures of arrests that I have collected from the newspapers are roughly as follows:—1917, 719 arrests. The Right Hon. gentleman and associates say:—'More armed force to keep them under,' result, 1918—2,600 arrests. More force, more tanks, more aeroplanes, more troops; result, 1919 7,600 arrests. Is it not perfectly obvious, if indeed we did not already know it a priori, that the policy pursued merely provokes the very disorder it professes to do away with?" —Capt. Wedgwood Benn, M.P., in the English House of Commons, December 9, 1919.

A VICIOUS CIRCLE

"The Government of Ireland has left no folly undone. It is alleged that Dublin Castle is deliberately fanning the members of revolt. . . . If the authorities had designed to provoke disorder, they would not have needed to act differently. Military repression always gives crime its opportunity, and crime makes sterner measures necessary. The circle must be broken somewhere."—London *Sunday Times*, December 21, 1919.

On January 8, 1921, Dr. Patrick McCartan, Envoy of the Republic of Ireland to the United States, handed the State Department at Washington, D. C., the following letter:

January 6, 1921.

"The Honorable, The Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

"Sir: As the accredited envoy of the Government of the Republic of Ireland to the United States of America, I have to direct the attention of your Excellency to the text of the following statement issued by the British military authorities

in Ireland as of January 2, 1921, and cited in this day's (January 3rd) issue of the New York Times:

" 'As a result of the ambush and attack on the police at Midleton and Glebehouse it was decided by the military governor that certain houses in the vicinity of the outrages were to be destroyed, as the inhabitants were bound to have known of the ambush and attack and that they neglected to give any information either to the military or police authorities. The following houses were duly destroyed between 3 P. M. and 6 P. M. on January 1,: John O'Shea, Midleton; Paul McCarthy, Midleton; Edward Carey, Midleton; Michael Cotter, Ballyadan; Michael Donovan, Ballyadan; Michael Dorgan, Knockgriffen, and Ahern, Knockgriffen.

" 'Previous to the burnings notice was served on the persons affected, giving them one hour to clear out valuables, but not furniture. No foodstuffs, corn or hay were destroyed.'

"I have further to direct your Excellency's attention to a proclamation issued by the British General Strickland, now in command of British forces in the south of Ireland, also cited in this day's issue of the New York Times, to the effect, inter alia, that 'the property of persons in Ireland who, whether in authority or not, maintain an attitude of neutrality at this time, will be destroyed and themselves made liable to punishment.'

"Those acts of reprisal under the official direction and with the official approval of the British Government, and this proclamation. I respectfully submit and protest are in violation of all known rules of civilized warfare, and repugnant to the sentiments and usages of civilized peoples and revolting to humanity, a flagrant breach of the recognized rules of international morality.

"May I not hope, Mr. Secretary, that you will promptly acquaint the President of these facts and this protest so that he may be fully advised in the premises.

"With assurances of my profound regard, I am

"Your obedient servant,

"PATRICK MCCARTAN."

When a man of Irish descent or, in fact, any upright lover of human rights beholds these wrongs he must exclaim:

"The drop of blood that's calm in me

"Proclaims me bastard."

Cruelty, inhumanity to prisoners of war, egoism, deceitfulness, materialism, and bull-dog tenacity in material aims are prominent characteristics of Englishmen.

In a recent issue of the *Manchester Guardian* Mr. G. K. Chesterton bitterly arraigns his government for its misrule of Ireland. In part he says:

"The ruin of England will be the reconstruction of the world. The war that will end us will be the war that will end war."

"The whole world thinks England has gone mad. We appear to be engaged in Ireland in doing something quite wild and extraordinary." . . . .

"What we are conducting now is not government. It is at best war, and a wild sort of war. We are simply raiding Ireland, invading it exactly as the Prussians invaded Belgium. It would certainly have been better for our international position if we could have kept up some pretense at ruling Ireland like a fixed government, instead of merely ravaging Ireland, like a foreign invader."

The evil spirit which has always controlled England's policy toward Ireland is in control today. The theory which the government of England adopts is that an outlaw crime may be punished by a greater crime committed by the army of occupation in retaliation. Until Ireland he by some process ethically approved free from England, the government of England has the right to repress crime by adequate measures, but she has no right to sanction unlawful acts committed by her satellites on the plea that they are reprisals. Recently Arthur Henderson sent a labor-commission into Ireland to study conditions. The report of this commission is a severe arraignment of English government in Ireland. It unequivocally charges that the Crown forces burned Cork and that they are intemperate and lawless.

"The situation is nothing short of tragedy," says the report. "There are 50,000 soldiers quartered in Ireland, most of them young and inexperienced, with a majority of the junior officers ignorant of their duties. Discipline is lax and the youths become brutalized and demoralized.

"By no means a negligible proportion of the Royal Irish constabulary are men of intemperate habits, utterly unsuited for their duties.

"So great has been the provocation by the Crown forces that 80 per cent. of Irish men and women now regard the shooting of policemen and the throwing of bombs at lorries with the same philosophic resignation that Lloyd George displays toward arson and pillage and the shooting of civilian in the presence of their wives and children."

The report of Gen. Strickland, in charge of the British forces, definitely places the responsibility of the burning of

Cork upon the British "black and tans" as reprisals for republican ambushes.

The report says that two or three "black and tans" who were sufferers from or friends of victims of the Dillon Cross and other ambushes started the first of the Cork fires with petrol cans. The looting is attributed to ruffians.

British troops raided the Convent of Marie Réparatrice in Dublin, a place in which no male had ever previously entered.

England's crimes against civilization put the defenders of the present order of things to shame in the face of the socialists.

Chicago, Dec. 7, 1920.—The Socialist party, in a resolution adopted last night by the executive council and made public today, calls upon the Government of the United States "to use its efforts toward preventing a continuation of the existing outrages now being committed upon the Irish people and to officially recognize the Irish republic,"

The text of the resolution, which attacks the Lloyd George government, says in part:

"The Socialist party of the United States, in common with the Socialist parties of the world, protests against the bloody regime in Ireland. The savage repression indulged in by the Lloyd George government in Ireland, in the face of a great popular vote in favor of Irish independence, is a cynical commentary on the ethical pretensions of the ruling classes in England."

The people of America have drifted far from the ideals of Washington. Our thought is dominated by the sordid aims of international bankers and by a lying pro-British press. Selfishness and sin have destroyed our ideals. The false ideals set up by non-Catholic religious thought and by its subsidized activities easily deceive our "sixth grade" intellect. It is profitbale and comfortable to go with the prevailing tide. It was not men of our present calibre that won our independence and made us a nation. Amid the babel of our degenerate age few noble true voices are heard. Material prosperity has dulled our senses. We think only of profit and pleasure. Would that there might arise a Washington in the place of the emissary of England, who has disgraced the chair in which Our Country's Father first sat! Then we should hear again:

"Patriots of Ireland! Champions of liberty in all lands—be strong in hope! Your cause is identical with mine. You are calumniated in your day! I was misrepresented by the

loyalists of my day. Had I failed the scaffold would be my doom. But now my enemies pay me honor. . . . ."

GEORGE WASHINGTON at Mt. Vernon, 1788.

England alleges in extenuation of her harsh measures of repression in Ireland, that Ireland be a part of the British Empire seeking to secede.

"I think it right to say that any attempt at secession will be fought with the same determination, the same resources, the same resolve as the Northern States put into the fight against the Southern States."—LLOYD GEORGE, on the Outline of 4th Home Rule Bill.

"Mr. De Valera is putting forth the same claim in exactly the same language as Mr. Jefferson Davis. . . . If persisted in (it) will lead to exactly the same measures of repression as in the Southern States of America."—LLOYD GEORGE, House of Commons, March 31, 1920.

In order to establish the fact of a secession the antecedent fact must be established that the people charged with secession are an integral part of a society of men which we call a nation. Ireland has never been an integral part of the British Empire; she has never consented to be governed by England; she has never relinquished her national consciousness; she has been deprived by force of sovereignty, but has never relinquished her claim to it. Ireland was a nation recognized by the great nations of Europe in the Fifth Century, centuries before England obtained that recognition.

In 1782 Grattan introduced into the Irish Parliament the following resolution:

"No power on earth, but the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland is competent to make laws for Ireland." This resolution, called the "Act of Renunciation," was adopted by Ireland and England and was made the basis of a permanent settlement.

By the "Act of Renunciation" of 1782 England declared that the sovereignty of the Irish people was "established an ascertained forever, and shall at no time hereafter be questioned or questionable."

Ireland and England were two confederated kingdoms with one king, but this king bore two titles—he was king of England and of Ireland. The status of Ireland therefore was equal in rank to the status of Hungary in the old Austrian Empire. History cannot bring forth one competent fact or lawful act by which Ireland ever ceased to be a nation. Those within her borders who oppose her right to independence are descendants of an alien horde brought in by Cromwell,

William of Orange and other invaders who unjustly deprived the citizens of Ireland of their rightful inheritance.

England contends that the "Act of Union" of 1800 destroyed the sovereignty of the Irish people.

The way in which a State may cease to exist is thus defined by a competent authority:

"A body or society, when once organized as a State by an established government, must remain so until it is destroyed. This may be done by disintegration of its parts, by its absorption into and identification with some other State or nation, or by the absolute and total dissolution of the ties which bind the society together. We know of no other way in which it can cease to be a State. No change of its internal polity, no modification of its organization or system of government, nor any change in its external relations short of entire absorption in another State, can deprive it of existence or destroy its identity."—(Wheaton, Int. Law, sec. 22.)

The only point to consider is whether or not Ireland has been "absorbed" into the British Empire.

At the time that Ireland's parliament passed the infamous bill of "Union" about three fourths of the Irish people were deprived of a right to a seat in parliament for the reason alone that they were Roman Catholics. No Catholic sat in the Irish parliament.

"It was not the Parliament of the whole people—it was chosen exclusively by the representatives of the Protestant minority, while the Catholic majority were excluded from all share of political power. It was not chosen by the voice even of the Protestant people. Nearly two-thirds of its members were sent in by a system of nomination from which all popular influence was excluded."(Isaac Butt, Nov. 18, 1873.)

"Twenty-seven counties have petitioned against the measure. . . . Though there were 707,000 who had signed petitions against the measure, the total number of those who declared themselves in favor of it did not exceed 3,000. . . . Could a nation in more direct terms express its disapprobation of a political measure than Ireland has done of a legislative union with Great Britain? In fact, the nation is nearly unanimous." (Lord Grey, 1800, on the Union.)

The "Act of Union" is therefore null and void, because the parliament which enacted it was not representative.

The "Act of Union" is null and void also because it was accomplished by force and fraud. We here quote the following convincing proofs by Mr. Thos. H. Mahoney of the Boston Bar:

"It is an elementary principle of law that any transaction tinged with fraud, bribery, corruption or coercion is void. But the carrying of the Act of Union was marked by all these nullifying features.. Reference to the Statesman, Gladstone, or the Historian, Lecky, reveal the fact that the Act of Union was carried only by means of the most outrageous fraud, bribery and corruption.

"The proposal for the union came from England and not Ireland. (Castlereagh, Corresp. I, 393, 394.) (Lecky, Hist. of Eng. 18th Cent. VIII, 298). Its principal motive was the stoppage of Ireland's growing prosperity. (Castlereagh, Correspondence, II, p. 45.) It was 'the only means of preventing Ireland from growing too great and powerful.' (Govt. Pamphlet, Secretary Cooke, 1798, cited in Reg. v. O'Connell, defendant's argument.)

"Lord Cornwallis, Lord Lieutenant, under whom the Act of Union was put through the Irish Parliament, stated, "I despise and hate myself for engaging in such dirty work." (Cornwallis, Corresp. III, 39-40, 100-102.) 29 Irish peerages were created, 20 Irish peers were promoted, and 6 English peerages granted for Union services. (Cornwallis, Corresp. III, 318.)

"In speaking of the creation of peerages, etc., Lecky says:

" 'In the majority of cases, however, these peerages were simply palpable open bribes intended for no other purpose than to secure a majority in the House of Commons.' (Hist. 18th Cent. VIII, 339.)

"By compelling vacation of parliamentary seats under the 'Place Bill,' Cornwallis secured 63 vacancies and filled them with staunch Unionists. (Lecky, Leaders of Pub. Op. in Ireland, p. 180—Woodfalls Parl. Debates, II, 370.)

"Grattan stated that of the votes cast for the Union, only seven were unbribed. (Hardy's Life of Grattan, V, 113.)

" 'Bribery was unconcealed. The terms of the purchase were quite familiar in those days. The price of a single vote was 8,000 lbs. in money, or an office worth 2,000 lbs. a year if the parties did not choose to take ready money. Some got both for their votes.' (O'Connell (1843), Dublin Corp. on Repeal, p. 31.)

" 'There were near three million pounds ($15,000,000) expended in actual payment of the persons who voted for the Union.' (O'Connell's Argument in Reg. v. O'Connell.)

" 'The basest corruption and artifice were excited to promote the Union." (Lord Chief Justice Bushe (1800), cited in defendant's argument, Reg. v. O'Connell.)

"For a few of the titles and religious offices granted as bribes, see the correspondence of Cornwallis, Vol. III, pp. 209-219. For some of the money bribes given confirming O'Connell's statements, see the same, Vol. III, pp. 151-228.

" 'It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that anything in the gift of the Crown in Ireland, in the Church, the Army, the Law, the Revenue was uniformly and steadily directed to the single object of carrying the Union.' (Lecky, Hist. of Eng., 18th Cent. VIII, 405.)

"Before the English Government ventured to propose the Union, it offered a 10 lbs. bounty to every Irish soldier who would enlist for foreign service. Ten regiments so enlisted were shipped abroad and replaced by ten English regiments: though England was engaged in a bitter continental struggle, Ireland was held by 130,000 armed men. (Castlereagh, Corresp. III, 210, 211.) (Isaac Butt, Nov. 18, 1873.)

"The Act of Union was attempted while 'our country is filled with British troops. . . . while the Habeas Corpus Act is suspended—while trials by court martial are carrying on in many parts of the kingdom—while the people are taught to think they have no right to meet or deliberate.' (Lord Plunkett—Irish Parliament, 1800.)

"Whether there was coercion or not is shown by the following table:

"In Ireland in 1797 before the rebellion, there were 78,995 British soldiers.

"In Ireland in 1798 during the rebellion, there were 91,999 British soldiers.

"In Ireland in 1798 after the rebellion, there were 114,052 British soldiers.

"In Ireland in 1800 at time of Act of Union, there we 129,258 British soldiers.—(O'Connell, to Dublin Corp. on Repeal, p. 43.)

"In fact, Cornwallis in addition to the above was offered by the English Government 5,000 Russian troops the assistance of which he declined. (Cornwallis Corresp., III, 137-138.)

"The Act of Union may best be summed up in the words of the said English historian and the said English statesman as follows:

" 'It seems to me idle to dispute the essentially corrupt character of the means by which the Union was carried.' (Lecky, Hist. of Eng., 18th Cent. p. 395.)

'The Union as it was carried was a crime of the deepest turpitude.' (Lecky, Leaders of Pub. Opinion in Ireland, p. 82.)

'The blackest and foulest transaction in the history of man.' (Gladstone, June 28, 1886.)

"The Act of Union was therefore void upon the ground that it was secured only by the illegal means above set forth.

"It is also an elementary principle of constitutional law that the power of legislation delegated to a legislature cannot be further delegated. *Potestas delegata non delegari potest.* This principle is set forth in text books and decisions, too numerous to mention.

" 'It is a general principle of constitutional law that the power conferred upon the legislature by the constitution, to make laws, cannot be delegated by that body to any other person or authority, in any such manner as to preclude the resumption of the power, or of its exercise, whenever the public interest required it. The legislators are the agents or trustees of the people, and they have no right or power to place the trust irrevocably in other hands than their own. (Black's Constitutional Law, p. 374, sec. 143.)

" 'A constitution (form of government) can be amended or changed only by the parties creating or giving sanction to the constitution. Ordinarily a legislature has power only to propose amendments which are usually required to be submitted to the people. As a general rule ratification by a vote of the people is essential to the valiidty of the amendment.' (8 Cyc. 806—cases cited.)

"It may be well, however, to cite some authorities upon this point which apply directly to England and Ireland.

"A book on Government, by Locke, was used as a text book in England and in Trinity College, Dublin, to justify the Revolution of 1688 and to prove that James II had no title to the throne, and that William was the lawful monarch. It was significantly withdrawn from Trinity College after the Act of Union. It is stated in Locke on Government that:

" 'The legislators cannot transfer the power of making laws into other hands, for it being but a delegated power from the people, they who have it cannot pass it over to others. The people alone can appoint the form of the Commonwealth. . . . The power of the legislature being derived from the people by a positive voluntary grant and institution can be no other than what the positive grant conveyed, which being only to make laws and not to make legislatures, the legislature can have no power to transfer their authority of making laws, or to place it in other hands.' "Again:

" 'If a Legislative Union should be so forced upon this country against the will of its inhabitants, it would be a

nullity, and resistance to it would be a struggle against usurpation and not a resistance against law." (Atty. Gen. Saurin, Mar. 15, 1800.)

"The attempt therefore of the Irish Parliament of 1800 was to delegate to the British Parliament the right to legislate for Ireland, to pass its trust to another legislative body. The matter cannot be put more clearly than it has been by the Historian Lecky, who stated that the Irish Parliament elected in 1797, "'when there was no question of a Union, transferred its own rights and the rights of its constituents to another Legislature, and that was accomplished without any appeal to the electors by a dissolution.' (Lecky, Hist. of Eng., in 18th Cent. p. 321.)

"The Act of Union was never referred to the Irish people for their assent. That such referendum is essential to its validity, may at once be seen, by consulting the portions of Chief Justice Marshall's opinion in McCullough v. Maryland, quoted above.

"The precise effect of such attempt of the Irish Parliament may be most concisely summed up in the words of Daniel O'Connell, as follows:

" 'The Union is totally void in point of principle and of constitutional force. . . . The Irish people nominated them (the Parliament) to make laws, and not legislatures. They were appointed to act under the Constitution and not annihilate it. Their delegation from the people was confined within the limits of the Constitution, and the moment the Irish Parliament went beyond those limits and destroyed the Constitution, that moment it annihilated its own power, but could not annihilate the immortal spirit of liberty, which belongs, as a rightful inheritance, to the people of Ireland. . . . The Union is not supported by Constitutional right. . . . The Union, therefore . . . is totally void . . . is an unconstitutional law . . . is not fated to last long.' (Daniel O'Connell at Mullaghmast, 1843.)

" 'It (the Union) was no compact; no bargain, but it was an act of the most decided tyranny and corruption that was ever yet perpetrated. Trial by jury was suspended . . . courts martial sat, throughout the land . . . and the County of Kildare among others flowed with blood.' (Daniel O'Connell at Mullaghmast, 1843.)

"The Act of Union had no more legal effect to transfer to the British Parliament the power to legislate for Ireland

than an Act of Congress would have, which might attempt to transfer to the Canadian Parliament at Ottawa, the power to legislate for the United States. Such an attempt unless submitted to, and approved by the people would be absolutely ineffective to accomplish its intended purpose."

That the will of the people of Ireland is for self-determination and independence is clearly made known in the December, 1918, elections in which there were 971,735 votes for the Irish Republic; 239,781 votes for self-determination, which in effect are the same as votes for the Republic; and only 315,394 votes for union with Great Britain.

Some of the difficulties that obstruct Ireland's way to independence are thus stated by Prof. W. R. McConnell (*Journal of Geography*, 1919):

"Population has been on the decline, and economic conditions have been decadent in Ireland since the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1845 over 8,000,000 people lived in Ireland. This was an overpopulation for a non-industrial people employing such methods and type of tillage as obtained. Extreme dependence on the potato caused a cataclysm when the potato harvests failed. Famine, eviction, emigration was the tragic sequence to the failure of 1845-47. The population has dwindled since then until today it is but little over 4,000,000. England has eight times as many people as Ireland and is over six times as densely populated.

"Ireland, it is said, is separated from Great Britain by a "sundering strait"; Ireland, it is further said, faces the Atlantic Ocean. Let us look further into these statements. In no place is the shallow Irish Sea which separates Ireland from Great Britain more than 140 miles wide, and in the narrowest part it is only 13 miles. The nearness of Ireland to Great Britain as compared with its nearness to any other market or source of raw material or power makes it inevitable that its life and development be intimately related to the country which it feels to be the cause of its economic backwardness.

"The population map of Ireland shows that the densely populated portion of the island is the side nearest to England. This is by far the best endowed part of the country. The central lowland borders the Irish Sea on the east, while westward the mountains of Connaught practically cut it off from the Atlantic. This central plain with its limestone soil and fertile glacial clay, comprising the richest agricultural section of Ireland, thus has its outlet not on the Atlantic but

on the Irish sea, towards England. Furthermore this sea border of the lowland faces the Lancashire-Cheshire plain; Dublin is in direct line with the Cheshire Gap.

"Eastern Ireland has much level land suited to agriculture and a rainfall favorable for the growth of cereals. The coast line of the Irish Sea has good natural harbors on which are built Ireland's large cities. Western Ireland, on the other hand, has much rough land, poor soil, and too much rainfall for successful agriculture. In many places the rugged land borders the Atlantic with perpendicular cliffs, and there is a dearth of good harbors. For these reasons western Ireland is much less prosperous than the side bordering the Irish Sea. Connaught contains more waste land than any other province. Thus the economic life of Ireland leads toward England and through England."

Lastly, it is pointed out that Ireland occupies a strategic position with respect to England, the defense of which is vital to British interests. Napoleon planned to attack England by way of Ireland, and Germany entertained similar projects in the late war. Moreover, "an independent Ireland would need forts and navy yards and a strong land and sea force—defensive measures that she lacks the wealth and man power to provide."

The United States' part in the World War is one event in the history of a nation that has always been "of the people, by the people, and for the people." Up to the day of our declaration of war, the right to oppose that war was the clear right of every citizen. We have no quarrel with the Socialists for their going on record as opposing our entry into that war; but we hold it treason for them to make our entry into that war a pretext to condemn our Government and plot its overthrow. No government ever set up by man has always pursued a just and wise policy. Human governments are not administered by angels. Do the Socialists base their claims on the presumption that they have removed the fallibility from human judgment and the limitations from human virtue?

Our entry into the war was brought about by an Administration placed in power largely by the wage-earners' vote. Mr. Henry Wise Wood, who has been prominent in national organizations, on Feb. 16, 1920, declared before the National Civic Federation at New York that "60 per cent. of official Washington is made up of Socialists, that the government has handled radicalism wrong from the beginning, and that he had been informed by Robert W. Wilton, Petrograd

correspondent of the London Times, that among the commissars in soviet Russia, 264 were persons who had come from America."

An enfranchised people should not complain of its existing government. The ballot is a peaceful, lawful, effective means of reform. If our political leaders have betrayed us, let us remove them, not by the methods of Trotzky and Lenin, but by the methods guaranteed to a free people by the Constitution.

Perhaps it will be urged that the will of the people is defeated by the exclusion of Socialists from office. The answer to this is obvious. Socialists as such are not excluded from office. It is only when a particular individual Socialist is found to have uttered treasonable declarations against the United States that he is debarred. If the Socialists can find in their party no candidate who is not a traitor, then the party should perish. Traitors can not represent the masses of the people of the United States; the masses of the people still love our country. The great patriot, Webster, declared:

"No East, no West; no North, no South. . . . Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable." In the spirit of these words, we desire no classes, and no masses, but a united people, equal in rights, though unequal in natural endowments and in possessions, as nature has made us unequal.

The United States needs not our weak encomium. Her history stands forth as the brightest star in the firmament. In the words of Webster her Constitution is the nearest approach to political wisdom that the world has ever seen. As a healthy organism she will eliminate the noxious humors that develop in her blood. If our entrance into the war be attacked, let them remember that it was a logical outcome of that internationalism which Socialists preach as their Gospel. The forces of America could never have been hurled into the contest had the people not believed that the war were for the liberties of the people. If the people have been deceived, let them give judgment by their ballot on the men who deceived them.

We have no czars to dethrone. We need no revolution to effect a change of government. Under God the people are sovereign. Greater freedom than that secured to every man by the Constitution is incompatible with human welfare. The Ten Commandments of God and the Constitution suffice to govern and guide our people. We need not new Commandments or a new Constitution, but we need to return to the

spirit of both; not by the red road of Socialism, but by sober judgment and conscience.

The time is fast approaching when the people may exercise sovereign judgment upon their leaders. No other power than the ballot is required to effect the reasonable reforms which the people demand. The Government is in their hands.

By their traitorous principles and their unjust and impossible program the Socialists divide the people, and weaken their power. If the masses of the people would unite on a just program, and hold aloof from the virus of Socialism, every reform conformable to the welfare of the whole people could be gradually effected.

For this it is necessary to turn away from the academic dreamers and self-willed theorists, and choose our leaders from the ranks of men of true and tried judgment and business integrity. No man would entrust the captaincy of a ship to a man who had merely studied navigation in books. Let us demand practical and virtuous statesmanship im the men to whom we entrust the Ship of State.

In justification of their war attitude, Socialists cite the precedent of Abraham Lincoln in the House of Representatives January 12, 1848.

The Mexican war arose out of the question of the southern boundary of the newly acquired territory of Texas. Mexico denied that the southern boundary of Texas should be the Rio Grande. President Polk contended that the Rio Grande should be such boundary, and to support this claim sent an expedition under Gen. Taylor to erect Fort Brown on the Rio Grande. The Mexicans attacked the fort. President Polk sent a message to Congress declaring that "Mexico had shed American blood on American soil." Lincoln denied the contention, but war was declared. After the war had been in progress about twenty months Lincoln voted for the Ashman Amendment, declaring "that the war was unnecessarily and unconstitutionally commenced by the President."

In justifying that vote Lincoln clearly proved the injustice of the Mexican war. All conscientious historians agree with him. With that honesty of purpose and love of truth which are his noblest characteristics he declared:

"Let the President remember that he sits where Washington sat, and so remembering, let him answer as Washington would answer. As a nation should not, and as the Almighty will not, he evaded, so let him attempt no evasion—no equivocation. . . . But if he cannot, or will not do this . . .

I shall be fully convinced of what I more than suspect already —that he is deeply conscious of being in the wrong. that he feels the blood of this war, like the blood of Abel, is crying to Heaven against him; that originally having some strong motive—what, I will not stop now to give my opinion concerning—to involve the two countries in a war, and trusting to escape scrutiny by fixing the public gaze upon the exceeding brightness of military glory; that attractive rainbow that arises in showers of blood; that serpent's eye that charms to destroy—he plunged into it, and has swept on and on till, disappointed in his calculation of the ease with which Mexico might be subdued, he now finds himself he knows not where."

"In his letter to William H. Herndon, February 1, 1848, Lincoln justifies his vote:

"Would you have voted what you felt and knew to be a lie? I know you would not. Would you have gone out of the House—skulked the vote? I expect not. If you had skulked one vote, you would have had to skulk many more before the end of the session. Richardson's resolutions . . . make the direct question of the justice of the war; so that no man can be silent if he would. You are compelled to speak; and your only alternative is to tell the truth or a lie."

That which was permitted to Lincoln was permitted to the Socialists. They might have lost popularity by such stand, just as Lincoln did, but they would have forfeited no right of citizenship.

The Socialists' position however differs vastly from that of Lincoln. Lincoln opposed the Mexican war, but when the war was in progress, Lincoln upheld the arms of the United States. In his aforesaid letter to Mr. Herndon he declares:

"This vote (against the war) has nothing to do in determining my votes on the questions of supplies. I have always intended and still intend to vote supplies; perhaps not in the precise form recommended by the President, but in a better form for all purposes, except Locofoco party purposes."

Lincoln did not attack the existing form of Government of the United States, or the institutions which our laws protect. He disapproved of the act of an Administration, but he loved the Union with a love that bore the supreme test of laying down his life for it. His faith in the Union never wavered and when its permanence was threatened by the great Civil War, his statesmanship did not fail.

On the contrary the Socialists catch at every pretext to revile the United States and to agitate for its overthrow. The Socialists confidently expect the revolution of the United States to Socialism. Though obliged to admit on cross examination that he formed his views of Russia from "preconceived ideas" Hillquit at Albany, N. Y., February 12, 1920, in the trial of the Socialist assemblyman, defended the soviet government of Russia and shamelessly declared that control of the United States government would pass peacefully into the hands of the Socialist party when it enrolls the working class.

He issued a warning, however, that "it is not impossible that the people of this country will be compelled to supplement their political action with 'a little shooting,' if the profiteering class revolts after the majority of the people are ready to introduce 'substantial reforms' by 'legal, constitutional methods.' "

Of course the profiteering class, according to the Socialists, is composed of the men who own property.

We are all anxious for reforms, constructive reforms—reforms which preserve our Government and our natural rights. A fine presentation of some of these reforms is thus presented by that able lawyer, Mr. Elihu Root:

"More important than all is the necessity that we shall restore our republican form of government, with the liberty of the individual citizen preserved by limitations upon official power and put an end to the dictatorship which we created, in order to carry on the war. By a series of statutes unprecedented in scope and liberality, with singleness of purpose and patriotic devotion worthy of all praise, the American people conferred upon the president powers broader and more autocratic than were possessed by any sovereign in the civilized world.

"Our capacity for effort, our fortunes, our liberty of conduct, our lives, were freely placed at the disposal of an executive whose authority was so vast that its limits were imperceptible. The authority was exercised by the president, by his heads of departments, his bureau chiefs, his government agents, and his personal agents, to the full, without question, because the people of America were ready for any sacrifice to win the war.

"Peace has come, in fact, if not technically; but the war powers of the executive still continue. They should be brought to an end. It is not a simple thing, for new conditions have been created, which should be dealt with at the

same time by new statutes adapted to the conditions of peace, and subject to the limitations upon power of our constitutional system.

"There is a double immediate purpose to be served. One, to restore the habit of freedom. It is dangerous for a people to acquire the habit of bowing to power without limits. They soon become subservient, and then character, essential to freedom, degenerates. The other is to stop a multitude of interferences, illjudged although well meant, with the natural course of business through which alone natural laws can operate to restore normal conditions."

Mr. Root's views on labor and on economy are sound and practical:

"We should not attempt to make any man work against his will or take away his right to strike," he asserted. "but we should by law limit that right to strike at a point where it comes in conflict with the community's high rights of self-preservation. No man or set of men can justly claim the right to undertake the performance of a service upon which the health and life of others depend, and then to abandon the service at will. The line between such a performance and an ordinary strike should be drawn by law.

"Inseparably connected with the right of control by the governing people is the duty of justice resting upon them. If the people by law prohibit organized labor from holding them up to enforce its demands, the people are bound to provide means to ascertain whether the demands are just, and for enforcing them if found just. That duty calls for the establishment of a competent and impartial tribunal, and for the enforcement of its decisions."

Referring to the question of economy, Mr. Root declared: "It is true that a political party cannot make individuals thrifty, but a political party can produce the shining and potent example of a thrifty and economical government."

In the Emergency Convention the resolution to affiliate the Socialist Party to the *Third International* was defeated Both the majority report and the minority report of the vote was then submitted by referendum to the Socialist ranks. The result of the national referendum is 3,475 in favor of affiliation to 1,444 against it.

It is a light vote but it indicates the trend of Socialism. To those who point to the light vote in favor of the affiliation, we may retort that when called upon to declare their principles only 1,444 repudiated the doctrines and practises of the Russian Reds.

Every day new evidence of the evil character of the Russian Bolsheviki is brought to us. We are more and more convinced that humanity must conquer Bolshevism; or Bolshevism will conquer and destroy the world. The following extract from the editorial in "Struggling Russia," December 20, 1919, presents a strong message:

"Everywhere where Bolshevism marches it leaves behind dead cities, destroyed villages, incessant murder and starvation. Bolshevism has destroyed Russia and threatens to destroy the world. Bolshevist overtures for peace represent an endeavor, on the one hand, to gain a 'breathing space,' as Lenin once put it, and, on the other, to legalize the centers of their propaganda and their supporters in the countries which Bolshevism plans to conquer. Bolshevism and modern democracy can no more stay together than flame and water. If Bolshevism rules Russia, it will rule the world. If the world would destroy Bolshevism, it must destroy it immediately in Russia."

It is an accepted principle that education is the key to civilization. The Bolsheviki have nearly destroyed the schools of Russia. We quote the following from the article by Prof. M. I. Rostovtzev in "Struggling Russia," January 10, 1920:

"Well, what, then, have the Bolsheviki accomplished? Their first acts, as everywhere else, were acts of destruction They have been attempting to transform the new organism into a virgin field for their experimentations. Their theorists are persisting in it, and their practical workers are realizing it. In the 'Izvestia,' Nos. 121, 123, 124, of the current year, there appears an article by S. Strelbitzky, entitled 'Destroy the School.' It leads off with the following paragraph: 'We are demolishing the capitalist system with a hand that does not tremble. Therefore, let our arm destroy just as determinedly its offspring, the old school, so that we may create in its place a new one, perhaps a somewhat imperfect one in the beginning. It is time to cease playing at patchwork. I say, therefore, he who attempts to apply a plaster to the school is applying a plaster to his own eyes that he may not see. There is no other way but that of destroying the old school. Demolish the programs, demolish the methods, demolish, in the end, the teaching staffs, and only then begin building a new school!'

"How is this 'Hindenburg' demand, this thirst for wholesale destruction to be explained? Somehow, they do not seem to be in accord with the stentorian proclamations of Lunacharsky concerning the necessity of adapting the old

culture, which I referred to in my articles on 'Proletarian Culture.' I think the underlying motive in this instance is the same as that which is driving the Bolsheviki to desperation over the 'stupidity' of the peasantry, who stubbornly refuse to enter the Bolshevist communist paradise. The Russian school, in a body, has displayed *in actual work*, in everyday life, a determined and resolute opposition to the Bolshevist regime. Nor have the Bolsheviki succeeded in winning over to their side the teaching personnel in the universities, or the other higher secondary and lower schools. (In the latter schools the majority of the teachers were Socialists and, in spite of that, these were and are being mercilessly exterminated by the Bolsheviki.) They have failed to win the students as well, and the followers of Bolshevism in the latter body are few and far between. They have only succeeded in confusing the minds of some school janitors and of the children, encouraging their natural inclinations to loafing and to divesting themselves of any form of school discipline and their no less natural proclivity to boss their elders.

"Nor have they succeeded in building up teaching staffs of their own. They have no cultured forces, and modest hard work does not appeal to them; it is one thing to be a commissary at so many thousands per month, and quite a different thing to be a mere teacher. At that, they are compelled to recruit their commissaries from the ranks of half-baked students. At the head of the universities in Kharkov the Bolsheviki were compelled to place some freshmen students, and in some cases, veterinaries, as they could find no adherents among the younger and older men of learning in the schools. They were contemplating to pack the universities with Bolsheviki and, therefore, in violation of every democratic tradition of our schools, they created special privileges for workmen and communists. But the latter would not enter the universities, and the student body has remained the same as before.

"Why do not the school workers follow the Bolsheviki? In my opinion, the reason is very simple: The Bolsheviki *have no plans and no ideas as to what constitutes a proletarian school*, just as they do not know what proletarian culture is. What they parade as new ideas is naked absurdity. Their basic idea is the idea of a single type workers' school. How this thing is to work out in practice I fail to understand, and, I believe , so do the Bolsheviki. In practice it is reduced to a simple formula: a single type school means the bringing

of all schools under State control, the prohibition of instruction without State censorship, and the consolidation of all higher educational institutions into one. Merge the nine higher schools of learning of the city of Kharkov into one and you obtain one unified school. The result is an absurd copy of a huge factory with 1,000 instructors and 30,000 students.

"The second idea, stolen from others, is the accessibility of the school to all. This is an idea inherent in all democracies. But the Bolsheviki have only grasped the elementary meaning of it, and, therefore, only the absurd side of it. If a school is to be made accessible to all, they argue, why not admit everybody, illiterates and the half-lettered, leaving preparatory work for the three summer-vacation months? As this appeared to be obviously impossible, the preparatory courses attracted in Kharkov, instead of the anticipated thousands, a mere two hundred persons, half of whom were gymnasium (high school) graduates at that. But aside from the mere elementary application of the idea of general accessibility of the school, the Bolsheviki have distorted this side of it as well. They deny admission to schools, for instance, to the children of the clergy. 'The privilege of matriculation in the university and conservatory (in the district of Izumsk) is limited only to those who subscribe to the principles of the communist rule.' I have already mentioned that while the university of Kharkov was accessible to all, 'communists, workmen and members of professional unions' were given preference. The Tzarist regime knew of no such educational limitations.

"Their third idea—is the reform of school administration. It is based on the principle that a school should be governed by those who least understand the wants and requirements of the school system. At the head there are bureaucratic bureaus and sub-bureaus of public instruction—province and district—filled with a large number of highly paid officials, whose sole qualification is membership in the communist party. In individual instances "school soviets' have replaced the authority of the teaching staff—principal and teachers—soviets made up largely of the representatives of the pupils, i. e., of children of 13 or thereabout and of old men, in the majority of cases, illiterates.

"The Bolsheviki have attempted to institute new statutes for the Kharkov University. These rules of government were drawn up outside of the University and without the participation of the University workers. These latter were at first invited to take part in the commission charged with

the drawing up of the new laws, but finding that they were not permitted to discuss these statutes as such, they withdrew from the commission. The Bolshevist policy is based on a principle enunciated by the commissary of public instruction, V. Zatansky, at a public meeting: 'There can be no thought of the autonomy of the institutions of higher education, as this autonomy is a position behind which are intrenched the open and hidden reactionaries.' As a result these statutes are reactionary to the extreme. In reality, the University is to be governed by a commissary. Soviets, small and large, i. e., collective organs, exist only for appearance's sake and are not capable of any executive action, as their sessions resemble mass-meetings more than anything else. The functions of the university were divided by sheer force into three disconnected parts: scientific, pedagogic and educational. It must be borne in mind that the principal strength of our universities resided in the fact that they always knit closely together their scientific and scientific-educational activities.

"What is the result of the attempts to realize all these basic ideas in practice? All the new institutions launched by them have existed only on paper, without teachers or pupils, though their paper existence has cost tremendous sums of money. In the old schools the Bolsheviki have succeeded in achieving more definite results: the children of the lower and secondary schools have given up studying altogether and have become indolent and dissolute to the extreme. 'At least half of them have stopped coming to school regularly, their behavior has changed decidedly for the worse, their attention and standards of study have become lowered, and a lack of interest, absent-mindedness and, frequently, licentiousness and obscenity is displayed.'

" 'Desiring to win the youth to their side, the Bureau of Instruction forbade the giving of home work to the pupils, ordered school holidays without number, rescinded the obligatory attendance rule, and lastly, by order, all the students were promoted to higher classes.' In order to achieve the complete breakdown of the school system, the Bolsheviki were instilling in the minds of the children that they are 'fully matured citizens, the workers of a new school to be directed by themselves, the fortunate sons of a Socialist fatherland (sic).' (From a speech by Suzdaltzev.)

"It is natural that under such circumstances the morals of the students have sunk to a very low depth. In the Kharkov Private Courses for General Education, taken over

by the Bolsheviki, there were wholesale detections of students stealing electric bulbs, school equipment, and even the overgarments of the teachers and students. It proved a good deal more difficult to debauch the institutions of higher learning. The more mature students scented the menace endangering the very cause of education; persons accustomed to some systematic thinking had no difficulty in comprehending what enemies of education were those who, for example, would classify even diseases into proletarian—typhus—and bourgeois—diabetes—(this from a speech by the nurse school-attendant, Bloch); who propose that 'it is necessary to introduce in the historico-philological faculty a series of biological disciplines to acquaint the philologists with a strictly scientific criterion'; or who recommend the study of only 'scientific sciences.' (From a speech by Dr. Tutyshkin.)

"The overwhelming majority of the members of the faculties have, in consequence, united into an academic union, and have attempted, not wholly without success, to oppose the Bolshevist reforms. The Bolsheviki have succeeded, by their 'reforms,' their tyranny, their corrupting methods and their unparalleled poverty of ideas, in arming against themselves all the instructors and the more mature part of the students. There was no one to put their reforms in practice. It is only natural, therefore, that they finally came to the conclusion, simple enough in its primitive barbarity, to abandon the reforms, but to destroy the schools simultaneously. The Tzar's government used to act similarly when it could not overcome the opposition of the universities. It would just close them down in a rage of impotence.

"The last act of the Bolsheviki in Kharkov was the shutting down of the University on July 12. Before closing, a certain Comrade Maier delivered the following oration to the assembled professors. We quote the more telling extracts: 'Comrades, I must, first of all, explain to you the purpose of this brief conference. The fact is that lately there have been observed a number of undesirable incidents in many of our higher schools. In various places, I am not able to say whether consciously or unconsciously, by mutual agreement or by chance, disobedience to orders of the Soviet rule has occurred. Frequently these cases have assumed the character of direct and open sabotage. How is this to be explained? We, nevertheless, understand each other well enough without explanations, and we shall adopt measures

against such cocurrences. I recall the words of the esteemed Comrade D. Sobolev, that we do not believe in the principles of monarchism, but we respect them, and we shall draw from the arsenal of the old regime some means of combat. All those who will be discovered taking part in energetic attacks upon the Soviet rule, no matter who he may be, teacher or student, will be mercilessly extracted from academic life, and we shall take care of his future. I judge that you, all of you, twice as old as I am, are not quite pleased to listen to these admonitions from a youngster, and that you will succeed in assimilating, with the aid of your trained minds, my disconnected remarks. We have the power in our hands, and we are able to hold it and to force you to carry out our orders.'

"To questions put by professors, inquiring as to what had happened, Maier replied, 'No explanations!' and left.

"The Bolsheviki, as may be seen, did not advance, at Kharkov, a step beyond destruction, repressions, arrests and the final shutting down of institutions. They have neither the men nor the ideas for creative work. Regrettably enough, intellectual workers have not been everywhere as firm as in Kharkov. In Petrograd and Moscow many of them regard as a necessity not merely the conservation of the existing values, but are also delving into the designing of grandiose paper plans or the building of air-castles and houses of pasteboard beyond the limits of time and space. The Bolsheviki welcome this co-operation, which they display in Western Europe as an advertisement in proof of their constructivenes. But the same sad reality, however, prevails in Moscow and Petrograd. May God save Russia!"

The Bolsheviki have also destroyed industry in Russia. Prof. Boris Sokolov, writing in "Struggling Russia," January 10, 1920, from Soviet sources condemns the destructive policy of the Bolsheviki:

"The Soviet government, being preeminently a proletarian government, deriving its main support from the Bolshevistically inclined masses, from the very first day of its existence has gladly met all desires expressed by the masses of working people, no matter how detrimental to the country's welfare. Deriving its powers and recruiting its partisans from the ranks of the unskilled, rather than skilled labor, the Soviet government was compelled to adjust its labor policies to the demands of these masses, at times even clashing over it with skilled labor. The results of this policy began to tell towards the close of 1918, and became plainly visible in 1919. Much, and in detail, has been spoken about these

results at all kinds of workers' congresses. The catastrophic condition of industry, the general lack of interest on the part of the proletariat, are causing the Soviet government, beginning with 1919, after summing up the results, to admit the sad truth, and to attempt *to change its policy fundamentally*, so as to hammer together again the ruined industry. These attempts—the results of which are dubious—are interesting as a *condemnation of tneir own labor policy by the Bolsheviki themselves*.

"This change of policy has touched every phase of the labor problem.

ON THE EFFICIENCY OF LABOR

"Much has been said concerning the decline in the productivity of the workers. The Soviet government frequently, and with chagrin, notes this fact:

" 'There is an unprecedented decline of productivity in mills and factories. We must combat this resolutely.' (No. 78, 'Severnaya Communa.')

"But how shall it be combatted? Where is the cause?

"One of the measures adopted by the Soviet government soon after the November revolt, and resolutely carried out, was the abolition of "premiums" and piecework, and the introduction of the monthly or daily wage system. This change, already begun at the time of Kerensky, and which had spread in 1918 to practically Russia's entire industry, proved to be the cause of decrease in productivity in the Russian industries.

"At any rate the Soviet government arrives at this conclusion, for already in the end of 1918, at first in the form of hesitating attempts, but in 1919 very resolutely, it reverts to the old (Tzarist) system of 'premiums' and piece-work, repudiating both by words and deeds its system of monthly and daily wages.

" 'The fight against economic disintegration demanded the reintroduction of the "premium" system. This system has produced splendid results in many instances, having increased the productivity of labor 100—200%.' (Report of the Bolshevik, Glebov, at the Conference of Factory Committees, March, 1919).

" 'The most effective means for raising the efficiency of labor is the introduction of the "premium" and piece-work system, as against daily wages.' (No. 1, 'Novy Put'—a Soviet economic journal.)

" 'An investigation undertaken last month by the trades unions has shown that in 75% of the plants the old system of wages has been reintroduced and that nearly everywhere this has been followed by satisfactory and even splendid results.' (No. 46, 'Economic Life.') 'In the Nevski Works the substitution of the premium system for the monthly wage system increased the productivity of the workingmen three and one-half times, and the cost of labor for one locomotive dropped from 1,400,000 roubles to 807,000 roubles, i. e., to almost one-half.' (No. 259, 'Severnaya Communa.')

"So 'in the Tula Munition Works, after the old "premium" system of wages had been restored, the productivity of the works and of labor rose to 70% of what it was in 1916.' (Report of the Bolshevik, Rykov, 'Izvestia,' No. 467.) After the reintroduction of the former normal averages, productivity increased: 'In the Marx typography, 20%; at Nobel's factory, 35%; at the Aviation Plant, 150%; at Geissler's, 43%; at Seminov's lumber mill, 243%, etc. ('Economic Life,' No. 46.)

"Thus, life, Russian reality, has shown the Soviet government the fallacy of the road it had chosen, and compelled it to admit and to accept a principle—far from socialistic—from former labor conditions, i. e., the premium system. It had to be admitted after irreparable damage had been done both to Russia's industry and to the Russian working class.

THE WAGE SCALE

"It has more than once been pointed out that the Soviet government had from the first day of its existence carried through the principle of equal wages, and that the unskilled laborer received not less, and sometimes even more, than the skilled mechanic. Here I shall merely emphasize that this levelling had been carried out in all branches of Russia's industry and had actually led to the domination of the unskilled laborer over the skilled mechanic.

"Of course, such a wage system could not fail to cause trouble. It led to vehement protests on the part of skilled laborers, who, however, being in the minority, were powerless in their struggle against the masses of unskilled laborers, who were, besides, supported in their demands by the Soviet government.

"It was only in 1919 that a change in this system began to appear. The struggle going on within the ranks of labor in Soviet Russia will best be disclosed by the following excerpt from the editorial which appeared in the 'Severnaya Communa' on the 30th of March, 1919:

" 'At the present moment a tremendous struggle is going on within the ranks of the proletariat between two diametrically opposed currents. Part of the proletariat, numerically in the great majority, still tied to the village, both in a material as well as idealogical respect, is in an economic sense inclined to Anarchism. It is not connected with production and not interested in its development.

" 'The other part is the industrial, highly skilled mechanic, who fights for new methods of production.

" 'By the equalization of pay, and by the introduction of majority rule in the management of the factories, supposed to be a policy of Democracy, we are only sawing off the limb on which we are sitting, for the flower of our proletariat, the most efficient workers, prefer to go to the villages, or to engage in home trades, or to do anything else but remain within those demolished and dusty fortresses we call factories. Why, this means in its truest sense a dictatorship of unskilled laborers!'

"So plainly and positively writes an official organ of the Bolshevist press! I have nothing to add. I merely want to point out—and this is most probably known now everywhere—that the skilled mechanics of Russia in their majority never did belong, nor do they now belong, to the Communist (Bolshevist) party. They have remained in the ranks of the Menshevist wing of the Social-Democratic party and in the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists. (Report on the Conference of Labor Delegates of the City of Petrograd.)

"As a result, the leaders of the Soviet government in 1919 began to realize the fallacy of their policy, and a new wage scale was introduced by a decree of the People's Commissaries, founded on the principle of extra pay for skill. The higher skilled a workingman or employee—the more he is to earn. This wage scale was introduced on the 1st of March, 1919 (No. 66, 'Severnaya Communa'). According to this scale, there are to be 27 classes of workers. The lowest, unskilled class of laborers, domestics, and so forth, receive 600 roubles per month (1st class), 660 roubles (2nd class), etc.

"Higher employees, specialists, are put in the last classes (20 to 27), and receive from 1,370 to 2,200 roubles a month. As an example, we may point out that skilled mechanics in chemical plants receive 1,051—1,160 roubles. Unskilled laborers, 600 roubles; and chemical engineers more than 2,000 roubles a month. (No. 54, 'Severnaya Communa.')

"And thus, again—having first turned over the power over all industry to the masses of unskilled labor, the Soviet

government now, when it is too late, condemns its own system and reverts to the old methods.

TRADE UNIONS AND LABOR CONTROL

"The participation of the trade unions in politics is considered indispensable by the Bolsheviki. As far back as their first congress the trade unions, under the influence of the Bolsheviki, 'having given up their neutrality and independence completely merged their lot with that of the Soviet government,' and 'the aims of the trade unions have in course of time gone far beyond the limits of narrow national interests,' and again, 'their work came to be closely interwoven with the State activities of the Soviet government,' and, 'only practical utilitarian considerations prevent us from completely merging the trade unions with the administrative apparatus of the State.' (Moscow Conference of Shop Committees and Trade Unions, March, 1919, No. 51, 'Economic Life.')

"This stand, supported by the Bolsheviki, and continually repudiated by the Socialists (Socialists-Revolutionists and Mensheviki), betrayed its weak spot with particular clearness in the case of the Russian railroads.

"At the congress of the railroad men (February, 1919) the Bolshevik, Platonov, making his report, 'sharply and categorically opposed the merging of the trade unions with the State. This has taken place on the railroads, following the first railroadmen's Congress on 1918, in the shape of the anarcho-syndicalist principle: 'The railroads to the railroadmen!' (No. 42, 'Economic Life.')

"This, among other causes, was the reason why seventeen railway lines of Soviet Russia gave in 1916 a profit of 140,000,000 roubles; in 1918, a loss of 8,000,000,000 roubles. (No. 260, 'Severnaya Communa,' March 26, 1919.)

"One of the chief duties of the trade unions, imposed upon them by the Soviet Government, was the Workingmen's 'Control.' Now it turns out that 'in the course of last year everybody admitted the failure of Workingmen's Control.' (Conference of Electrical Workers, March, 1919.)

"And the Bolshevik, Krasin, one of the most prominent specialists on factory systems, points out that 'the Labor Control on the part of the trade unions confined itself the whole time to a perfunctory supervision of the activities of the plants, and completely ignored the general work of production. A scientific, technical control, the only kind that

is indispensable, is altogether beyond the capacities of the trade unions.' (No. 52, 'Economic Life,' 1919.—)

"As a result, this congress adopted a resolution 'to replace the Workingmen's Control by one of inspection—i. e., by the engineers of the Council of National Economy' (the same issue). Thus a breach has also occurred in the cardinal point of their labor policy. But it occurs at a time when the entire structure of Russia's industry is nearly destroyed, and control, be it of Labor, be it of the State, has no object left over which it can be exercised.

"Thus, what do the Bolsheviki themselves tell us about their Labor policy? Ruination of industry, a catastrophic decrease in production are the results of the labor policy of the Soviet government. which abolished piece-work, introduced equal wage-scales, and labor control exercised by the trade unions.

"The Bolsheviki admit the 'mistakes' of their labor policy, and repudiate its methods, but only after miserable shreds remain of Russia's industry.

"As a final result, the Russian working class is going into the village and the Red Army, while the dictatorship of the proletariat is gradually changing into a dictatorship of the soldiery of the Red Army."

I have presented this long extract because it shows not alone the danger of Socialist theories, but also the danger of excessive power of the Trade-Unions.

The utter lawlessness of the Soviets is well set forth in an article entitled, "Down with Executions!" in "Struggling Russia," Jan. 10, 1920. The author of the article is Mr. L. Martov, leader of the Mesheviki-Internationalists, the left wing of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party. This article is a part of Mr. Martov's pamphlet published in Moscow, and reprinted in England and France by the Foreign Delegation of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party:

"From the very first day of their coming into power and proclaiming the abolition of the death penalty, the Bolsheviki began to kill. They killed prisoners captured in the battles of the civil war. They killed enemies who surrendered on the condition that their lives would be spared. So it was in Moscow, during the November days (1917), where the Bolshevik, Smidovitch, certified by his signature that the lives of the military cadets would be spared if they surrendered, and then allowed the surrendered men to be killed one by one. So it was in Mohilev, where General Dukhonin surrendered to Krylenko, and was torn to pieces in the latter's

presence by murderers whose crime was never punished. So it was in Kiev, Rostov, and many other towns taken by the Bolshevist troops. So it was in Sebastopol, Simferopol, Yalta, Evpatoria, Theodosia, where bands of murderers had lists of possible counter-revolutionaries and killed them without trial, including women and little children.

"These wholesale murders organized at the instigation of the Bolsheviki were followed by murders directly ordered by the Bolshevist Government. The death penalty was declared abolished, but in every town and in every district various 'Extraordinary Commissions' and 'Military Revolutionary Committees' ordered hundreds and hundreds of people to be shot. Some, as counter-revolutionaries; some, as speculators; others, as robbers. No court ever examined their cases; no one knew whether the person shot was really guilty of conspiracy, speculation, or robbery, whether perhaps someone settling personal accounts with the man killed or taking personal revenge had caused him to be shot. What a number of innocent persons have thus been killed in the whole of Russia! With the silent approval of the Council of the People's Commissaries, men sitting on the Extraordinary Commissions, unknown to anybody—men among whom escaped criminals and the Tzar's agents—provocateurs are discovered from time to time—are issuing orders for executions to be carried out. And often, as was the case with the six students shot in Petrograd, it is even impossible to find out who issued the order for the execution!

"Human life became cheap—cheaper than the scrap of paper on which the order for its destruction was written. It was cheaper than the increased bread ration for which the hired murderer was prepared to kill his fellow-creature at the order of any scoundrel who managed to seize power.

"And this orgy of murder is going on in the name of Socialism, in the name of that teaching which proclaimed the Brotherhood of toiling men to be the highest aim of mankind.

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"Having assassinated tens of thousands of men without trial, the Bolsheviki started their executions by verdicts of their courts.

"They established a supreme revolutionary tribunal where enemies of the Soviet power were to be tried.

"At its very first meeting the new tribunal passed a death sentence which was carried out after an interval of ten hours.

"When they established this tribunal the Bolsheviki did not make it known that it would have the power to pass death sentences in contravention of the decision of the Second Congress of the Soviets, by which the death penalty was abolished.

"They concealed it from the people.

"They saw that the shooting down of people by the order of the Extraordinary Commissions or without any orders at all incited the indignation of the population, and they decided to introduce the farce of a trial as a preliminary to the executions.

"It is a farce, comrades! Take, for instance, the trial of Captain Schastny.

"He was accused of conspiring against the Soviet power. Captain Schastny denied it. He asked the tribunal to hear witnesses, including Bolshevist commissaries who had been appointed to watch him. Who was better qualified to state whether he had really conspired against the Soviet power?

"The tribunal refused to hear witnesses. Refused what every court in the world, except Stolypin's field court martials, recognized the worst criminal entitled to.

"A man's life was at stake, the life of a man who had won the love and confidence of his subordinates, the sailors of the Baltic Fleet, who protested against the captain's arrest. The life of a man who had performed a marvelous feat! He had somehow managed to take out of the Helsingfors harbor all the ships of the Baltic Fleet, and had thus saved them from capture by the Finnish Whites.

"It was not the enraged Finnish Whites nor the German Imperialists who shot this man. He was put to death by men who call themselves Russian Communists—by Messrs. Medvedeff, Bruno, Karelin, Veselovski, Peterson, members of the Supreme Revolutionary Tribunal.

"Captain Schastny was refused the exercise of the right to which every thief or murderer is entitled, i. e., to call in witnesses for the defence. But the witness for the prosecution was heard. This witness was Trotzky, Trotzky, who, as commissary for war and naval affairs, had arrested Captain Schastny.

"At the hearing of the case by the tribunal Trotzky acted, not as a witness, but as a prosecutor. As a prosecutor he declared: 'This man is guilty; you must condemn him!' And Trotzky did it, after having gagged the prisoner by refusing to call in witnesses who might refute the accusations brought against him.

"Not much valor is required to fight a man who has been gagged and whose hands are tied, nor much honesty or loftiness of character.

"It was not a trial; it was a farce. There was no jury. The judges were officials dependent on the authorities, receiving their salaries from the hands of Trotzky and other people's commissaries. And this mockery of a court passed the death sentence, which was hurriedly carried out before the people, who were profoundly shaken by this order to kill an innocent man, could do anything to save him.

"Under Nicholas Romanoff one could sometimes stop the carrying out of a monstrously cruel sentence and thus pull the victim out of the executioner's hands.

"Under Vladimir Ulianoff (Lenin's real name) this s impossible. The Bolshevist leaders slept peacefully when, under the cover of night, the first victim of their tribunal was stealthily being killed.

"No one knew who murdered Schastny and how he was murdered. As under the Tzars, the executioners' names are concealed from the people. No one knows whether Trotzky himself came to the place of the execution to watch and direct it.

"Perhaps he too slept peacefully and saw in his dreams the proletariat of the whole world hailing him as the liberator of mankind, as the leader of the universal social revolution.

"In the name of Socialism, in thy name, O Proletariat, blind madmen and vainglorious fools staged this appalling farce of cold-blooded murder.

"The beast has licked hot human blood. The man-killing machine is brought into motion. Messrs. Medvedeff, Bruno, Peterson, Veselovski and Karelin have turned up their sleeves and set to their butchers' work.

"They began with officers, who can always be pictured to the ignorant masses as enemies of the people, as counter-revolutionaries. Then the turn will come of those who try to open the eyes of the people and to make it alive to the disastrous results of the criminal Bolshevist regime.

"Hundreds of workmen and peasants, hundreds of useful public workers, a crowd of Social-Democrats and Socialists-Revolution-Bolshevist prisons. For a word of criticism or protest, for an open expression of one's convictions, for an attempt to defend the interests of the working class and peasants, men are thrown into prison. In some cases they have been killed without any reason and without trial. Now each one of them can pass to the better world through the hall of the Supreme Tribunal.

"But blood breeds blood. The reign of terror established by the Bolsheviki since November, 1917, has filled the air of Russian fields with vapors of human blood. We witness the growth of the bitterness of the civil war, the growing bestiality of the men engaged in it. The great principles of true humanity which formed the basis of Socialist teachings have sunk into oblivion. Where the masses of the people or armed forces overthrow the Bolshevist rule, the victors apply the same terror to the vanquished Bolsheviki as the latter practice towards their enemies.

"The wild beast is roused. But the whole burden of responsibility falls on the Bolshevist Party, which hypocritically protests against the shooting of people by the Finnish Whites, while its mercenaries stain Russia's soil with the blood of men shot in the interests of their party.

"The Social-Democratic Labor Party has always protested against political assassinations irrespective of whether they were the work of the hangman or acts of political revenge. It protested even against the assassination of the Tzar's oppressors of Russia by revolutionists.

"We, Social-Democrats, are opposed to any terror, terror from below or terror from above.

"That is why we are against executions as the extreme method of terror which is resorted to by all rulers who do not enjoy the confidence of the people.

"War on the death penalty was inscribed on the banners of all who fought for the freedom of the Russian people and for the Socialist cause.

"In the history of the Russian people the gallows and scaffold stand surrounded with the halo of martyrdom. The best men of Russia had to mount the scaffold or to face the guns of punitive expeditions. The great Russian masters of literature and art have stigmatized the cruel business of killing, in the name of the law, of unarmed and fettered men.

"But here we have a party, a so-called Revolutionary Labor Socialist party, which has ground into dust the holy hate of the Russian people against executions. A party which made of the hangman the supreme representative of the power of the State!

"Eternal shame to the revolutionaries who by *their* executions justify the executions which were carried out by the Tzars and their Ministers and cursed by generations of the Russian people!

"Eternal shame to the men who, by the establishment of their quick-shooting tribunals, have rehabilitated the infamous system of Stolypin's 'neckties'!

"In 1910 the International Socialist Congress at Copenhagen passed a resolution in favor of starting a campaign in all countries for the abolition of the death penalty.

"All the present leaders of the Bolshevist Party—Lenin, Zinoviev, Trotzky, Kameneff, Radek, Rakovsky, Lunacharsky —voted for this resolution. I saw them all there raising their hands in favor of the resolution declaring war on capital punishment.

"Then I saw them in Petrograd in July, 1917, protesting against punishing by death even those who had turned traitors to their country during the war.

"I see them now condemning to death and executing people, bourgeoisie and workmen, peasants and officers alike. I see them now demanding from their subordinates that they should not count the victims, that they should put to death as many opponents of the Bolshevist regime as possible.

"And I say to these Bolshevist 'judges': You are malignant liars and perjurers! You have deceived the workmen's International by signing its demand for the universal abolition of the death penalty and by its restoration when you came to power.

"You deceive the Russian workmen when in restoring the death penalty you conceal from them that it was condemned by the Internationale. You deceive the ignorant Letts and soldiers of the Red Army when you instruct them to kill fettered men, concealing from them that the workmen's Internationale, in whose name you pretend to govern, prohibited this sordid practice.

"You, Rakovsky and Radek, lied to the Western workmen when you told them that you were going to Russia to fight in the cause of Socialism, which is the cause of sublime humanity. In fact, you came to Russia to organize an All-Russian butchery.

"You, A. V. Lunacharsky, are so fond of coming to the workmen with sonorous phrases of the humanitarian greatness of the Socialist ideal. You are so fond of rolling up your eyes to heaven and of singing hymns of the brotherhood of men in the Socialist community. You are so fond of stigmatizing the hypocrisy of official Christianity which sanctioned the killing of men, so fond of preaching the new religion of proletarian Socialism. You are a threefold liar, a threefold Pharisee, when, after the orgy of your empty and hypocritical phrases, you take part in Lenin's and Trotzky's business of organizing murder after or without trial!

"All of you who signed the covenant of fighting the death penalty, all of you who paved your way to power by promises to the workmen to do away for ever with executions—you are ll contemptible moral bankrupts!

"'I cannot remain silent!' exclaimed our Great Old Man, Leo Tolstoy, in face of the daily executions which were going on in Russia under Stolypin.

"Russian workmen! Leo Tolstoy also *forbade you to be silent* when the executioner again became the chief figure in Russia!

"One cannot remain silent! The measure in which you measure unto others it shall be measured unto you. When the Bolshevist madness exhausts the forces of democracy, when the counter-revolution for which the Bolsheviki are working triumphs, Russia will become the scene of the same horrors as are witnessed now in Finland, where workmen and Socialists are hunted like wild beasts. And woe to those who then protest against the regime of violence and of murder from which the workmen suffer! They will have the answer: Under the Bolsheviki the workmen were a party to such a regime; they did not raise their voice against executions!

"The working class must stop this bloodshed.

"You, workmen, must tell your rulers, who have long ago lost your confidence and base their power on sheer violence, that they are perjurers, trampling their solemn promises under their feet; that the working class looks with horror and disgust upon all those who participate in the ghastly executions—upon the executioners, their assistants and inspirers.

"You must tell those of your friends who are still members of the Communist Party that there is no place for them among proletarians, that they are all responsible for the blood which is being shed by the executioners. Stop all intercourse with them, as with plague-infected outcasts, as you always did with regard to pogrom-makers.

"The party of executioners—the Bolshevik Party—is just as much an enemy of the working class as the party of pogroms.

"Let all ignorant, blind, perverted and bribed sons of the working class know that the proletarian family will never forgive them their complicity in the executions!

"Let all those who have not yet lost their Socialist aspirations detach themselves as quickly as possible from men like Medvedeff and Stuchka, like Krylenko and Trotzky, like

Dzerjinsky and Sverdlov, from all those who manage the business of man-killing, wholesale and retail!

"One cannot remain silent! For the sake of the honor of the working class, for the sake of Socialism and the Revolution, for the sake of our duty to our own country and to the Internationale, for the sake of the dictates of humanity, for the sake of our hate against the Tzar's gallows, for the sake of our veneration for the beloved memory of our martyrs in the struggle for freedom—far and wide in the whole of Russia let the thundering call of the working class resound:

"*Down with executions*!

"*Let the cannibal executioners be tried by the people*!"

Mr. P. L. Mamoutoff, a member of the Congress of Municipalities and Zemstvos of Northern Russia, and a delegate from this Congress to England contributed a very able article to the "Russian Outlook," published in England, on "The Situation in Northern Russia," 1919. We excerpt the following:

"The Bolshevist regime thus introduced into Archangel allowed of the same tactics being adopted throughout the remainder of the Northern district, although in many places the position differed considerably from that described above.

"In the provinces the chief supporters of the Bolsheviki were demobilized soldiers—in many cases deserters pure and simple—who had returned home after selling or stealing for their own use whatsoever they fancied of the stores, equipment and general inventory belonging to their regiments.

"It is characteristic that the most confirmed Bolsheviki were soldiers who had served throughout in the reserve, at the bases, or on non-combatant work, while those soldiers who had actually fought for their country and spent years at the front in the trenches were in the large majority of cases hostile towards the Bolsheviki.

"The low-class military elements referred to above played a large part in disseminating and establishing Bolshevism throughout the villages and outlying districts of the Northern Province, and in this they were assisted, when necessary, by a display of armed force from Archangel, by the indifference of certain classes of the population, as also by the fact that they appealed to the evil instincts of the illiterate and uneducated peasants.

"In spite, however, of the foregoing, Bolshevism was only established in many of the districts of the Northern Province by armed force, as, for instance, in the Holmogorsk district. Here the population knew by the experience of

their neighbors what to expect from the local Bolshevik Congress, and sent it an ultimatum, immediately it assembled, demanding that it cease its deliberations, and further refused to let any corn be shipped away from Holmogor, or any of their products to be taken from the peasants. The Bolsheviki then applied to Archangel for assistance, with the result that a punitive expedition composed of sailors and Letts was sent down, which searched the whole town, arrested all the most respected inhabitants, and forced the local population to obey the orders of the Bolshevik Soviet.

"This is a specimen of the way in which Soviets were established under the Bolshevik regime, without the people themselves being granted the right to vote freely, or to elect representatives of their own convictions. All trace of representative franchise was done away with, and the people were in a worse way than before the 1917 Revolution; luckily, however, for the North, this state of things did not last very long there.

PEOPLE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK

"Dissatisfaction with the Soviets and with their treatment of the people grew hourly, and the regime of violence and license inaugurated by the Bolsheviki rendered their position in the North daily more untenable. Matters came to a head when the Bolsheviki decided to show their authority by mobilizing the inhabitants for the Red Army. This move was met by a definite protest, and a still more definite, not to say stubborn refusal to join up. The Bolsheviki received no reinforcements worth talking of from the interior of the Province and had to be content with their Communist and Lettish mercenaries in Archangel. In revenge, they oppressed and terrorized whomsoever they could lay their hands on. Newspapers were shut down, people arrested for a casual remark, and then shot without trial—sufficient evidence that the Freedom and chance of improving the lives of the people, won during the Revolution of 1917, had been again ignored, abandoned and forfeited."

The general disorder led to a crisis in the supply of food and fuel:

"Simultaneously with the fuel crisis the cost of living necessities has risen to unheard-of proportions. A pound of bread costs 300 roubles at Petrograd today; meat is 600 roubles a pound; butter, 1,000 roubles a pound; cheese, 1,300 roubles; carrots, 65 roubles, and beets are 100 roubles a pound."

The celebrated Russian author, Alexander I. Kouprin, who escaped from Petrograd, writes in the "Svoboda Rossiyi" (The Freedom of Russia), published in Revel:

"It is absolutely necessary that some writer or other (whoever he may be) who has lived under the insane yoke of Bolshevism, should describe clearly and without prejudice all its bloody abominations—describe them with the cold accuracy of a chronicler, giving facts, names, and figures.

"Such a truthful story would be bound to shock the public conscience. Abroad, scarcely one hundredth part is known of those villainies and deceptions which take place there . . . behind the bloody curtain which covers the entrance into the chamber of torment, behind the yard high letters 'R.S.F.S.R.' ('Russian Socialistic Federated Soviet Republic'), behind that quack placard which noisily calls folk to enter the 'paradise of Communism.'

"The Bolsheviki have finally strangled the press. The Bolsheviki have completely destroyed all private correspondence. Not a single brave voice can make itself heard through the thick walls surrounding that prison, that mad-house, that mortuary that is called the Soviet Republic.

"It is a disgraceful, shameful and absurd position in which the Bolsheviki place those daring foreign correspondents who, like unto Stanley, venture to penetrate into 'Central Soviet Russia,' into 'Red Petrograd.' For these faithful guardians and megaphones of public opinion, the Bolsheviki manage in some two or three days to rig up such stage scenery as Potemkin once arranged during the journey Catherine the Great made through the South of Russia with her sovereign guests. There, at the end of the XVIII century, the background consisted of flourishing villages made of pasteboard, the middle distance showed the gay dances of the kindly peasants (who had been herded together during the night by the aid of the rod), while in the foreground grave fathers and grandfathers, with beards down to their waists, were shedding tears of joy and devotion. Here, at the beginning of the XX century, inquiring foreigners are led through factories fresh from the pages of Bellamy's Utopian romance, through factory canteens where beefy sailors, dressed in workmen's blouses, enact the farce 'Recreation and dinner of Communist workers in Soviet Russia.'

"Have you seen the grey, haggard faces of the prisoners and the refugees? Have you seen their corpse-like grin, their noses sharp as those of the dead, their deep-sunken eyes, the waxy glint of their foreheads, their projecting cheek-

bones? And above all, have you noticed in their terrible eyes that cold, stony, hopeless look of weary yearning, which makes you involuntarily lower your eyes and turn away your face"'

Russia is today weary, hopeless, indifferent. Its dreadful state is well described by Dr. A. Coralnik in "Struggling Russia," January 10, 1920:

RUSSIA IS WEARY

"A year ago men and women in Russia were angry, violently angry. Hatred, maddening, hatred, was writ large on the countenance of every denizen of Russia—a hate of something, of some one, or a greater hate of all and everything The workmen hated the 'bourgeoisie' with a consuming malice, and the 'bourjoui' was consigning the ruling powers to Hades, of course, under his breath, in the confines of his own narrow circle.

"Yet, coupled with that hatred, there was smouldering in the hearts of men a dim spark of hope.

"Each and everyone was hoping for something, was expecting something with a secret heart-burning and in prayerful esctasy.

"The Bolsheviki were hoping for the universal social revolution which would 'vindicate' them; others, their opponents, were no less fervently awaiting the victory of the 'imperialists,' the Allies, the democracies, etc.

" 'There, there, it is about to begin'— was the slogan of each dawning day. Exactly what it was that was to begin, nobody could say with certainty, but each one expected something in accordance with his own respective state of mind. People hated and hoped, and lived in an exalted atmosphere of passion and yearning.

"Then hatred gradually began to grow blunt. It is just as difficult to hate forever as it is to love incessantly. After the paroxysm passes, dull submissiveness takes its place, and the acute attack makes room for indifference, for the inertness of the primitive man-beast and his instinct to conceal himself within his own shell. After one has castigated and sworn for twenty-four hours daily for two straight years at either the Bolsheviki or the 'bourjouis,' there comes a moment when one grows tired of even such an occupation.

"Hope? For what? It would seem that all time for hope has passed. The feeling possesses us that the whole world has clean forgotten about us, that even God Almighty has ceased to think about us. I recall the thrill with which

all Russia awaited the culmination of the issue at Odessa. Each day there was news of the landing of Allied troops along the shores of the Black Sea, at Odessa, at Nikolaiev and Novorosiisk. There was finally our salvation! Here we had the tanks, the bayonets, the 'violet rays,' and plenty of everything at that! There, at a distance we could discern the American steamers loaded with goods for famished, naked and barefoot Russia. What wonderful prospects!

"The people waited for the miracle to occur, and so did the Bolsheviki. It seemed as if they, too, were glad that the end was coming. Their wandering, dead souls seemed to be just as eager—for the tranquillity and oblivion of the grave. Then, at the most critical moment, the Allied troops boarded the ships and went home. Again we remained alone, and another hope was gone.

"Well, we said to ourselves, these were Frenchmen. You know what the French temperament is—light-minded, fickle and capricious. But there, in the North, are the English. That is altogether a different story. The English, you know, are bulldog-like; you cannot tear them away after they have sunk their teeth into someone. And here they are right under the very nose of Petrograd! Another little while, and the British will enter Petrograd, and you might as well begin saying mass for the Bolshevist corpse!

"So, Petrograd was commencing to fall one day after the other. Every other day was the eve of the end, of the fall of the concededly doomed city. It was just a case of grabbing it with your bare hands. Only the strategy of those wily English, who are so fond of playing drawn-out, soul-trying games, was responsible for the delay. But, really, there was nothing to fear; they could be relied upon to do the job!

"Then it came to pass that this second hope, so real, so earnest and so near, faded and died away. It appeared that the bull-dog was not anxious to sink his teeth into the game at all. He just approached it playfully, smelled it, and went off without even a snap. And Petrograd is still untaken, Zinoviev is still lording over it, and the outcome is still far in the distance.

" 'And perhaps there will never be any outcome at all?' a friend of mine, one of those who was among the 'hoping ones' in Petrograd, inquired of me recently. 'Perhaps we are doomed to wriggle in this quagmire, in this forest-swamp, until the sun will some day dry up this swamp, or until we shall all have been drowned in it! You remember the horrible story by the Russian writer, Sergheiev-Tzensky,

the one called "Swamp." You recall the nightmare of the life he describes in the muddy, dead, miasmatic, dark forest swamp. All the impurities in creation have made their home there, and every illness and disease has risen up to the surface. The peasant woman with the sunken nose—and her "love!" Shuddering! And above all that dulling, flattening ennui.' While speaking my friend looked at me with such an infinitely weary gaze that I felt awe-stricken myself, as if a precipice had suddenly opened up in front of me ready to swallow me too.

"You very likely believe that Russia's horror consists only in her hunger, in her breakdown, in her absurd and impossible mode of living. Well, let me tell you that one can get used to hunger, one can get along somehow or other, even though he may have to subsist on the bark of trees at times. The worst that may happen, after all, is death, and that is anyhow bound to come. What difference does it make, after all, whether you die from hunger, or from an ordinary illness? The end is the same.

"It is the ennui that is even more fearful than death. There is nothing to do, nothing to think about, nothing to hope for. All words have been spoken—the most burning, the most daring words; all perspectives have been exhausted. It seems as though we had reached, in our climbing, the highest peak of them all, only to discover that before our vision lies a sterile, gray, wearisome desert. There is nothing to strive for ahead.

"From the North and the West, from the East and the South, from wherever the Bolsheviki dominate, a grayish-brown, oppressive, clammy wave of ennui is forging ahead, covering slowly and obstinately every shore, every bit of firmament and every form of life.

"Laughter is dead in Russia, and fun is lying prostrate. Only last year people were merry in Petrograd and Moscow. They were making merry—you recall those 'gay dances' lasting to the break of dawn, the soldier and sailor entertainments of all kind. Cafe Empire was crowded to the doors with these 'newly rich,' these various sailor-comrades and dauntless speculators. How indignant we all were at that time at this licentious merry-making, this devil-may-care dance of Russia's grave-diggers! The land, we said, was perishing while 'the pride and the beauty of the Revolution' (as Trotzky once called the sailors) was dancing until the small hours of the morning the dance of the wake and the hearse.

"Yes, some were dancing and making merry, while others were sad and crying. There was nevertheless pathos in that

laughter—the pathos of ruthless demolition—and there was pathos in that woe. But soon Petrograd ceased to laugh. And it ceased to cry as well. Its face became tightly drawn, its countenance furrowed and weary. The laughter emigrated to Moscow, and thence to Kiev. Only recently, some six months ago, Baliev was jesting in Kiev, and the celebrated humorist, the writer, Averchenko, was still witty and pungent, and waggish words, pathetic and satirical, were still being coined in that city. Then the Bolsheviki came and drove out laughter. Thereupon it traveled Odessaward, until it was thrown out from there, too—into the sea or beyond it.

"And no matter where you go in Bolshevist Russia, the pictures are the same; a gray background with bloody-red spots. Perhaps it is the 'new' art which the 'Proletkult' is trying to introduce, the 'angry and titanic, revolutionary and death-confirming' art, as one of the manifestos of the creators of our 'new Russian art' defines it.

"But how is life after all, you ask?

"A gray background with bloody-red blots, heaps of ashes, underneath which some little red coals are smouldering here and there. This gray heap has put an ugly stamp upon the likeness and the image of everything; upon art, and politics, as well as upon rebellion. The result is something shapeless, formless, something totally superfluous.

"I was wandering along the streets of Petrograd. A slight feeling of hunger was annoying me and made me feel restless. The streets were dressed up as if before a holiday. Beautiful and spruce they were—but their beauty was inexplicable and their smartness but hectic. Who wants all this? For whom this marvelous July sunset and the lilac-colored sky? The Neva sparkling in the roll of her waters and those aristocratic, severely pensive boardwalks and all this stony, museum-like beauty? No one pays any attention to it. A chasm has arisen between man and the universe. Perhaps this is the vengeance of the universe, its vengeance upon man for his attempt to break up the tardiness of transition, the rythm of change.

"You visit a theatre. You hardly read the announcements outside—what really is the difference, as long as you succeed in killing the night? Splendid actors are performing. Granovskaya is playing. At any other time, one's attention would be wholly arrested by her movements, her gesticulations, her mimicry. Tonight you sit there indifferently, while the sound waves are rolling by and over you. Your optic nerve alone is excited, nothing more. The actors, they, too, seem

to play without eagerness, without joy. Just to put an evening out of the way, just to overcome that sense of weariness, that weariness which passes for life upon these shores.

" 'France is weary'—these were the words with which the poet Lamartine gave a signal to the French Revolution of 1848. 'La France s'ennuie!'

"This ennui is the source of all evil. When France is 'ennuiée' she is likely to do most anything.

"Today Russia is weary, so deadly and cruelly weary and looking at you with eyes swollen with sleep, with thoughtless, lustreless eyes. The fire has died out, and only heaps of ashes remain, black and sooty. Ennui and weariness reign over the Swamp of the Forest."

The general lawlessness and cruelty of the Bolsheviki is thus described by Prof. Boris Sokolov in "Struggling Russia," December 20, 1919:

"There are still people to be found who believe in the Bolsheviki, who still think that the Bolsheviki are fighting for the interests of the workmen and the peasants and that they are eager and able to save Russia. It is true that the number of Bolshevist adherents is fast diminishing, both in Russia and abroad; it is true that the majority of the Russian peasantry have long ago found out what the Bolsheviki are and the enormity of the blunder committed by the Russian people in having permitted their accession to power.

"Nevertheless, there are still persons who continue to have faith in the Soviet rule. For these we want to offer some testimony culled from the Bolshevist press, concerning the Bolsheviki themselves, and we offer it in a spirit of fairness which will leave the readers freedom to judge as to who is right: the Bolsheviki, or the Russian people who detest and abhor their rule.

"The longer the Soviet rule lasts, the faster the number of various local Soviets and commissaries grows, and the more obnoxious their behavior towards the people becomes. Here is what the Bolshevist official press has to say about this matter:

" 'We have created extraordinary commissaries and extraordinary commissions without number. All of these are, to a lesser or greater degree only mischief-makers.' (Bulletin of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, No. 15, 1919.)

" 'The toiling population see in the squandering of money right and left by the commissaries and in their indecent loudness and profanity during their trips through the district,

the complete absence of party discipline.' (Same Bulletin, No. 12, 1919.)

"The Bolshevist Commissary of Education, Lunacharsky, according to 'Severnaya Communa' of March 23, 1919, declared recently:

" 'The upper stratum of the Soviet rule is becoming detached from the masses, and the blunders of the communist workers are becoming more and more frequent. These latter, according to statements by workmen, treat the masses in a high-handed manner and are very generous with threats and repressions.'

"Various commissaries are being caught red-handed and are charged with bribery and theft. The above-quoted Bulletin of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets said in No. 25, February 4, 1919, reports:

" 'A case has been started against the commissaries, O. K. Bogdanov and Zaitzev, accused of misappropriating part of the requisitioned gold and silver articles.' In No. 13 of this Bulletin information is given about Commissary Odintzov, a member of the peace delegation to the Ukraine, who was 'found speculating in breadstuffs.' Also, that 'members of the Extraordinary Commission, Unger and Lebedev, were found guilty of embezzlement' (same Bulletin, No. 20), etc., etc. Of course, these are all flagrant cases which have 'leaked' out. The number of cases which have been kept under cover and not brought to light, only the 'dark night'of Bolshevism alone knows.

"Let us turn now to an analysis of the present-day Soviets, their doings and inter-relations, as attested by Bolshevist publications, and in doing so we shall confine ourselves exclusively to quotations from their press.

"To begin with, the relations between one Soviet and the other and their commissaries—central and local—have become extremely confused, and up to this day are still not co-ordinated. At the congress of the Chairmen of the Provincial Soviets of National Economy, it was declared that 'the old struggles between the various Soviets have been renewed with increased vigor, and institutions duplicating the work and the authority have been set up by each of the competing groups. ('Pravda,' No. 108, May, 1919.)

" 'The struggle between the Soviets and the Committee of Factory Workers is an ordinary occurrence.' (See 'Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn,' April, 1919, No. 48.)

"But if the sphere of activity of the individual Soviets is still not clearly defined after years of existence, the general

scope of the Soviet is still less clear. They issue decrees, they conduct municipal business, they organize the Army and they issue even wine licenses (the Oriol Soviet). This variety of functions, different in each province, has led to the bureaucratization of the Soviets. Instead of general meetings of Soviets summoned several times weekly in 1917, we now see Soviet meetings only once or twice every three months.' ('Severnaya Communa'—see also report of the Soviet Sessions, also the Moscow 'Izvestia.' (There is usually an active business organ in existence—an Executive Committee (*Ispolkom*) consisting of from 10 to 30 persons, depending upon the size of the city or district in which elections are being held by the general meeting of the Soviets. The lack of local active workers and other causes have brought about a system of filling in a part of the more responsible posts on the local Executive Committees with persons from the centres, by appointment, and these must receive only the sanction of the local general meeting. Having thus become transformed into bureaucratic institutions, the Soviets have acquired all the vices of such institutions.

" 'Such a wholesale loafing as is taking place in our Soviet institutions and such a tremendous number of officials the history of the world has never known and does not know! All the Soviet papers have written about it and we have felt it on our backs, too.' So wrote the Bolshevik, Monastyrev in the 'Pravda,' No. 105, May 14, 1919.

"Accuracy in money matters is in a particularly lame condition. The State Control Revision of Soviet Institutions has shown the state of accounting in Bolshevist Russia to be in a very unsatisfactory condition.

" 'Lack of system and of financial accounting is a general condition among the Bolshevist Provincial Soviets.' (Bulletin No. 100, March, 1919, Central Executive Committee.)

" 'In the Executive Committee of the Buslayiev borough there is so much disorder that it is hard to make head or tail of it, and the only thing that gets on anywhere there is 'pull' and 'protection.' (No. 56, Golos Truvoho Krestianstva, 1919.)

"The condition in the central institutions is not a bit better. Here is an extract from the report of the Bolshevik, Nemensky, on the audit of the Zentrotekstil (the central Soviet commission in charge of all textile factories consisting almost entirely of Bolsheviki), which appeared in the 'Sovietskaya Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn,' No. 43, February 25, 1919:

" 'The Finance Credit Division of the Zentrotekstil received up to February 1, 1919, 3,400,000,000 roubles. There was no control of the expenditure of moneys. Money was advanced to factories immediately upon demand and there were cases when money was forwarded to factories which did not exist. From July 1st to December 31, 1918, the Zentrotekstil advanced on account of products to be received 1,348,619,000 roubles. The value of the goods securing these advances received up to January 1st, 1919, was only 143,716,000 roubles. The Zentrotekstil's negligent way of doing business may be particularly observed from the way it purchased supplies of raw wool. Up to January 1st, 1919, only 129,803 poods of wool was acquired, whereas the annual requirement is figured at 3,500,000 poods.'

"This Nemensky ascribes these faults to the slothfulness and poor management of the affairs of the Zentrotekstil, and states that it has become a thoroughly bureaucratic institution: 'The tremendous staff of officials (about 6,000 persons) are in the majority of cases doing nothing useful. It appears that there were on the pay-roll of this institution 125 persons who actually were not in the service at all, but who were receiving salaries. There were cases where the same persons received salaries twice for the same period. The efficiency of the officials is negligible to a striking degree.'

" 'Such Soviet institutions,' Nemensky says at the end of his report, 'are a beautiful example of deadening bureaucracy and must be liquidated.'

"If the upper rungs of the Soviet ladder are replete with such elements of dissolution, it may be superfluous to describe what the lower bodies, the provincial, county (ooyezd) and village Soviets are like. The well-known Bolshevik, Kerzhentzev, thus describes in the 'Izvestia' of the Provincial Executive Committees, of January 22, 1919, the activity of the village and borough Soviets:

" 'The facts describing the village Soviet of the Uren borough present a shocking picture which is no doubt typical of all other corners of our provincial Soviet life. The chairman of this village Soviet, Rekhalev, and his nearest co-worker have done all in their power to antagonize the population against the Soviet rule. Rekhalev himself has often been found in an intoxicated condition and he has frequently assaulted the local inhabitants. The beating-up of visitors to the Soviet office was an ordinary occurrence. In the village of Bierezovka the peasants have been thrashed not only with fists but have often been assaulted with sticks, robbed of their

footwear and cast into damp cellars, on bare earthen floors. The members of the Varnavinsk *Ispolkom* (Executive Committee), Glakhov, Morev, Makhov and others have gone even further. They have organized 'requisition parties' which were nothing else but organized pillagings, in the course of which they have used wire-wrapped sticks on the recalcitrants. The abundant testimony, verified by the Soviet Commission, portrays a very striking picture of violence. When these members of the Executive Committee arrived at the township of Sadomovo they commenced to assault the population and to rob them of foodstuffs and of their household belongings, such as quilts, clothing, harness, etc. No receipts for the requisitioned goods were given and no money paid. They even resold to others on the spot some of the breadstuffs which they had requisitioned.'

"The Bolshevik, Latzis, reported indignantly in the 'Izvestia' of January 15, 1919, that 'in the Velizsh county (ooyezd) of the Province of Vitebsk they are flogging the peasants by the authority of the local Soviet committee.'

"All these phenomena are multiplying lately. The Bolshevik, Krivoshayev, remarks sadly in the 'Severnaya Communa' of May 10, 1919, No. 102:

" 'The Soviet workers are taking from the peasants chickens, geese, bread and butter without paying for them. In some households of these poverty-stricken folk they are confiscating even the pillows and the samovars and everything they can lay their hands on. The peasants naturally feel very bitter towards the Soviet rule.'

"The peasants' borough meetings of the Province of Kostroma forwarded a resolution to Lenin, which was published in the 'Izvestia,' No. 15, 1919, in which they say, among other things:

" 'The members of the Soviets are ruining us, they are violating our will and are tantalizing us as if we were dumb cattle.'

"The absence of idealism and principles among the communist members of the Soviets is pointed to frequently in the press. Thus, the 'Izvestia' of the Provincial Executive Committee states that co-workers of Soviet institutions are taking an active part in speculation. All the efforts of the higher Soviet authorities to combat speculation are without effect and only confirm the faith of the Soviet speculators in their own immunity.

"The Bolshevik, Sosnovsky, in a report on the Tver Province, in the 'Izvestia' of the Provincial Soviets, No. 98, March 9, 1919, wrote:

" 'The local communist Soviet workers behave themselves, with rare exceptions, in a disgusting manner. Misuse of power is going on constantly.'

"This lack of principles is reflected in the mode of living of these Soviet commissaries. We find this described in No. 12, January 18, 1919, of the 'Izvestia,' of the Provincial Soviets, as follows:

" 'The commissaries were going through the Tzaritzin county in sumptuous carriages, driven by three and often by six horses. A great array of adjutants, and a large suite accompanied these commissaries and an imposing number of trunks followed along. They made exhorbitant demands upon the toiling population, coupled with assaults and brutality. Their way of squandering money right and left is particularly characteristic. In some houses the commissaries gambled away and spent on intoxicants large sums. The hard-working population looked upon these orgies as upon complete demoralization and failure of duty to the world-revolution.' "

It is impossible to describe the present state of Russia. It is a land of despotism, destruction, and despair. At a fearful cost to humanity, Godless Socialism has there exhibited its concrete workings. And yet men of our beloved Country are asked to endorse such a crime, and the Socialist Party by the law of its referendum is affiliated to the Russian Internationale.

It is not unreasonable or subversive of human liberty, therefore, to exclude from public office men who belong to a party that by its referendum affiliates itself to the Internationale of Moscow, and who spit on our flag, and aim to overthrow our Government. No man who accepts the Socialist principles is fit to hold any office. It is not merely their attitude toward the last war that stands against the Socialists. It is their attitude toward all our institutions. They proclaim that they would oppose all wars, save a war to bring about the dictatorship of the proletariat. They oppose the right of private ownership, which is necessary for social order. They oppose the family, and they favor immoral birth-control. And they plot with a foreign foe, a foe not alone of our Country but of all countries. I formerly believed that it would be well to allow the Socialists entry into our public offices, but a closer study of their principles and acts has convinced me that the State must save itself from their poison. It is a well-known fact that the Catholic Church publishes a list of prohibited books, that is, of books subversive of belief in God

or subversive of morality, or subversive of obedience to lawful authority. The Church also authorized the imprisonment of men who teach such doctrine. The State has the same right to protect public order and morality. The Socialists are not railroaded to prison or to deportation. They are given a fair trial, and if that trial reveals that they are guilty of a crime against the State they should be disbarred from office. The Socialists are regarded by all right-minded men as inimical to the fundamental principles of Christianity Mr. Peter Collins testified before the Assembly Judiciary Committee, in 1920, that Morris Hillquit, chief counsel for the defense had declared publicly that "99 per cent. of all Socialists who know what Socialism is, are atheists or agnostics, but we can not go before the public with that declaration."

It seems illogical to connect the famous trial of the Socialists with any danger that might impend the Catholic Church. The principles of the Socialists are not merely condemned by the majority of the New York Assembly. The aforesaid principles are condemned by the conscience of humanity. They are condemned by the head of the Catholic Church itself. The New York Assembly is not making an arbitrary law.

Now the Catholic Church advocates no principles which could by any stretch of the imagination expose her to a similar prosecution. The more the principles of the Catholic Church are known the more will they be honored. There is no individual or no corporation which may not falsely be charged with a crime. But it is a strange argument to inveigh against the prosecution of a real criminal, for fear that a similar prosecution might falsely be instituted against an innocent party. The Catholic Church stands in no such danger, and needs no such defense.

There is nothing good in Socialism. It aims to destroy all that is good in human life. Its so-called ideals are impossible and dishonest. They are a mere camouflage to hide the deformity of the concrete monster. Eugene V. Debs is an exponent of real Socialism. In a speech produced as evidence in the trial of the five Socialists in New York, Debs declared that "Lenin and Trotzky are the greatest statesmen in the modern world, to whom I pay my tribute of love." Continuing in the same speech, Debs declares:

"I am opposed to the system under which we live; I am opposed to its government, that compels the great majority to pay tribute to the insignificant few. I am going to speak to you as a Socialist, a revolutionist, a Bolshevist, if

you please. For the first time in history the worker stand erect and begins to shake off the manacles.

"With every drop in my veins I despise their laws and I defy them. I am appealing to you, the plain people. I do not care anything about the Supreme Court, be-gowned, be-whiskered, be-spectacled old fossils, corporation lawyers all of them. They did not dare to declare the espionage law unconstitutional. That law, do I respect it? No! How fine to do as Wendell Phillips said: 'When they pass a law like that put it under your feet!' "

One of the defendants in the aforesaid trial, Louis Waldmann, made the following statement on the floor of the Socialist convention in Chicago in 1919:

"If I knew we could sway the boys after they get guns to use them against the capitalistic class, I would vote in favor of universal military training."

This same Waldmann also uttered the following in a political speech:

"We must elect between two alternatives," Waldmann said. "Either Russia lives and conquers the world, or the ideas of Gary, of Wilson, of Palmer, of Lloyd George and Clemenceau are to conquer the world.

"Between the two, for my part and for the part of thousands of Socialists, we choose to stand by the ideas, philosophy, program and principles of Lenin and Trotzky as those we approve."

The Socialists of our Country are a traitorous organization in league with a foreign power to overthrow the United States.

THE CREED OF THE I. W. W.

"I do solemnly swear that I hold in contempt all institutions of Capitalism, including ecclesiastical and secular; and its laws, its flag, its courts, its codes, its churches and its religions; that I will obey all summons and commands of the elected officials of this order, under penalty of death, and spare neither my time, effort or money to obey, even to the last drop of my blood.

"From the crown of my head to the soles of my feet I am Bolshevik! The day of the people has come!"—Eugene V. Debs, one of the founders of the I. W. W.

Robert Hunter (Socialist) says: "The Ballot is a means The Strike is a means. The Bullet is a means . . To the man, or class, who knows how to use the Ballot, the Strike and the Bullet, victory is near."

Victor Berger, the convicted Socialist Congressman, says: "The safety and hope of this country will finally lie in one direction only—that of a violent and bloody revolution. Therefore, I say, each of the 500,000 Socialist voters and of the two million workingmen who instinctively incline our way, should have a good rifle and the necessary rounds of ammunition in his home and be prepared to back up his ballot with his bullet."

H. M. Hyndman, another Red, says: "Chemistry has placed at the disposal of the desperate and the needy cheap and powerful explosives, the full effect of which are as yet unknown. Every day adds new discoveries in this field; the dynamite of ideas is accompanied in the background by the dynamite of material force. These modern explosives may easily prove to capitalism what gunpowder was to feudalism."

Nicolai Lenin, Minister of the Bolshevik Government at Moscow, says:

"The first Bolshevik aim is to drive the American and Japanese from Siberia."

"Revolution and not representation is the Bolshevik program of reform."

"The Bolshevik seek to overthrow all land owners and capitalists.

"They propose to organize world workers, AMERICA INCLUDED, in a single fraternity or union."

"Bolshevism will CRUSH ALL RESISTANCE by force if necessary."

A Red wrote in the New York Call: "When the red flag flies above our homes and our nation, we shall honor it and love it, but until it does, we refuse to recognize or respect any flag, which is merely a symbol of and protects some national section of international capitalism. Down with the Stars and Stripes; run up the red flag of humanity."

SEIZE RED AGENT ON WAY TO START REVOLT IN U. S.

By cable to The Milwaukee Sentinel from The Associated Press, February, 1920:

London—An inflammatory document of the most important character has been seized on the person of a Bolshevik agent arrested here on the way to the United States, it was learned on Monday.

The document consists of a letter addressed "To Our American Comrades," and signed by M. Bucharin, president of the third internationale of Moscow, declaring the time

to be ripe for the operation of a communist party in the United States.

The program given in the communication is: First, the establishment of a government of workers' soviets; secondly, the overthrow of the capitalists and the management of the factories by the workers; third, the seizure by the workers of the food supply organization.

On Sunday, February 15, 1920, at a Socialist meeting at the North Side Auditorium, Milwaukee, Wis., A. W. Richter representative Socialist, declared:

"The workers of America must Bolshevize the United States. Bolshevism is not the terrible thing it has been depicted. It is the new truth which will sweep the world, bringing destruction to the capitalist system."

WORKERS MUST ACT

"Whatever is done for the working class must be done by the workers themselves," declared Under Sheriff Kryzcki. "They can never hope for anything from a government that is nothing more than a puppet of the capitalist class."

Gregory Zilboorg, Russian Bolshevist, also spoke:

"I fear the American Socialists do not understand the conditions in Russia," Mr. Zilboorg said. "If you did you would not listen here with smiles on your faces. Signs of starvation are on every countenance. Only enthusiasm for an ideal sustains them.

"Lenin knew he would be compelled to shoot some workmen, as he did in Petrograd. He knew that some must be sacrificed. They are willing to suffer and destroy their own country for one idea. Russia may have to give up the last sources of economic wealth, the railroads, and the coal mines. Russia knows that suffering is still ahead.

"It may not be considered practical to tell Socialists these things, but I tell them because I did not come from Fifth Ave., but from the dark and bloody streets of Moscow."

Richter said: "The reason America fights the Russians is that the germ born there is certain to overrun the world and overthrow every civilized government. You must force your government to stop. The working class must Bolshevize the United States. Let us not be afraid of the issue. Spread the truth, speed the message of Lenin and Trotzky. Wilson and congress are the puppets of a dying civilization."

Let us not be deceived touching the nature of Socialism It is rebellion against religion and the State. It is a malignant growth that has developed out of unbelief and the love of

riches. Our defense against it is weakened by the consciousness of our unbelief, and our love of the world. Socialism is nothing but a crude, wild, lawless, manifestation of that same materialism that in a more refined form has seized upon the owners of wealth. Its heartless, diabolical purpose to wreck the world fills us with righteous indignation. We must resist it, but in our defense of civilization we are put to shame by the wrongs that civilization has wrought, and which has made Socialism possible. In endeavoring to reconcile Capital and Labor we must apply the ethics of Christ to a world which in great part believes not in Christ. If we abandon faith, and consider man as a fortuitous product of the process of "the survival of the fittest," by what argument can we convince the Socialist that he is not the fittest, and that he should not struggle to destroy his competitors? Socialism feeds on unbelief as its indispensable food. Society by its unbelief and its worldliness has generated the monster which now threatens destruction to the whole social organization.

Just before leaving Paris for London to act as one of the advisers to Premier Millerand, Gen. Weygand, chief of staff for Marshal Foch, gave a statement reflecting the artitude of Foch and himself toward any move which might arise at London looking to making peace with Soviet Russia.

The French government on Thursday was in accord with the attitude expressed by Gen. Weygand.

"Bolshevism is an atrocious system," he said. "It is tyranny ten times worse than that of the czar. You may say that I am implacably against this awful anarchy.

"I hear now that certain people are wishing to conclude an accord with Lenin, and I am astonished. Not only is it a shameful thing to make a compact with crime, but, also, it is foolish to think that the soviets intend to sign real peace, rather than a mere sham.

"People may see that economic and political reasons call for a conciliatory policy with regard to the soviets.

"Well, I am not a political leader. I am not a political man at all and do not understand politics. But I am a soldier and as a soldier I see that Bolshevism constitutes a grave military danger to my country. That is enough for me.

"The opinion of the French general staff is unanimous on this point. I have the same ideas as Marshal Foch, and my colleagues are all of the same opinion as to Bolshevism.

"Naturally, when we speak of opposing Bolshevism we do not intend to send a French military contingent to Russia.

The French already have fought too much to undertake a new military campaign now. We cannot afford a new war. Such an idea has never been entertained. But we can help the peoples struggling against anarchy with our advice and material assistance.

"The government of the Soviets cannot be considered a real government on which the allies may rely. The best thing they can do is to ignore the government of Lenin, which is against all law and order. No French officer would favor taking up relations with the government of Russia as it exists today."

In the trial of the Socialist assemblymen-elect at Albany it was established as evidence that Claessens and Waldman had signed the following pledge:

"I, being over 18 years of age, hereby pledge myself against enlistment as a volunteer for any military or naval service in international war, offensive or defensive, and against giving my approval to such enlistment on the part of others."

The whole civilized world deprecates war. We may go further and declare that we regret that the present Administration did not find a way to save the rights and honor of the United States save by our entry into the World War; but to declare that a man pledges himself not to defend his country in any war, and that he pledges himself to withhold his approval of the enlistment of others in such a cause is treason.

It is the belief of many that Socialism will decline in the United States. A. M. Simons, a foremost Socialist writer, expresses this opinion:

"There is a familiar and sonorous sounding Latin saying, that an American doughboy would probably translate as, "It's easy to go to hell after you get started," which accurately describe the career of the Socialist party.

"It lacks but a few months of twenty years since a group of devoted enthusiasts met in Indianapolis to organize that party. A photograph of the delegates to that convention hangs before me. They are overwhelmingly of American birth. They were so for the next two quadrennial conventions. They had met to form a Socialist party that should be American in its appeal. In the convention of 1908 a platform committee of at least a dozen members boasted a majority qualified for membership in the Sons of the American Revolution.

"The descent into the Avernus of anti-Americanism took definite form in a special convention of 1910, when foreign

language federations were created that soon grew more powerful than the 'American federation.' Soon the literature, which had been more prolific of native fruit in the first eight years of this century than in all the years before and since, took on a foreign tinge.

"A prominent Russian Jewish Socialist, is quoted as saying: 'They, the Socialists, know all about the Mir,' he would say, 'but they never heard of a town meeting. They can describe every faction in Russian politics, but know only Tammany and the Socialist party in the United States. They can tell all about remote villages in Siberia, but are hopelessly ignorant of the great rural and small town democracy that dominates America.' "

. . . . .

"The East side of New York constantly boasts itself the most cultured section of America. But it has only mistaken sophistication for information. Fundamentally it is most hopelessly ignorant of all the essential features of American life. Its orators can quote Ibsen, Ghorky, Dostieovsky and Tolstoi, but any crackerbox philosopher around a stove in a cross-roads grocery knows infinitely more of the forces that move American life.

"Under these influences the Socialist party started on its downward road. Mistaking anti-nationalism for internationalism, and pro-Europeanism for broad humanitarianism, it fell a cheap and easy prey to pro-German propaganda. The rest of the story is so recent and familiar that it needs only recalling to point the moral and prove the conclusion.

"The St. Louis platform was the logical result, and the recent adherence to the Moscow Third International, the inevitable conclusion of such a movement.

"The Socialist party of America in attaching itself to this decadent frenzy, has finished its descent into hades. No person who loves freedom, seeks progress, fights for labor, or wishes a better world, can longer have any interest in its actions save to bury it."

Socialism is treason against the State, and as such should be restrained. The profession of being a Socialist is not held to be a crime against society—the moral law is more comprehensive than the statutes of human law—but when Socialists give utterance to treasonable declarations, and attack the peace and order of the State, it is good statesmanship to disqualify them to hold any public office, and to punish them further if the evidence warrant.

The injustice of the World War greatly strengthened Socialism. There is no honest argument that men can offer to justify the spirit which originated and prolonged the World War. Our entrance into it was the most unjustifiable of all its features. The following denunciation of the war by Senator La Follette is true:

"Gradually it is being brought home to a God-fearing, patient people that war was fomented and has been made the opportunity for gross exactions from the masses to feed fat the avaricious few; that these cruel oppressors of the people organized a propaganda through the press, the movies, the war associations, the censorship of the press, and speech, to cover their nefarious schemes.

"Gradually the people are beginning to realize that congress has been either a willing or unwilling party to the greatest frauds of the century. The people are beginning to see that war was organized and planned in secret, to serve commercial and imperialistic purposes, long before it broke on an unsuspecting world."

When the perspective of time shall permit the true history of the World War to be written, it will declare that the great economic development of Germany by which it became a dangerous competitor of England, the mad ambition of the war party in Germany, and the national aspirations of the Slavic people caused the aforesaid war. But the entrance of the United States into the war is not directly dependent on these causes. The industrial competition of England and Germany was not felt by the United States. The industrial genius of the United States was so mighty that it seemed unconscious of opposing forces. We may well regret that materialistic pursuits absorb so much of our nation's vitality, but in the chronicling of historical events we must state what we believe true.

In the early stages of the war, our bankers and our merchants followed the natural course of trade, and profited by the increased demands of foreign countries. Many things which cannot here be presented, made England the favored nation in this commerce and interchange of ideas.

It was interference with our commerce that first aroused the war spirit in the United States. England's interference with our commerce brought forth many protests, but her aggression was not against the life of our peaceful citizens. Germany, not being powerful enough to oppose England in open naval warfare, employed the submarine. This was her fatal error. The torpedoing of the Lusitania operated like

the blowing up of the Maine. The sentiment of our whole nation was aroused and uncontrollable. What followed is the most terrible event in human history.

To save humanity the "Peace of Versailles" must be revised. It is being revised, and we have hope that justice and truth may prevail over injustice and hatred.

Materialism

THE CAUSE OF SOCIAL UNREST

It must be borne in mind that in the conflict of Capital and Labor, it is not a conflict between virtuous Labor and unchristian Capital. Both Capital and Labor are in the larger part spiritually unregenerate. Their evil deeds are often specifically different, but the deeds spring from the same principles. The Capitalist often abuses his stewardship of his wealth and the workman abuses his stewardship of his labor. Both have departed from the Christian ideal. The call to return to Christ must be directed to both sides. That call must be based on justice and love. It is the voice of Christ through Christ's Church. All are called, but few follow the call, and consequently few are chosen.

Oppressive Capitalism and Socialism are but two contrary currents in the same Materialistic Sea. The viewpoint of the major part of humanity is defective. Men seek happiness and peace in an adjustment in the elements of Mammon's following. It is laudible to seek a better distribution of temporal goods, but if the importance given to this obscure the great supernatural end of man's life; or if the methods counseled put the body's interests above the soul's interests, the movement leads to man's ruin.

Some Catholic Sociologists declare that the Christianization of the social order would abolish capitalism as we have it today. This principle is true, but it is greatly abused. The Christianization of the social order would abolish all worldliness, all avarice, all injustice, all selfishness, all human imperfection. The Christianization of the social order is not an essential impossibility; men ought, with prudence as their guide, to strive for it. But the Christianization of the entire social order is an historical impossibility. It shall only have place in Heaven. Man's free will and the weakness of his unregenerate nature shall always hinder it here. The worst feature of Socialism is this very snare. It contemplates an impossible unregenerate ideal man. If therefore we attempt to substitute for existing institutions, a plan of human life and relations based on the idealistic view of a perfect man, we shall injure the cause of humanity. Restraint is removed

from the evil elements of society and crime would more abound, man would not exert the necessary energy for society that he now is urged to put forth by private incentive. Industry and all human progress would languish and decay. This principle is thus enunciated by Mr. Benedict Elder ("A Study in Socialism," pp. 235,236.):

"In the light of these observations the tactical proposals of the Socialist politics are seen in their true character. Considered apart from the elemental traits of human nature, they are mere creatures of fancy; considered in connection with those traits, they contradict all reason and all experience. Give man all the property he wants, let him love or lust as he lists, take away from him all fear of God and all restraint of authority, and his inherent propensities will urge him headlong to destruction. Freedom from all restraint means destruction for any finite being. Absolute liberty in effect is as fatal as absolute prohibition. Restraint is the law of progressive growth and the condition of advancing civilization. It is at once a requisite to individual security and a perquisite to social stability.

"The source of restraint on human impulses and human action are the will of God, the laws of nature, and the ordinances of society. The recognition and observance of these are necessary for the preservation of the human race. Socialist proposals do not meet this necessity. In keeping with Socialist principles they cannot be made to meet it. For those principles deny God, they hold the ordinances of society to be unwarranted and unjust, and they regard the laws of nature as fluid instead of fixed and a hindrance to man only because of his ignorance, fear, and abasement, induced through the artificial restraints imposed by religion, the family, and the State.

"Therefore, the Socialist politic to revolutionize society to the point where there will be 'not a government of *persons* but an administration of *things*,' appears as a menace to human welfare, threatening the permanence of society, making for the destruction of civilization, if not of the human race."

Miss Maude D. Petre of England, was a Volunteer Red Cross worker during the war. She is classed as a Radical. The "Literary Digest," Oct. 19, 1918, presents a few valuable extracts from her book, "Democracy of The Cross Roads":

"The seat of power might be shifted without any one of its vices being eliminated, and we might have new rulers with all the faults and ambitions minus the training and experience of the old ones."

"After the war we are going to have a workingman's world," said one of Miss Petre's soldier patients in the Red-Cross hospital in which the lady philosopher was working during the war, and this remark was the genesis of her book. Commenting on her patient's remark, Miss Petre says:

"To his uneducated mind the proper return to the people for the hardships they have endured would be a world in which they could make everything good for themselves at the expense of others. If such a spirit were to prevail, then the world might become safe for democracy, but democracy would certainly not be safe for the world.

"A democratic country is not in itself more disinterested than an aristocratic or even an autocratic form of political life. Can any one honestly maintain that the working classes of the people in general are at present manifesting more disinterestedness than the privileged classes against whom they are tilting?

"More money, less work—that is a good program, but it is not a program of human love and fellowship, nor is it necessarily a program of moral betterment."

The writer maintains that in these times we have fallen under the fetishism of mere words.

"Democracy is, in itself, neither the ruin nor the salvation of a land; it is a means, not an end. It abolishes selfish privilege, it diffuses the goods of life among all, it fashions a wider and fuller society; but then the further task begins of leading men on to a nobler use of the advantages they have obtained.

"If the autocratic system of government, which is so largely responsible for the present world-tragedy, has been tried and found wanting to the call of humanity, we must not deceive ourselves with the notion that democracy can be trusted without training or probation. It is the system of values that must be changed, and not the method of their distribution.

"It is not a question of how much money each man should have, but of what part money should fulfil in human society. If this should be the last great war, there is yet a task before society as mighty and as important as the abolition of militarism, and that is the the abolition of unbridled commercialism."

She remarks that reformers and dreamers seem to think that the poor as such are essentially noble, and assures us that this is a fallacy:

"Human nature is not in itself the noblest creation imaginable. The poor are no whit better than the rich, for

material poverty has no essential connection with the poverty of spirit. . . Two things must be wished for the rising democracy. First, a sense of responsibility; secondly, a power of self-criticism. Let the leaders of labor have done with the faults of others and begin seriously on their own. Let them realize that it is now up to them to make the world and their own country as safe in the arms of democracy as democracy is to be safe in the coming world."

Teaching the present unchristian strife between Capital and Labor, Monsignor Lemonnier, Bishop of Bayeux, says:

"The revolutionary turn of the labor agitation has originated in the neglect of Catholic doctrines, for which are substituted the principles of an anti-Christian philosophy. Whenever employers and workers cease to be inspired by the Christian doctrines of the Divine Fatherhood, of the immortality of the soul, of the life to come, and of charity which binds all men together—which form the basis of human brotherhood—all then become engrossed in mere earthly pursuits, and the enjoyment of earthly possessions being their sole end, violence is the only means to obtain them."

The "Review of Reviews" (Nov., 1919), reproduces extracts from a leading article on the Italian labor upheaval:

"The lessons to be learned from the failure of the recently attempted general strike in Italy are the theme of an article in *Rassegna Nazionale* by Signor R. Palmarocchi. At the outset, he notes that the enterprise was doomed to failure because of the unsympathetic attitude of the English and French workers, who disappointed the hopes and expectations of their Italian brethren.

"The writer finds their inaction entirely justifiable, for the aim of the extremists who urged French participation in the Italian movement was to precipitate, in conjunction with the Russian and Hungarian radicals, first a general strike, and then a revolution leading to a dictatorship of the proletariat, such as had been established in Russia and Hungary.

"While the Italian writer's sympathies are strongly with the proletariat, he nevertheless emphatically declares that the great mass of the workers were altogether in the right in refusing to pursue such a policy, for even the best Russian and Hungarian opinion sustains the view that nothing is better calculated to delay, or nullify, the realization of progressive reforms than is the employment of violent means for their attainment.

"Moreover, apart from the theoretical merits of the case, Signor Palmarocchi does not believe that it would be possible

to transplant Soviet government to Italian soil. The Italian soul differs too radically from the Russian soul, and there is no resemblance between the Russian *moujik* and the Italian *contadino*. This difference extends to all the strata of society.

"It would indeed be possible to realize one phase of the Russian movement, namely a dictatorship of the proletariat, which the Russian seeks to justify by declaring it to be merely a transitory phase, a means and not an end. But this is a delusion. All dictatorships begin in this way, but in a brief time they proclaim themselves to be finalities, and although it is quite true that a reaction is sure to set in before long, hardly anyone would be bold enough to favor a new form of government simply because it was sure to eventuate in a successful counter-revolution.

"How inconsistent the performances of the Bolshevist rulers in Russia are with their professions is shown by the fact that as soon as their rule was fairly established they revived, with but slight modifications, most of the institutions of the old regime. The same thing would occur elsewhere, for any party which gains control of a nation becomes the inheritor of the century-old traditions of that nation. This constitutes a dilemma that the occidental socialists apparently fail to grasp. If the principle of authority is always wrong, whatever government may invoke it, and we are to expect the advent of an ideal political regime that has never yet been founded, then this ideal regime should oppose the absolutism of the working class just as energetically as it does the domination of the capitalistic class."

"The writer suggests that this dilemma can only be escaped by a frank declaration on the part of the extremists that their aim is to secure for their class the possession and management of the national wealth that is now held by another class. But in this case the proletariat simply appeals to the principle of force: and the opposing classes have a right to appeal to the same principle. It would be idle to invoke justice and right when the struggle is merely one between opposing interests.

"All these contradictions arise from an abandonment of the principles of Christianity, from supplanting it by a creed that teaches only the satisfaction of material cravings. All governments that are founded in self-interest alone and not in justice, on utilitarianism and not on moral principles, are sure to degenerate into absolutism, whether aristocratic, capitalistic, or proletarian. We are still too much under the influence of the war spirit, and just as we yielded a short

time since to the illusion that all the national problems could be solved by a military victory, so we now think that social questions can be solved by the violent substitution of the rule of one class for that of another."

This is the cold cynical reasoning of a man who recognizes that society is not Christian. In such a society existing institutions, even though weakened by materialism, are better than the chaos and disorder of the still more brutal materialism of Socialism.

Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia College (1920), in his annual report to the trustees thus denounces the paganism which Protestantism has created:

"Ancient Athens was wholly given to idolatry, but in the modern case there are as many idols as there are idol worshippers, and every such worshipper finds his idol in the looking glass. Man has tended, during the last two or three centuries during which the world has been in a state of intellectual upheaval, to become an extreme egotist, feeling superior to all that has gone before, and without faith in anything that lies beyond.

"The time has come once again to repeat and to expound in thunderous tones the noble sermon of St. Paul at Mars hill, and to declare to these modern idolators: 'Whom, therefore, ye ignorantly worship, him I declare unto you.'

"These millions of man-made gods, these myriads of personal idols, must be broken up and destroyed, and the heart and mind of man brought back to a comprehension of the real meaning of faith and its place in life. This cannot be done by exhortation or by preaching alone. It must be done also by teaching; careful, systematic, rational teaching, that will show in a simple language which the uninstructed can understand what are the essentials of a permanent and lofty morality, of a stable and just social order, and of a secure and sublime faith.

"The ruling passion just now is not to know and to understand, but to get ahead, to overturn something, to apply in ways that bring material advantage some bit of information or some acquired skill. Both school and college have in large part taken their minds off the true business of education, which is to prepare youth to live, and have fixed upon them something which is very subordinate, namely, how to prepare youth to make a living.

"It is significant, too, that in this period of vigorous and able-bodied reaction the world should be without a poet, without a philosopher and without a notable religious leader.

The great voices of the spirit are all stilled just now, while the mad passion for gain and for power endeavors to gratify itself through the odd device of destroying what has already been gained or accomplished."

The *Public Ledger* of Philadelphia, Pa., on April 19, 1920, published a plea for higher salaries for Protestant preachers. It is not our intention to endorse this plea. Protestant preachers are not religious teachers. They have no rightful commission to teach religion. Most of them devote their time to fads and fallacies. They are the drones of a system which uses the church as a focus of worldly social life. The church that they serve—not lead—is important in a pagan world. The Neo-pagan materialism of the system to which they have long servilely pandered in thus stated:

"In our fatuous worship of materialism, our fat and complacent prosperity, we have turned a contemptuous eye on the twin pillars of national stability and power from the beginning of time—Religion and Education. Having set up the dollar mark as the final test of the value we put on everything, we show our disdain for the ministers of religion and the masters of education by underpaying them. We have classed religion and education as poor relations." . . . "These things are visible signs of a departure from the religion of the Carpenter's Son, to a religion of luxury. We have turned from sacrifice, discipline, and the spiritual to greed, indulgence, ostentation, and the crudely material." . . .

"History tells whither this path leads—class war, anarchy, and massacre have sealed the graves of nations which worshipped at the altars of gross indulgence. The consequence is that we have as a people a greatly lessened moral fibre and mental hardness with which to withstand the nostrums of revolution." . . .

"Bolshevism could do nothing against the schoolhouse and the Church if the masses had been taught to seek leaders in both. But an 'ism' is likely to make amazing headway through a community which knows no test save success, no good save money, no purpose in life save leaping to the shoulders of the man in front of one.

"The American Republic is not made to be run without Religion and Education as its leading features; and any effort to do it—any relegation of the representatives of these two fundamental factors to a position of inferiority and contempt—will expose our nation most perilously to the assaults of new theories which could not last an hour if required to measure up to the morals or the mental requirements of the fathers."

Shall we say therefore that Christian civilization have failed, and that some other system must be tried? God forbid! The defects in Christian civilization result not from inherent weakness of the system but from man's departure from it. Its defects are revealed by comparing the actual state of Society with the ideal Christianity. The Christian law is absolutely perfect. It sets up a perfect ideal, but not an impossible ideal. It is not a mere law of conduct, but it is a living force infusing into the souls of men a divine power to attain the ideal to which it invites. It never totally fails. In vast numbers it attains a notable degree of perfection. It does not fail totally even in those who reject it.

"Christian nations may seem to cynical observation to be little controlled by their code, and individuals in the nations may be non-religious, but no person in a Christian nation and no such nation escapes the influence of inherited ideas and traditions, manners and habits of action and thought which have Christian origin. If these influences could be destroyed a totally different manner of life would result and a manner which we know would be more materialistic, more animal and less exalted than Christian life."

The salvation of the world lies in Christianity alone. There is but one Redeemer. The prodigal son found peace only by returning home. Let us go home.

Japan sent a special commission to the United States to study the influence of Christianity on the lives of the American people. The Commission reported in 1919, that "While education, commerce, and industry have been developed to a wonderful degree, there is little evidence that the Christian religion is regarded as important by most of the people."

The indictment is true but it does not mean that Christianity has failed. Christianity is doing what it was commissioned to do, announce salvation to all, point a sure way, preach that Christ died for all, and gather the chosen few out of the universality who are called. No electric force will affect an insulated conductor: worldliness insulates our souls.

By their internationalism the Labor Unions of the world are influenced by the principles which direct the action of the various Labor Unions of the world. The solidarity aimed at by the aforesaid internationalism will infect the more conservative element with the radicalism which is troubling the modern world. There would be little industrial unrest in our Country today were it not for men of foreign birth, who abuse their liberty and their prosperity like the proverbial beggar on horseback.

The Labor Unions of many countries are dominated by the unjust and impossible theories of Socialism.

In Russia the Labor Unions have not a free existence, but are held in a cruel despotism by the armed satellites of Trotzky and Lenin.

On Feb. 29, 1920, the official organ of the Russian Communist Party published sixteen theses on the question of Labor Unions. The author of the theses is Zinoviev, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Third International, President of the Petrograd Soviet, and a leading member of the Central Soviet Government. The theses which we reproduce here are a translation by Dr. Savronsky for the "New York Times":

THESIS I.

WHAT IS A TRADE UNION?

"In order to clarify the question of the mutual relations between the party and the trade unions, it is first necessary to give a precise definition of 'trade union.'

"From the point of view of revolutionary Marxism, a trade union is by no means merely an organization of workers 'with the aim of maintaining and increasing their wages' (the definition given by Mr. and Mrs. Webb), or a society of workers 'aiming to give assistance to its members during unemployment and to defend their interests when entering into a contract with the employer' (the definition given by Brentano and Sombart). Bolshevism has never agreed with the formula of the Second International defining the trade union as a 'permanent union of hired labor of a certain occupation in order to improve the conditions of labor and to fight against their aggravation under the capitalistic system' (the definition of Adolf Braun, which has been supported by Legien and even by Bebel.)

"As early as 1913 Bolshevism, in its polemics against the Mensheviki, formulated its definition as follows:

"'The trade union is a permanent organization of workmen of a certain *branch of industry* (and not only of a *certain occupation*), for the special purpose of directing the economic struggle of labor, and to participate, together with the political party of the proletariat, in the emancipating struggle of the working class for the abolition of hired serfdom and for the conquest of socialism.' (See our articles in the Pravda of that time, collected in the pamphlet entitled 'The Labor Party and the Trade Unions,' published by the Petrograd Soviet in 1918.)

"It is now necessary to develop this formula. Since 1913 very considerable changes have occurred. The power has passed over to the working class. The bourgeoisie has been expropriated. In connection with this change, the tasks of the trade unions in Russia have been, of course, considerably altered. The first All-Russian Conference of Trade Unions, which took place at the beginning of 1918, passed the following resolution:

"'The October revolution, which transmitted the power to the working class and the poorest peasantry, has created quite new conditions for the activity of all labor organizations generally and also for the trade unions.'

"First of all, the trade unions at the present time do not have to consider themselves as the defenders of the workers when selling their labor. There are no more entrepreneurs in the former sense, who were powers of labor energy. The struggle against the exploitation by the middle and small employers and contractors, etc., is being carried on not only by the trade unions, but also by the whole Soviet State machinery. The trade unions under the present conditions have no necessity to accumulate strike funds, to organize strikes, etc.

"What are the actual tasks of the trade unions in Russia at this moment? The answer has been given by the resolution of the first All-Russian Conference of the trade unions, which was supported on behalf of our party: 'The point of intensity in the activity of the trade unions must at the present moment be transferred into the sphere of organizing the economic system.'

"The question, What is now a trade union in Russia? may be answered:

"The *industrial union* in Russia at the present period is a permanent organization of all workers of a certain branch of production forming one of the principal economic organized bases of the proletarian dictatorship.'

"The 'industrial union,' striving to take an energetic participation *under the direction of the Communist Party* in the whole struggle of the proletariat for the reconstruction of society on Communist principles and the abolition of classes, is transferring the intensity of its work into the sphere of the economic organization, namely:

"1. To participate in the organization of production on Communist principles through the respective sections of the Councils of National Economy ('Sovnarchos'), etc.

"2. To participate in the reconstruction of the productive forces of the country, which have been destroyed during the war and the present economic crisis.

"3. To prepare statistics concerning labor and its distribution over the whole country.

"4. To participate through the distribution committees in the organization of exchange of goods between the towns and villages.

"5. The same participation in the sphere of the accomplishment of general labor conscription.

"6. To help the food organs of the State, the food committees ('Komprod') and the consumers' communes.

"7. The same in the solution of the transport and fuel crisis.

"8. To support the work of building up the Red Army.

"9. Full, complete and devoted support of the Labor Army.

"10. In addition, likewise, the due protection of labor (according to the Labor Code) to fight against the narrow-minded, egotistical tendencies of the workmen, who, owing to their backwardness, are looking on the proletarian State in the same manner as the usual entrepreneur.

"These, for instance, must be the functions of our unions.

"The industrial unions, being practically communistic schools for large numbers of the proletariat and the semi-proletariat, are becoming one of the organs of the proletarian State machinery, *while being subjected to the Soviets*, as the present historical form of the proletarian dictatorship.

"The party must in the most resolute manner oppose all attempts to diminish the power of the industrial unions, not to say to abolish them as outlived organizations; our platform has truly pointed out that 'the machinery of nationalized industry has to rely first on the industrial unions (trade unions.) However, our program indicates that the unions 'must be liberated from the guild narrow mind' in order to be able to fulfill the above-mentioned task. The attention of the party must be called to this point: Only by means of determined educational work inside the unions will the party help the unions to overcome the narrow spirit of guilds and the other negative sides of the movement.

THESIS II.

THE ORGANIZATION OF UNIONS ON AN OCCUPATIONAL BASIS OR ACCORDING TO THE BRANCHES OF PRODUCTION

"Two tendencies have been fighting in the international labor movement, namely:

"1. For the organization of trade unions on the basis of occupation.

"2. For the organization of trade unions on the basis of branches of production.

"The second principle, that of the industrial unions, is of more usefulness for the proletariat, even in the capitalistic system, as it gives immense advantages during a strike struggle; the industrial union has in its hands not only one occupation but the whole branch of production, and if it contains the greater part of a certain industry the trade union may more easily stop production entirely and compel the employer and the capitalist State to make concessions.

"Revolutionary Marxists have defended organization according to the second principle because the industrial unions may better prepare for the future task of organizing production on communistic principles. The industrial union is in a better position to review the whole machinery of production, which is impossible with division according to occupation.

"In Soviet Russia, where economic reconstruction on communistic principles has already begun, it is especially necessary to organize the unions on the industrial principle. This principle has already been adopted by the Russian movement, and it is consequently only necessary to carry it to its conclusion. There are now thirty-four All-Russian unions. The task of our movement is to integrate and to reduce the number of unions to a minimum of about twenty, for instance.

"Similarly it is radically necessary to change the name of the trade unions and to call them industrial unions."

THESIS III.

CENTRALIZATION OR DECENTRALIZATION

"There is also an old controversy in the international trade union movement on the question of centralization. The opportunists all over the world have been defending the small 'independent' unions, which are not co-ordinated at one centre and are therefore unable to fulfill the tasks of the struggle against the capitalists. The revolutionary Marxists are, on the contrary, always defending the necessity of utmost centralization.

"If the utmost centralization of the industrial unions in the capitalist countries is indispensable for the successful struggle against the employers and their capitalist Government, the utmost maximum centralization is not less necessary

in Soviet Russia, in order to enable the industrial unions to participate in the most able manner in the organization of the national economy on the All-Russia scale.

"The process of the integral centralization of the industrial unions on the All-Russian scale has already begun. It is necessary to pay more attention to this problem than before."

THESIS IV.

NATIONALIZATION OF THE TRADE UNIONS

"As early as the All-Russian Congress of the Trade Unions, which took place in January, 1918, it was stated:

"The Congress is convinced that the process which has now commenced will result inevitably in *transforming the trade unions into organs of the Socialist State,* and participation therein would be compulsory on behalf of the State (by law) for all persons engaged in a certain branch of production (occupation)."

"This conviction on the part of the Congress has proved true. The trade unions are taking up successfully, one by one, the tasks or duties of State organs. *When trade unions are mobilizing their members, when they are fastening workmen to a certain town, when they are sending labor forces from one point of Russia to another,* when they are expressing their decisive opinion in matters of tariffs, etc.—when they are decisively influencing the action of the Sovnarchos (Councils of National Economy)—they are speaking and acting as organs of the State power.

"But even because the process of nationalization of the trade unions has been developing progressively and quite normally, there is no necessity to accelerate this process by force and proclaim formally and immediately their nationalization. The Communists who are acting in the trade union movement may fully associate with the resolutions of the first and second All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions on this issue, *approaching slowly their inevitable full nationalization.*"

THESIS V.

PARTY TRADE UNIONS AND ATTRACTIONS OF EXPERTS

"The proletarian party must conceive the reasons for that conscious attitude on the question of inviting experts to personal administration (of industry), which may be found in some labor circles that are anxious lest imperceptibly the power of a hostile social class might be strengthened. The

proletarian party has to consider how to provide serious guarantees in the organization in order that this may not occur while utilizing scientific and technical experts. For this purpose it is necessary to introduce the system of Labor Commissioners attached to the experts (on railways, etc.).

"In this sphere definite problems are awaiting the trade unions. One of the first important problems to be solved by the industrial unions will be to realize the aims of our program which prescribes the utilization of 'the scientific and technical experts' left to us by inheritance from the capitalistic State, in order that the workmen may go through a long training by working by the side of these experts in conditions of common comradeship.

"*To this end the experts are admitted as members into the industrial unions according to their profession.* As the case may be, in the industrial unions must be formed special sections and sub-sections for the experts, and by and by, according as the experts make themselves acquainted with the workmen and act in agreement with them, all restrictions of their rights which were due to the transition period shall be abolished.

"In case any opposition should arise to the use of experts in the reconstruction and administration of industry, the party should oppose the utmost resistance to such tendencies as are in contradiction to the interests of the Communist construction at this period, and are not in conformity with the party program. The party is striving to put into the service of Soviet Russia all the scientific-technical energies of the country,under the strong control of the working class, as has been the case in the sphere of the Red Army.

"In addition, the party must keep in mind that, for the purpose of direction and administration of economic work, it would be easier than in the military sphere to prepare, by and by, *proletarians selected from among the mass of members of the Russian Communist Party who would be able to take the matter into their own hands.* The party has to promote the creation of a network of technical schools and lectures, in order to enable the most intelligent workmen and peasants to get the necessary training for holding the offices of technical administrators and directors of factories, mines and of Soviet economic organization generally. As we were able to create for the army hundreds of courses, we must now cover the whole country by a network of courses where Red technicals, Red engineers, Red experts and the Red administrative staff

generally are to be prepared for the direction of industry and economic organization. The most important aim of the party organization and of the Industrial unions must be to pay careful attention to every workman or peasant who manifests talents or abilities in the economic sphere and to support and encourage organizers coming from the people.

"Finally, it is necessary that the transmission of the State control (inspection of the workers and of the peasants) into the hands of the workers must be accomplished energetically and as quickly as possible."

THESIS VI.

PARTY AND SOVIETS

"The trade unions are acting by the side of the party and Soviets. In order to conceive the mutual relations between the unions and the proletarian party, it is necessary to keep in mind that in present-day Russia the Soviets are still more mass organization than the trade unions, and their functions are interlacing with some of the functions of the trade unions.

"'The eighth Conference of the Russian Communist Party has given the following definition:

"The Soviets are the State (Government) organizations of the working class and of the poorest peasantry, which are carrying on the dictatorship of the proletariat during the interval until the State has died out. The Soviets are uniting in their organizations ten of millions of workers and have to aim at uniting in their ranks the whole of the working class and the poorest peasantry. The Communist Party is the organization which joins in its ranks only the vanguard of the proletariat and the poorest peasantry, that is, that part of these classes which is consciously aiming at realization of the Communist program. The Communist Party has set before it the task of attaining the decisive influence and full leadership in all labor organizations, namely, trade unions, co-operatives, rural commissions, etc. The Communist Party is especially striving to carry out its program and its full control in the present State organization by the Soviets.'

"There is no doubt that in the future all the various kinds of labor organizations will be combined in one body. But it would be useless to discuss now the question which of the present forms (of labor organizations) will be the longest standing."

THESIS VII.

THE THEORY OF EQUAL RIGHTS

"In the Second International, even in the best part of it, the dominating opinion has been that the party on the one hand and the trade unions on the other are organizations (of the working class movement) with equal rights and of the same value, which are functioning in the capacity of contracting parties when big questions arise.

"The party has to carry on the political leadership, while the trade unions maintain the economic leadership. For instance, the German Social Democracy, with the sanction of August Bebel, accepted a resolution that in the event of its being necessary to use the general strike this only be resolved by an agreement between the central committee of the party and the general council of the trade union.

"From the point of view of Communism, this opinion cannot be admitted as true. The adherents of revolutionary Marxism have always declined this view. From the point of view of revolutionary Marxism, *the party represents the highest synthesis of all parts in the struggle of the working class for its liberation from capitalistic serfdom. The Communistic Party is connecting the political struggle dissolubly with the economical; it is guiding and directing both the economical and the political struggle.* The party is the vanguard of the whole proletariat. The party is, by the theory of Communism, lighting all the windings of the way. *The party is representing the brains of the working class.* Therefore, the work which the trade unions are performing forms only a part of the whole work of the Communist Party. There can be no more talk of any concessions to the theory of equal rights in the present period of dictatorship. The slightest deviation in this direction must be strongly and relentlessly opposed by the party."

THESIS VIII.

ON THE NEUTRALITY OF THE TRADE UNIONS

"The contemporary trade unions are not *formally* subjected to the Communist Party. All workmen and the workwomen, without distinction of party and confessed convictions, are accepted by the trade unions. Neutral workmen can enter into our trade unions. But, at the same time, the Communist collaborating in the trade unions should on no account ignore the conservative character of such neutrality. The Communists and the Communistic fractions in the trade

unions must frankly propagate Communism. *The trade unions must regard themselves as schools of Communism.* All leaders of the trade unions should incessantly point out to the workers that the enemies of Communism, in insisting on the neutrality of the unions, are defrauding the workers and should explain to them why the formerly neutral trade unions are supporting the Communist Party, recognizing the proletarian dictatorship, the Soviet power and the world revolution. The Communist Party is conquering its influence in the trade unions exclusively by its practical detail and self-denying work inside the unions and by delegating its most loyal and steady members for all the leading posts in the unions. Only such an influence, conquered in the course of long years and practical work, can be strong and steady."

THESIS XI.

FACTORY COMMITTEES AND TRADE UNIONS

"The factory committees have made a large evolution during the last few years. The part of these committees, acting in the capacity of big political concentration points before the February revolution, is known to all. In the interval between the February and October revolutions the factory committees were the first organizations which actually began to exercise control over production. After the October revolution they served as the basis for organizing and carrying out the nationalization of industry. A large number of the best workmen who entered into the administration of the nationalized undertakings and our headquarters came out from these committees.

"After the All-Russian Union of Factory Committees was abolished the role of the committees radically changed. The committees became cells of the trade unions and remained in this role until now.

"The factory committees ('fabcom') may participate in the organization of production in the same manner as the trade unions. Like the trade unions, which do not replace the Council of National Economy, but only delegate a number of their members into the representative sections of the Council of National Economy ('Sovnarchos'), so the factory committees should not replace the administration of the undertakings, but only serve as a basis for the administration.

"The factory committee has another big importance. Our party suffers from the lack of an organization machinery which would automatically draw out from the ranks of the

common members new workers for responsible offices. At the present time the party has at its disposal about 1,000 members all over Russia, whereas, now, when the struggle with the economic destruction becomes the principal task of our party, a large number of organizers had to be taken from among the common members of the party. The factory committee appears to be that cell which, in addition to the 'collective,' may form the machinery to supply thousands of workmen from the factories to fulfill various functions of economic organizing.

"For this reason the party is resolutely for retaining the factory committees *under the condition that their functions may be once more precisely determined by a special decree.* The beginning of the introduction of individual administration in industrial undertakings would not make the factory committees useless, but, on the contrary, this necessary reform would make the retaining of the committees more useful.

"It is necessary not only that the trade unions should regard the factory committees formally as their cells, but that they should organically grow together with them and control their regular renewal and their work.

THESIS XII.

Trade Unions and Compulsory Labor Duty

"The transition to compulsory labor places new problems before our trade unions.

"During the civil war and dictatorship *the trade unions were frequently compelled to force their members. The trade unions proceeded to obligatory mobilization of their members to the front, to the food detachments, etc. The trade unions assigned their members to a definite place of work, and did not permit free movement, etc.* All that was absolutely necessary to win the victory over the worst enemies of the working class. Now, beginning the resolute struggle against economic destruction, *the trade unions will be obliged, more than ever before, to use constraint,* in order to save the country from famine and cold.

"The party must resist in the most resolute way all kinds of hesitation upon this question by the trade union movement, which has been marked, since the slightest hesitation in this sphere may bring the ruin of the proletarian revolution.

"The creation of the labor army is the first serious step on the way to the introduction of general compulsory labor duty, the first step beginning by the militarization of labor.

In connection with the transition to labor armies, a return to 'trade unionism' has been marked.

"This 'trade unionism' may appear in various shapes. 'Trade unionism' finds its expression in the support of liberal 'labor' politics in the Parliaments; in the ignoring of the unskilled laborer and the cultivation of a labor aristocracy; in very high membership dues, preventing the unskilled laborer from entering the trade unions; in the propagation of illusions, such as the idea that the trade unionist struggle—without revolutionary conquest of power by the proletariat—may result in a gradual growing into socialism.

"All this characterizes the traditional expressions of trade unionist *mieschanstvo* (low-lifeness). The propaganda for 'freedom of labor' in Russia today may also be characterized as 'trade unionism.' Similar trade unionist shortsightedness would be unwillingness on the part of the unions to collaborate in carrying through energetically ('with a rod of iron') the labor conscription, since it is impossible without this to overcome the present destruction and build up Communism.

"The Russian Communist Party is deeply convinced that these hesitations are of a short-lived character, on the turning point to the new period and the new aims of the proletarian dictatorship. But where these hesitations have not been overcome, the party must immediately use its influence in this direction."

THESIS XIII.

PRINCIPAL DEFECTS IN THE PRESENT TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

"The present trade unions are carrying on a colossal work and are facilitating in the largest measure the struggle of the Communist Party in the Soviet power for socialism. But, at the same time, there are in the present transitory period many important defects in the activity of some trade unions. When, for instance, some leaders of the transport unions on the Volga are defending the narrow-minded, egotistic demands of their members with regard to wages and are not helping the Soviet power to fight against exorbitant pillage, they are showing their backwardness and inability to rise above their narrow group interests. When some trade unions of officials are forcing upon the Soviet institutions people who are unable to perform their work; when these unions defend every demand of their members, forgetting that they have now before them not the former private enterprise, but the pro-

letarian State, they are manifesting their narrowness. When the unions of printers are reviving the worst aspect of 'trade unionism' they are directly accomplishing counter-revolutionary work.

"The struggle against these negative sides of the trade union movement must be one of the most important tasks of the Communists participating in the trade unions.

"In addition, too, it is necessary to point out that there exists a danger that the trade unions may become bureaucratic organizations.

"The general meetings are attended only by a small percentage of members. A comparatively small number take interest in the affairs of the union. The directors of the unions have not always a sufficient living contact with the mass of their members, and economic conflicts are often occurring without the activity of the unions.

"There are frequent cases in which the (wage) tariffs of individual groups of unskilled laborers are very low and in which the unions do not take care to improve their situation, since they have no close connection with the respective groups.

"Admitting that to a large extent these defects could be explained hitherto by the extraordinarily difficult external conditions (permanent mobilization of the trade union workers at the front, etc.), the Congress charges the Communists who are collaborating in the trade unions to fight systematically against the indicated decline."

THESIS XIV.

CONCESSION TO SYNDICALISM

"The Syndicalist élite of pre-war time (the leaders of the French Confédération Générale du Travail) had, in 1914, infamously betrayed the interests of the workers, as the Social-Chauvinists, Johaux and Company, were disclosed as ordinary reformists of the petty bourgeoisie.

"The Left Wing of the Syndicalists is now making considerable progress toward communism.

"Whereas the best elements of French syndicalism are abandoning their former faults and are placing themselves on the ground of communism in proclaiming the demand, 'All power to the Soviets,' individual groups in Russia are trying to regenerate the worst features of Syndicalism. The well-known party of the Left Socialist-Revolutionists has recently, at its conference, determined its demands with regard to labor policy as follows: 'The transmission of the

administration of industry and of transport to the trade union movement, namely, to the All-Russian Central Council of the Trade Unions,' and 'to enter, on federative principles, into a union of all trade unions throughout the world, in order to attain during the process of the present world revolution to the position of the administration of industry and transport all over the world by the Syndicalist unions.'

"When in America and England a new demand, 'All power to the unions,' is uttered, and when new plans for One Big Union, the Triple Alliance, are propagated in opposition to the old trade unions and to the official Social Democratic Party, this must be regarded as a step forward, compared with the opportunist point of view of the International. But when in Russia, where for two and a half years the power has been held by the Soviets of the Workers and Peasants' Deputies, and where experience has clearly proved that only an 'iron dictatorship' in the Soviet form and on a national scale is able to hold the power, to repel all attacks, and to save the country from ruin; when in Russia plans are beginning to be revived to give the railways to the railway unions, the metallurgical industry to the metal workers' union, etc., this means a big step backward. The tasks of the industrial unions in Soviet Russia at the present time are duly characterized in the platform of the Russian Communist Party, which holds that the unions are called upon to secure 'the indissoluble connection between the Central State Administration, national economy, and the large masses of the workers,' in order to obtain, as the result of a progressive, slow evolution—after the full victory of communism—the complete administrative power in the sphere of national economy by the unions.

"The Communists who are working in the trade unions are obliged to fight in the most resolute manner against Syndicalist tendencies and not to permit any concessions."

THESIS XV.

THE SO-CALLED "INDUSTRIALISM"

"In the same way it is necessary to oppose the tendencies of so-called 'industrialism,' which is being defended by some leaders of the Russian trade union movement. These 'industrialists' wish to build our structure on the basis of the industrially skilled labor, and are treating in an offhand manner the mass of the unskilled proletariat. The war and the revolution involved, undoubtedly, considerable changes in the social composition of the Russian proletariat. This is

true. The actual industrial skilled workers are undoubtedly the most developed part of the proletariat, but the Communists in the trade union movement can, on no account, pursue the method of supporting and inclosing in a special group the minority of the working class consisting of the skilled workers. The idea of communism has nothing in common with the policy of forming a labor aristocracy. The Communists of the trade union movement must aim, with the assistance of the progressive part of the industrial workmen, to organize the proletariat mass, including the unskilled laborers, and to attract them to the building of the State."

THESIS XVI.

THE INTERNATIONAL AND THE TRADE UNIONS

"Germany's experience has shown that the number of trade union members has been extraordinarily increased since the revolution (from three to eight millions), and the unions have been revolutionized. The Russian example has clearly shown how the unions are successfully completing the Soviets, serving as one of the most important bases of organization for reconstructing economic life on Communist principles. The portion of the German Communists who are in opposition to their own party just on the question of the unions (the demand of these Communists is to leave the unions by masses and refuse to fight for their influence in the unions, thus proclaiming the unions unnecessary) are making a mistake and departing from the mass organization of the proletariat.

"In view of the particular development of the labor movement in Western Europe, there are many prejudices against the trade unions among the Communists of Germany and other countries. Our party is of the opinion that it is impossible to leave the trade unions. In the process of the proletarian revolution the unions will divide in the same manner as did the old Social Democratic Party. The experience of the German trade unions has shown that the unions in Berlin have already been liberated from the injurious influence of the 'Scheidemann Social Democracy.' The Russian trade union movement must take the initiative, uniting the Red International of the trade unions as did the Russian Communist Party in the creation of the Third International.

"In the congresses of the Communist International should participate not only the political organizations, but also the trade unions which have shown by their work that

they are standing on the basis of the proletariat dictatorship and Soviet power. In addition, it is necessary to begin now with the organization of the international unification of the individual trade unions which are standing on the platform of the Communist International."

It is of great importance to note that the Soviet government of Russia finds that Labor Unions "are successfully completing the Soviet, serving as one of the most important bases of organization for reconstructing economic life on Communist principles."

In Italy the members of Labor-Unions have seized a great number of factories, mines, etc. They have broken open safes, assassinated proprietors, and demanded that the operation of the plant be on a Communistic basis.

A Genoa dispatch to the Giornale d'Italia says that in the entire industrial zone in that city the names of the works have been changed, placards on the facades of the plants calling them "Communist Soviet Works." In one plant, besides red and black flags, the walls are decorated with photographs of Lenin, Jaurés, and Marx. One hundred men form a "Red Guard," governed with the same disciplinary rule as the Italian army.

It is reported that various socialist deputies are pressing for an early reopening of the chamber of deputies, which stands adjourned until Nov. 3, 1920.

The Giornale d'Italia publishes a telegram from Sarzana which states that the lignite mines of Luini, employing 400 men have been occupied by workers, neither the government nor the proprietors resisting. Red and black flags are waving over the mines.

Meanwhile, the unions are making all preparations such as inventories in the works and distribution of raw materials to demonstrate that the working classes are "capable of self-government."

In December, 1920, the Verdensgang of Christiania, Norway, authoritatively stated that the labor party of Norway had joined the Third International of Norway, and advocated the burning of the great lumber stores in Christiania as the first act in the revolution to enthrone Socialism.

In November, 1920, the International Federation of Trades-Unions, which adheres to the Third International, decided to invade the United States and endeavor to gain control of the American Federation of Labor.

"The International will not only ignore Gompers in the future," said Edo Fimmen, secretary, "but will begin an

educational campaign in the American labor world over his head."

At a meeting of Amsterdam unions December, 1920, Yan Oudegeest, secretary of the International Federation, said: "The International Federation, with its 24,000,000 members, is now strong enough not to mind the American labor movement led by Samuel Gompers, and the Russian movement, led by M. Zinovieff. Our purpose must be nationalization of industry."

November 29, 1920, Wm. D. Haywood in an interview today declares that the I. W. W. contemplate to reorganize, to seize all industry and establish a Soviet Republic in the U.S.

"The I. W. W. will work together with the Bolshevists of Russia to get control of the world for the workers.

"We are now taking a referendum among our membership on a proposition to join the third International which recently met in Moscow.

"The war about knocked the wind out of us. We are back to our pre-war strength and ready to raise hell in our old-time form. We have now 200,000 members—the same number we had before the war. We shall soon send 1,000 organizers into the field."

A special danger now threatens the United States by reason of the large number who are unemployed. Millions are unable to find work, and the condition of the working classes daily grows worse. Advices received by our Government state that the Soviet authorities of Russia will send two representatives of the Third International here to organize the unemployed into a revolutionary movement. Every possible effort should be made to relieve the unemployed.

Rome, Dec., 1920—Executives of the Third International have issued a manifesto to Italian laborites and socialists, urging them to turn the present economic demonstration into a revolutionary outbreak, according to the Berne correspondent of the Idea Nazionale.

Following the stoppages of troop trains in northern Italy by members of the railway men's syndicate, a battleship and a destroyer flotilla carrying landing companies have arrived at Genoa.

Reports from various parts of the country indicated the continuation of "direct action" activities by workmen even as negotiations between metal workers and factory owners were resumed in Milan.

A dispatch from Como said that a general strike was proclaimed there as a protest against the arrest of several socialists on the charge of carrying concealed weapons.

The demands of the workmen are set forth in the following resolution which was passed by the General Labor Executive by over a million votes:

"We demand," this resolution reads, "immediate convocation of the chamber of deputies in order that the situation may be examined and laws proposed which will bring about radical legislative measures which, through requisition of industrial plants and participation in their management by workmen, will prepare the way for direct control of workers in the interests of collectivity."

This is unmitigated Socialism. Our purpose in citing it here is to prove that the tendency of Labor-Unions in many lands is socialistic.

A cable by its special correspondent to the New York, Times announces:

"The national labor convention has come to the conclusion that a historic moment has been reached, when the movement initiated by the metal workers is assuming a magnitude and importance in other branches of industry such as no longer permit of a return to the traditional relations between masters and employes.

"The convention has decided that the immediate struggle shall be confined to metal workers, who are bidden to resist with all the force at their command in the positions they have conquered under strict obedience to instructions to be imparted by the general confederation of labor.

"The directorate of the socialist party is invited to take steps to insure that the solution of this particular conflict shall not be upon the simple lines indicated in the metal workers' memorial, but in such a way as to guarantee them the turnover of the factories with direct management by working staffs in the interest of the sommon weal.

"Financial backing is promised for a prolongation of the struggle. The convention has further decided that in changing the objective of the battle to that of forcing the masters to recognize the principle of syndical control of business concerns it intends to clear the way for those master conquests which must infallibly lead to the socialization of industry as the organic solution of the problem of production.

"An alternative motion put forward by Schiavello Bucco, spokesman of the extremists section, advocating an immediate revolutionary solution of the crisis on the bolshevist basis, gained 409,561 votes, and was voted for by labor chambers from Bologna, Turin, Naples, Spezia, Pistoia, Terni, Ciena,

Oniglia, Modena, Treviso, Pavia and Como, while the vote from Milan, Rome, Florence, Genoa and Pisa was about equally divided.

"So far there has been little bloodshed anywhere, but the reason for this is significant—because the government is powerless to take action, as the troops and police are refusing any attempt to protect property and are permitting the workmen to seize the factories and commandeer foodstuffs.

"Engineers and expert specialists have been kidnapped from their homes by laborers in some places and dragged by force to factories and forced to keep the plants in operation, the workmen declaring that they will divide the profits among themselves.

"At Genoa bolshevik longshoremen, headed by Capt. Gioletto, seized all the shipping in the harbor and announced they would mount cannons and bombard any warships attempting to enter the port."

Another cable to the aforesaid *Times* from Rome, conveys the following intelligence:

"It is credibly reported that recently when a well known socialist agitator, Antonio Negro, secretary of the chamber of labor at Sestriponente, entered an establishment occupied by the local workers, the red guard at the entrance solemnly presented arms and saluted him as follows:

" 'Hail, Antonio Negro, manager and proprietor of all the works at Sestriponente.'

"Taking this quite seriously, Negro replied:

" 'Thanks, comrade, for this name and this honor: I appoint you manager of this establishment.'

"Assurances are still given the workmen that the chambers of labor have sufficient funds to pay wages for the time which has elapsed since they possessed themselves of the factories, although lack of money to pay small current expenses is already making itself felt.

"In some establishments the members of the workmen's councils make it their duty to instruct the men in their leisure hours regarding all that they have already gained from the bourgeoisie, assuring them that it is unnecessary to feel anxiety regarding wages, as mints for coining new communist money are ready and only await word from the supreme chiefs to issue it.

" 'Only wait till tomorrow,' they say. 'The soviet government, unlike the bourgeoisie, will pay in good gold.'

"Quite recently Lenin acting as sovereign pontiff of the European proletariat, demanded from the socialist party of

Italy a formal subscription to twenty-one articles of the bolshevik creed as drawn up at the second congress of the Third International at Moscow.

"Opportunists pleas from Italy were unavailing. Lenin angrily refused to listen to any arguments about differences of environment necessitating a difference in tactical methods.

" 'He who is not with me is against me,' is Lenine's dictum. 'Whosoever bringeth not this gospel, let him be anathema.' And, true to his word, Lenine proceeded to excommunicate Modigliana and Turati and other Italian reformist leaders. He furthermore directed the Italian executive to cut off from communion all their camp followers.

"The socialist executive committee, which has been sitting here throughout the week to consider its action, finally passed a majority vote last night, in which it makes its own, the twenty-one articles of Moscow, that is, relating to the constitution of the communist party: in virtue hereof Italian directorate is bound to proceed with a radical weeding out by thrusting opportunist and reformist elements outside the party, according to ways and means to be submitted for discussion at the forthcoming Christmas-tide congress."

The Italian Confederation of Labor and the Italian Socialist Party have formed a close alliance and hold joint sessions.

Deputy Bandera, one of the members of the Catholic Party, offers the following solution:

" The only solution suggested by our party is that workmen should gradually become shareholders in industries together with the present owners. Otherwise, it is impossible to hope for a restoration of order and discipline."

From the beginning we have advocated this plan with proper reservations as the only just and effective co-operation in industry. It is being put into effect in many of our great industrial plants, in our Banks. The manner in which this stock shall be divided to the employees is a detail which may be worked out by each different organization. The necessary reservation is that the employees shall not be induced to purchase stock in corporations where the element of risk is large. A gift of stock in unstable corporations may be a wise policy for the employer, but no valuable consideration should be taken from the workman therefor. A rich man may undergo such risks and suffer possible losses with impunity, but for the workman, such a loss might mean much hardship and protracted poverty.

While we strongly recommend joint ownership, where conditions are favorable, we condemn the theory of those who demand such participation as a just right of the workman. When the employer has paid a just wage to his workmen, he is in justice quit of his obligation to the workman. All employers are not rich men. Often the workmen is possessed of more goods than the employer. Justice must establish a constant law between employer and employe, which determines their mutual obligations and rights. The workman shall give an honest portion of labor, and receive an honest wage. The employer shall receive an honest portion of labor, pay a just wage. By this the scales of justice are balanced. Other obligations are imposed on the rich man by reason of his wealth. But these obligations regard not alone his workmen, but all humanity. Not by justice alone does man live, but by all the virtues delivered to man in the perfect ethical code. The man whom Dives personifies is not accused of injustice, but Christ buries him in hell. But these obligations arising from natural equity and charity should not be confused with the obligations arising out of commutative justice. Later on we shall speak more extensively of the obligations of the rich.

The neutrality of the Italian government in the recent unlawful labor riots has a political nature. The Italian government succeeded in establishing itself largely by the aid of the lawless element in Italy. By pandering to this element of the population and by flattering the base dupes, the Freemasons succeeded in overthrowing the temporal power of the Pope. That same element forced Italy into the disastrous world war. The government now fears to antagonize that many headed monster, fearing a revolution.

The press reports from Italy often contain statements of principles of the Popular or Catholic Party, which surprise us, as they are clearly attainted with socialistic principles. The Osservatore Romano, official organ of the Vatican, September, 1920, explains the misunderstanding.

"To avoid misunderstanding," says the Osservatore Romano, "we wish it to be clearly understood that, when discussing the policy of the Popular Party there is a general disposition to identify the party and its policy with the Catholics of Italy and their actions, it is necessary to point out that a number of Catholics in Italy have not given their names to any such organization, and in their quality of organized Catholics they belong to the Popular Union and its associated bodies. The Popular Party, on the other hand, while

certainly following Christian teachings, is well known to contain others besides Catholics and is far from being a party of Catholics as such. It follows that newspapers which mix up the party and its political tactics with the Catholics of Italy are equivocating, either in deliberate bad faith, or, at the best, in utter ignorance of the truth of the situation which they are taking the liberty of commenting on."

The Labor Unions of Ireland are socialistic, and have joined the Third International of Moscow. The Third International was founded in 1919 to supersede the Second International, which has its central bureau in Brussels. The Third International opened its first congress at Moscow on July 15, 1920. About 400 members were present.

We have not a full report of its deliberations and resolutions but Art. XII. of the invitation appears thus in *Humanite* of Paris:

"Practically, we propose that representatives of the following parties, groups and tendencies will take part in the Third International with full rights. These are parties which accept its point of view in its entirety:

1—Spartacist Union of Germany.
2—Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Russia.
3—Communist Party of German Austria.
4—Communist Party of Hungary.
5—Communist Party of Poland.
6—Communist Party of Finland.
7—Communist Party of Esthonia.
8—Communist Party of Lettland.
9—Communist Party of Lithuania.
10—Communist Party of White Russia.
11—Communist Party of Ukraine.
12—The revolutionary elements in the Czech Social Democracy.
13—The Bulgarian Social Democratic Party ('Narrow' faction.)
14—The Rumanian Social Democratic Party.
15—The Serbian Social Democratic Party (the 'left Wing.')
16—The Left Swedish Social Democratic Party.
17—The Norwegian Social Democratic Party.
18—The 'Class Struggle' Group of Denmark.
19—The Communist Party of Holland.
20—The revolutionary elements in the Belgian Labor Party.
21—Groups of French Socialists agreeing with Loriot.
22—Groups of French Syndicalists and Trades Unionists agreeing with Loriot.
23—The Left Social Democrats of Switzerland.

24—The Italian Socialist Party.
25—Left Wing elements in the Spanish Socialist Party.
26—Left Wing element in the Portuguese Socialist Party.
27—The British Socialist Party (especially the tendency represented by McLean.)
28—The Socialist Labor Party of England.
29—The I. W. W. of England.
30—The I. W. of Great Britain.
31—The revolutionary elements of the Shop Stewards' movement in England.
32—The revolutionary elements of the Irish labor organizations.
33—The Socialist Labor Party of America.
34—The Left Wing elements of the Socialist Party of America (in particular the tendency represented by Debs, as well as the tendency represented by the Socialist Propaganda League.)
35—I. W. W. of America.
36—I. W. W. of Australia.
37—The Workers' International Union of America.
38—The Socialist groups of Tokio and Yokohama represented by Comrade Sen Katayama.
39—The Young Socialists' International represented by Comrade Muntzenberg."

Russia is starving but the correspondents of the Swedish newspapers tell us that "incredible stores of wine and vodka loaded the tables, while the choicest viands convinced the foreign delegates that Sovietism is not disastrous, at least to those high in its councils."

In the Communist Congress, Lenin denounced all that part of human society that is not in sympathy with his tyranny of disorder. Proud and haughty, he rejects every appeal for affiliation with his Sovietism unless unconditional acceptance of every monstrous demand of the Moscow International be pledged. Thus the German Socialist and Communist parties were repudiated because they will not accept the dictatorship of Moscow. This is also true of socialists of England, France, Spain, Holland, Switzerland, and other countries. Hence there are many groups in the world that are as Communistic as the Third International, who are not affiliated with it because they will not accept the dictatorship of Lenin. This is especially true of England and Germany.

In September, 1920, the French Socialist newspaper *Humanité*, published the following conditions for admission to the Third International of Russia.

"1. The socialist party must radically change the character of its daily propaganda in the press. This, explains Reroult, refers to the criticisms addressed by Moscow to the socialist press in Paris as not being sufficiently aggressive and revolutionary.

"2. As regards colonies, the party must pitilessly expose the activities of the bourgeois imperialists and aid not only in word but in deed, all movements toward liberation, taking as the watchword that the imperialists must give up colonies.

"3. Expose the falsity and hypocrisy of social patriotism. Prove systematically to the workers that without a revolutionary upset of capitalism, no arbitration, no project of disarmament will save humanity from new imperialist wars.

"4. The French socialist party must begin the organization of communist elements in the heart of the Workers' general federation in order to combat social traitors at the head of this federation.

"5. The socialist party must obtain, not in word but in deed, the complete subordination of the parliamentary group.

"6. The present majority section of the party must break radically with reformism and free its ranks from elements that do not wish to follow the new revolutionary path.

"7. The party must change its name and present itself before the whole world as the communist party of France.

"8. At a time when the bourgeoisie decrees a state of siege against workers and their chiefs, French comrades must recognize the necessity of combining legal action with illegal action.

"9. The French socialist party as well as all parties who wish to adhere to the Third International must consider as strictly obligatory all decisions of the Communist International."

Adhesion to the Third (Moscow) International has been rejected by the Swiss Socialists in a referendum by a majority of 15,600.

On June 25, 1920, the British Labor Party by a vote of 2,940,000 against 225,000 decided against affiliation with the Third International. The same Labor Conference by a vote of 1,010,000 against 516,000 decided not to secede from the Second International. Socialism is strong in England, but it repudiates the dictatorship of the villain Lenin.

The following news item was made public by the "Associated Press," September 23, 1920.

"Montevideo, Uruguay—The Socialist congress decided by an immense majority to adhere to the Third International at Moscow."

On September 29, 1920, Samuel Gompers made public a a statement from which we excerpt the following passages.

"The Amsterdam executive (referring to the International Federation of Trade Unions) has issued throughout the world and sent to the American Federation of Labor for circulation in this country a declaration calling for international revolutionary measures by labor in aid of the soviets in their war against Poland.

"The chairman of the British Labor Party claiming to speak for the British trade union labor movement has sent a cablegram along similar lines and apparently calling for some action. The contents of these messages are thoroughly revolutionary and obviously animated with the desire to use extreme measures to strengthen the hold of soviet power in Russia and to enable it to extend its influence and to dominate neighboring countries.

"The International Federation of Trades Unions takes a position of anarchistic hostility to all governments without discrimination.

"The British Labor Party also turns its back on democratic parliamentary system which, England has evolved by seven centuries of struggle.

"There have been indications that the Italian uprising and the radical stand taken by Smillie in England were planned to take place at the same time as the expected fall of Warsaw to mark the beginning of a general Bolshevist or a near Bolshevist upheaval throughout Europe."

In August, 1920, the British Labor Organizations created a "Council of Action" composed of five members of Parliament representing labor, five members of the Trade-Union Congress, five representatives of the Executive Committee of the Labor Party, and five representatives of Labor organizations jointly chosen. This "Council of Action" is instructed by the Labor Conference representing about six million workers to remain in action until they have secured

"(1) An absolute guaranty that the armed forces of Great Britain shall not be used in support of Poland, Baron Wrangel or any other military or naval effort against the Soviet Government. (2) The withdrawal of all British naval forces operating directly or indirectly as a blockading influence against Russia. (3) The recognition of the Russian Soviet Government and the establishment of unrestricted trading and commercial relationships between Great Britain and Russia."

The Council of Action is authorized "to take any steps that may be necessary" to make the declared policy effective,

including power "to call for any and every form of withdrawal of Labor which circumstances may require." The Conference "calls upon every Trade-Union official, executive committee, local council of action, and the membership in general to act swiftly, loyally, and courageously in order to sweep away secret bargaining and diplomacy and to assure that the foreign policy of Great Britain may be in accord with the well-known desires of the people for an end to war and the interminable threats of war."

This action of the workers though claiming to be against war in general, is really a move to bring English labor under the domination of the Soviets of Russia. In truth the great world war was one of the greatest crimes Capitalism has ever perpetrated. England's complicity in that great crime was the greatest of all nations involved. She had a still greater part in the unjust peace which followed it. Not only was the Pope excluded from the Peace Conference at Versailles; Christ was excluded from it, justice, honor, mercy, truth,—everything for which Christianity stands was banished. English greed, French hate, and American hypocrisy made a Covenant with Hell, and gave the world over to Mammon, Moloch, and Belial. If English Labor be honest why does it not demand the recall of the troops of occupation of Germany, who are corrupting the starving girls of the conquered countries and taking the food out of the mouths of starving men, women, and children? The Very Reverend Dean of Nevers is in jail because he warned the poor girls of his parish to avoid the ghouls in uniform who walk their streets.

Why does not English Labor demand the revision of the Treaty of Versailles? Why does it not demand justice for Ireland? It has no voice for these high aims, but it places itself above King, Lords, and Commoners in favor of a band of Jews of Moscow who are crushing the helpless people of Moscow. The decent Russian people do not want the Soviets. It would be a holy war if the nations should arise and deliver the people of Russia from the Soviet slavery. By that same concerted action they could restrain Poland from her desire to annex non-Polish territory. But why appeal to a world that is morally bankrupt?

The present sad state of the world is thus described by Dr. Frank Crane:

"Most Americans object to militarism, but hardly know why. It is the expression of the most deeply inbred instinct, for it is the opposite and enemy of everything that America

means, of every principle in the Declaration of Independence, of every functioning of the spirit of democracy.

"That is what's the matter right now with the U. S. A. After death, hell; and after war, collapse. Four million men and more have been plucked from their rooted growth and transplanted for a time into the abnormal, overheated hothouse of army life.

"Europe is on the verge of ruin because for years her manhood has been subjected to this demoralizing regime. For out of war, whatever its high aim, come these plagues, which unchecked will ruin any state:

"Waste, gigantic, heedless, reckless waste. The enemy must be beaten at any cost. And this principle eventuates in tons of spoiled food, mountains of scrapped airplanes and motor trucks, national debts piled sky high, the wildest and wickedest mortgaging of the present for the future.

"Unconcern for human life, an orgy of murder and rapine, increase in crimes of violence.

"Mob madness, willingness to engage in any revolution or riot that offers excitement and the advancement of our class.

"Disregard of property, a contempt for the slowly accumulated works of men's co-operation.

"Materialism in its coarsest form, a smudging out of all the finer restraints, a feeling of grab-all.

"Egoism, individual and national, every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost, and the national egoism which is its corollary.

"A dull worship and exaltation of brute force, and a contempt for all spiritual potencies.

"A witches' dance of mad gayety, a determination to 'have a good time' even on the edge of economic ruin, careless of tomorrow—'After us the deluge!'

"Ruthless profiteering, not only by the rich, but by every grafter according to his ability.

"Distaste for work, shiftlessness, incompetency. Never in the history of this country has labor been so inefficient, so indifferent and so well paid.

"Hate. It is hard to stop hating. We got into full swing hating Germany, now we go on hating each other.

"All the hell-stew of destructive passions, envy, distrust, sneers, pessimism, cynicism are let loose.

" 'Never,' says Sisley Huddleston, 'was Carlyle's image of a basket of serpents, each struggling to get its head above the rest, so expressively precise a picture of humanity as it is today.'

"Why? It is the aftermath of war. For after death comes hell."

The bad effect of our evil association with England is well expressed by Archbishop Glennon in the following words:

"Yes, America was all right until we got into the war, and I think she is going to be all right again after we get out of the war.

"They put a lot of things over on us. We were trained for war by continuous—what you call, propaganda work. The propaganda consisted of a development of stories circulated with a great deal of ingenuity, appealing to our emotions, appealing to our love of down-troden humanity, appealing to our love of liberty, our standard of right, and the justice-loving charcter of our people. That was done with a great deal of vigor and success. It was based to a great extent upon lies. It will take fifty years to untell all the lies that have been told in the last four or five years."

Archbishop Mannix, of Melbourne, Australia, in an address delivered in San Francisco, upon his arrival in America, said that he had "tried, and to some extent succeeded, in speaking the truth during war-time, *when it was patriotic to lie.*"

During the war, when, in our country, men were asked to lie and to believe lies, we had no Archbishop Mannix.

The nations distrust each other; they have not even the honor which is popularly believed to exist among thieves.

The only hope of the world today is the "pusillus grex," "the little flock," the redeemable minority who follow the ethics of Christ and direct their lives by principles which the world can not understand. We should not be surprised to find the spirit of the world today the same as it was in the days of Christ and as he predicted that it should ever be. Rather let us awake to the realization that many of the "children of light" have been deceived by the spirit which bought Judas Iscariot with money and which has seduced millions from the service of God.

The action of Labor in England is clearly and forcibly socialistic. It exalts the authority of Labor above the authority of the State. It substitutes the rule of the mob for the democratic government of the whole people. Constitutional government is doomed if a group of Labor officials are to dictate the foreign policy of a nation.

The British coal miners openly defy the government and insist on the dictating of their own terms. In September, 1920, they conferred wiih Sir Robert Horne, the government's representative.

They refused to submit their claim for increased wages to the statutory industrial court, they refused to meet the coal owners to discuss wage anomalies, and, more important than all, they insisted on their right to dictate to the ministry and parliament the disposition to be made of the profit, made from the export of coal.

This action of Labor is inconsistent with the fundamental idea of right government, law, and order. It is ruining the industries of England.

From all parts of England come reports of trade depression and the discharge of thousands of workers.

Two main causes are given for the lack of employment: First, that manufacturers are afraid to quote definite fixed prices for goods because at any moment the workers may demand further increases of wages, and continental buyers are refusing to place orders without being certain what they will be charged; and, secondly, that manufacturers decline to guarantee delivery of goods by specified dates because new strikes may render this impossible.

An official of the London chamber of commerce said that so long as the present threat of great strikes hangs over England manufacturers would not dare to enter into any commitments.

The new American steamer Panhandle State left for America in ballast, British industry, through low productivity and the adverse exchange rate, failing to provide a cargo.

Before the war there existed in England the London Conciliation Board. This board on the appeal of Labor or Employers appointed a court to examine the matter and to render an award. During the twenty years of its existence only one award had been rejected. The war interfered with the functioning of the Conciliation Board. The great necessity of production moved the government to grant the unreasonable demands of labor as was done in our own Country, especially in the Adamson Law. The result is that the Conciliation Board can not control Labor in England, and chaos exists. One of the wise provisions of England's Conciliation Board was an agreement that no strike or lockout shall be put into effect without a month's notice. An employer could not lower wages without a month's notice; neither could the laborers enforce a demand for more wages without a month's notice. This gave both sides time for cool deliberation and conference.

The French Federation of Labor at Orleans, France October 3, 1920, adopted a majority declaration of policy, by

1,478 votes against 602 for the Moscow international and co-operation with the active revolutionary party.

The majority declaration reiterates the policy of "complete independence" for itself and other similar national organizations. It states unreservedly that its revolutionary objects are "incompatible with present institutions and with capitalism and its political expressions."

It proposes immediate action for supervision of industry and commerce by the workers, to be sought by direct action; urges an intensive campaign for nationalization of essential industries and calls on the International Federation of Labor for united action to accomplish social transformation.

The declaration points out that "the revolutionary temper existing throughout the working world is most propitious for the agitation of such action." It approves the organization of the International Labor Bureau as designed, to spread unionism, promote legislation and furnish statistics. Sympathy and encouragement are expressed for the Italian workers, and indignation toward the French Government, "the servile instrument of world reaction."

The declaration affirms "complete solidarity with revolutionary Russia." It urges agitation until peace is established and "the republic of the soviets enjoy full independence as Russia desires."

The federation proclaims anew "its ideal of economic liberation through the suppression of the wage system."

The madness of Labor-Unionism in France is clearly revealed here. They are approving for Russia the wickedest tyranny that the world has ever seen. They declare against cumulative incontestable proofs that Russia desires the rule of the Soviets. We have elsewhere treated the question of Applied Socialism which we call Bolshevism in Russia. Compare the wild howl of the unionized mob of Orleans with the following statement of General Wrangel, who is fighting to save Russia from the Soviet demons. In 1920, Gen. Peter Wrangel issued the following statement to the representatives of the Russian press in Crimea:

"What are we fighting for? We are fighting for liberty. On the other side of the front, in the north, there reigns arbitrariness, oppression, slavery. At present this is no longer a secret for Europe either. The curtain has been raised over Soviet Russia. The nest of reaction is in Moscow. There are the oppressors who are treating the people like cattle. Only blindness and unscrupulousness could regard us as reactionaries. We are fighting to free the people from a

yoke, the like of which they have never seen even in the darkest periods of their history. If our sacrifices should be in vain, European society and democracy will itself be compelled to stand up in defence of its cultural and political achievements, against the foe of civilization, drunk with victory.

"Allow the people to express its will without 'Extraordinary Commissions', and without machine guns trained on it. The Bolsheviki dispersed the Constituent Assembly, threw into prison and murdered some of its members. The Bolsheviki fear all regular and lawful representative organs through which the will of the people can find expression. We, however, are striving to restore a normal order under which the people, if they desire, could assemble freely and express their will unhampered.

"My personal preferences play no part whatever. The moment that I took the power upon myself I gave up all personal preferences in favor of one or another particular order in my official activity. I submit absolutely to the voice of Russia.

"I long with all my heart for the cessation of the civil war. Every drop of spilled blood evokes anguish in my heart. But the struggle is unavoidable as long as the reason of the people has not been awakened, as long as they fail to understand that they are fighting against themselves, against their right to self-determination, that they are committing an act of senseless political suicide! As long as there will not be established in Russia a real State, whatever its aspect, but one that will be founded upon principles of law and order sanctified by the eternal seekings of the human spirit, safeguarding the rights of the individual and property, and upon the principles respecting international obligations,—there will never come to Europe any peace or improvement of economic conditions. It will be impossible to conclude to a single more or less stable international agreement, or to come to a proper understanding on any subject.

"Some day history will properly appraise the self-denial and the labors of a handful of Russians who, in the Crimea, this last patch of Russian soil, totally forsaken, have struggled for the safety of human happiness, for the distant hearth-fires of European culture. The cause of the Russian Army in the Crimea is a great liberation movement. This is a Holy War for liberty and the right."

Data from Russian sources concerning Bolshevist conditions contine to multiply. The "Volia Rossii" of November 11, 1920, a Socialist paper published in Prague, Bohemia,

reports that conditions for the winter look very dark in Russia; only one-half of the fuel needed has been saved, although furniture, wooden fences, and buildings have been destroyed to add to the present supply. The rations in cities is a quarter of a pound of bread mixed with straw. In two months of 1919, 242,115 persons were stricken with typhoid fever in Petrograd. Mortality in Russia from 1911 to 1920 has increased from 21 per thousand to 75; the birth rate decreased from 20 per thousand to 13; in 1919, 145,000 were arrested; in three months of 1919, 13,855 people were shot. "There is," says this paper, "no right of free speech, and strikes are not permitted, while the industrial output is one-fifth of normal." The official Bolshevist journal, "Moskovskia Izvestia" of October 17, 1920, reports 1,206 executions during September, of which 481 were for military offenses and 331 for political offences, 185 of these being for treason.

In 1920, Mr. Bertrand Russell, an English scholar and advocate of radical economic doctrines, spent two months in Russia in the study of Russian conditions. He gives his impressions in an article entitled, "Soviet Russia—1920" in the New York *Nation*, 1920. We quote as follows:

"The Communists have all the good and bad traits of an aristocracy which is young and vital. They are courageous, energetic, capable of command, always ready to serve the State; on the other hand they are dictatorial, lacking in ordinary consideration for the plebs, such as their servants, whom they overwork, or the people in the streets, whose lives they endanger by extraordinary reckless motoring. They are practically the sole possessors of power, and they enjoy innumerable advantages in consequence. Most of them, though far from luxurious, have better food than other people. Only people of some political importance can obtain motor-cars or telephones. Permits for railway journeys, for making purchases at the Soviet stores (where prices are about one-fiftieth of what they are in the market), for going to the theatre, and so on, are of course easier to obtain for the friends of those in power than for ordinary mortals. In a thousand ways the Communists have a life which is happier than that of the rest of the community. Above all, they are less exposed to the unwelcome attentions of the police and the extraordinary commission.

"The communist theory of international affairs is exceedingly simple. The revolution foretold by Marx, which is to abolish capitalism throughout the world, happened to begin in Russia, though Marxian theory would seem to

demand that it should begin in America. In countries where the revolution has not broken out, the sole duty of a Communist is to hasten its advent. Agreements with capitalist States can only be makeshifts, and can never amount on either side to a sincere peace. No real good can come to any country without a bloody revolution: English labor men may fancy that a peaceful evolution is possible, but they will find their mistake. Lenin told me that he hopes to see a labor government in England, and would wish his supporters to work for it, but solely in order that the futility of Parliamentarism may be conclusively demonstrated to the British working man. Nothing will do any real good except the arming of the proletariat and the disarming of the bourgeoisie. Those who preach anything else are social traitors or deluded fools.

"For my part, after weighing this theory carefully, and after admitting the whole of its indictment of bourgeois capitalism, I find myself definitely and strongly opposed to it. The Third International is an organization which exists to promote the class war and to hasten the advent of revolution everywhere. My objection is not that capitalism is less bad than the Bolsheviki believe, but that Socialism is less good, at any rate in the form which can be brought about by war. The evils of war, especially of civil war, are certain and very great; the gains to be achieved by victory are problematical. In the course of a desperate struggle the heritage of civilization is likely to be lost, while hatred, suspicion, and cruelty become normal in the relations of human beings. In order to succeed in war a concentration of power is necessary, and from concentration of power the very same evils flow as from the capitalist concentration of wealth. For these reasons chiefly I cannot support any movement which aims at world revolution. The injury to civilization done by revolution is one country may be repaired by the influence of another, in which there has been no revolution; but in a universal cataclysm civilization might go under for a thousand years. But while I cannot advocate world revolution, I cannot escape from the conclusion that the Governments of the leading capitalist countries are doing everything to bring it about. Abuse of our power against Germany, Russia and India (to say nothing of any other countries) may well bring about our downfall, and produce those very evils which the enemies of Bolshevism most dread.

"The true Communist is thoroughly international. Lenin, for example, so far as I could judge, is not more con-

cerned with the interests of Russia than with those of other countries; Russia is, at the moment, the protagonist of the social revolution, and as such valuable to the world, but Lenin would sacrifice Russia rather than the revolution if the alternative should ever arise. This is the orthodox attitude, and is no doubt genuine in many of the leaders. But nationalism is natural and instinctive; through pride in the revolution it grows again even in the breasts of Communists. Through the Polish war, the Bolsheviki have acquired the support of national feeling and their position in the country has been immensely strengthened. . . .

"All real power is in the hands of the Communist Party, who number about 600,000 in a population of about 120,000,000. I never came across a Communist by chance: the people whom I met in the streets or in the villages, when I could get into conversation with them, almost invariably said they were of no party. The only other answer I ever had was from some of the peasants, who openly stated that they were Czarists. It must be said that the peasants' reasons for disliking the Bolsheviki are very inadequate. It is said—and all I saw confirmed the assertion—that the peasants are better off than they ever were before. I saw no one— man, woman, or child—who looked underfed in the villages. The big landowners are dispossessed, and the peasants have profited. But the towns and the army still need nourishing, and the Government has nothing to give the peasants in return for food except paper, which the peasants resent having to take.

"Within the Communist Party there are, of course, as always in a bureaucracy, different factions, though hitherto the external pressure has prevented disunion. It seemed to me that the personnel of the bureaucracy could be divided into three classes. There are first the old revolutionists, tested by years of persecution. These men have most of the highest posts. Prison and exile have made them tough and fanatical and rather out of touch with their own country. They are honest men, with a profound belief that Communism will regenerate the world. They think themselves utterly free from sentiment, but in fact they are sentimental about Communism and about the regime that they are creating; they cannot face the fact that what they are creating is not Communism, and that Communism is anathema to the peasant, who wants his own land and nothing else. They are pitiless in punishing corruption or drunkenness when they find either among officials; but they have built up a system in which the temptations to petty corruption are tremendous, and

their own materialistic theory should persuade them that under such a system corruption must be rampant.

"The second class in the bureaucracy, among whom are to be found most of the men occupying political posts just below the top, consists of young *arrivistes* who are enthusiastic Bolsheviki because of the material success of Bolshevism. It is these men who make the regime so odious in many ways. With them must be reckoned the army of policemen, spies, and secret agents, largely inherited from the Czarist times, who make their profit out of the fact that no one can live except by breaking the law. This aspect of Bolshevism is exemplified by the Extraordinary Commission, a body practically independent of the Government, possessing its own regiments, which are better fed than the Red Army. This body has the power of imprisoning any man or woman without trial on such charges as speculation or counter-revolutionary activity. It has shot thousands without trial, and though now it has nominally lost the power of inflicting the death penalty, it is by no means certain that it has altogether lost it in fact. It has spies everywhere, and ordinary mortals live in terror of it.

"The third class in the bureaucracy consists of men who are not ardent Communists, who have rallied to the Government since it has proved itself stable, and who work for it either out of patriotism or because they enjoy the opportunity of developing their ideas freely without the obstacle of traditional institutions. Among this class are to be found men of the type of the successful business man, men with the same sort of ability as is found in the American self-made trust magnate, but working for success and power, not for money. There is no doubt that the Bolsheviki are successfully solving the problem of enlisting this kind of ability in the public service without permitting it to amass wealth as it does in capitalist communities. This is perhaps their greatest success so far outside the domain of war. It makes it possible to suppose that, if Russia is allowed to have peace, an amazing industrial development may take place, making Russia a rival of the United States. The Bolsheviki are industrialists in all their aims; they love everything in modern industry except the excessive rewards of the capitalists. And the harsh discipline to which they are subjecting the workers is calculated, if anything can, to give the habits of industry and honesty which have hitherto been lacking, and which alone prevent Russia from being one of the foremost industrial countries."

. . . .

"Soon after my arrival in Moscow, I had an hour's conversation with Lenin in English, which he speaks fairly well."

". . . If one met him without knowing who he was one would not guess that he is possessed of great power or even that he is in any way eminent. I have never met a personage so destitute of self-importance. He looks at his visitors very closely, and screws up one eye, which seems to increase alarmingly the penetrating power of the other. He laughs a great deal; at first his laugh seems merely friendly and jolly, but gradually I came to feel it rather grim. He is dictatorial, calm, incapable of fear, extraordinarily devoid of self-seeking, an embodied theory. The materialistic conception of history, one feels, is his life-blood. He resembles a professor in his desire to have the theory understood and in his fury with those who misunderstand or disagree, as also in his love of expounding. I got the impression that he despises a great many people and is an intellectual aristocrat.

"The first question I asked him was as to how far he recognized the peculiarity of English economic and political conditions. I was anxious to know whether advocacy of violent revolution is an indispensable condition of joining the Third International, although I did not put this question directly because others were asking it officially. His answer was unsatisfactory to me. He admitted that there is little chance of revolution in England now, and that the working man is not yet disgusted with parliamentary government. But he hopes that this result may be brought about by a labor ministry. He thinks that if Mr. Henderson, for instance, were to become Prime Minister, nothing of importance would be done; organized labor would then, so he hopes and believes, turn to revolution. On this ground he wishes his supporters in this country to do everything in their power to secure a labor majority in Parliament; he does not advocate abstention from parliamentary contests, but participation with a view to making Parliament obviously contemptible. The reasons which make attempts at violent revolution seem to most of us both improbable and undesirable in this country carry no weight with him, and seem to him mere bourgeois prejudices. When I suggested that whatever is possible in England can be achieved without bloodshed, he waved aside the suggestion as fantastic. I got little impression of knowledge or psychological imagination as regards Great Britain. Indeed, the whole tendency of Marxism is against psychological imagination, since it attributes everything in politics to purely material causes." . . . .

"I think if I had met him without knowing who he was, I should not have guessed that he was a great man; he struck me as too opinionated and narrowly orthodox. His strength comes, I imagine, from his honesty, courage, and unwavering faith—religious faith in the Marxian gospel, which takes the place of the Christian martyr's hopes of Paradise, except that it is less egotistical. He has as little love of liberty as the Christians who suffered under Diocletian and retaliated when they acquired power. Perhaps love of liberty is incompatible with whole-hearted belief in a panacea for all human ills. If so, I cannot but rejoice in the skeptical temper of the Western world. I went to Russia believing myself a communist; but contact with those who have no doubts has intensified a thousandfold my own doubts, not only of communism, but of every creed so firmly held that for its sake men are willing to inflict widespread misery."

". . . He believes that nothing of real value can be achieved except through world revolution and the abolition of capitalism; I felt that he regarded the resumption of trade with capitalist countries as a mere palliative of doubtful value.

"He describes the division between rich and poor peasants, and the government propaganda among the latter against the former, leading to acts of violence which he seemed to find amusing. He spoke as though the dictatorship over the peasant would have to continue a long time, because of the peasant's desire for free trade. He said he knew from statistics (what I can well believe) that the peasants have had more to eat these last two years than they ever had before, 'and yet they are against us,' he added a little wistfully. I asked him what to reply to critics who say that in the country he had merely created peasant proprietorship, not communism; he replied that that is not quite the truth, but he did not say what the truth is."

Touching the decadence of culture under the communists Russell is forced unwillingly to admit that the intellectual life of Russia is at low ebb.

"The materialistic conception of history is all very well, but some care for the higher things of civilization as a relief. The Bolsheviki are sometimes said to have done great things for art, but I could not discover that they had done more than preserve something of what existed before. When I questioned one of them on the subject, he grew impatient, and said: 'We haven't time for a new art any more than for a new religion.' Unavoidably, the atmosphere is one in which art cannot flourish, because art is anarchic and resistant to organization.

Gorky has done all that one man could do to preserve the intellectual and artistic life of Russia. But he is dying, and perhaps it is dying too."

If Russell had studied the problem with less socialistic bias, he should have observed that the peasants' opposition to communism is based on the ingenuous impulse of the plain honest man against the monstrous injustice and atheism of Marxian Socialism. Even the Russian peasant rejects the status of a beast, to which the materialistic conception of history reduces all men.

Mr. Russell gives us the testimony of an unwilling witness. He is forced to admit truths which are contrary to his theories and hopes. He interprets everything that he can in favor of the socialistic conception of human life. He went to Russia with a Communistic prepossession. He would have been happy to have found there the confirmation of his theories. It is not strange that this man extenuates the evils of practical Socialism. He will admit against Socialism only that which can not be explained away. And yet this unwilling witness is forced to condemn Socialism. We see all through his article where conclusions against Socialism ought to be drawn which he does not draw. He wishes to spare Socialism, and in this he departs from the ocular evidence of equally candid observers. But his testimony is valuable, for we may conclude that the socialist system is, at least, as bad as he presents it, and by that witness stands condemned.

In August, 1920, Msgr. Baron Edward von Ropp, Archbishop of Mohilev, Roman Catholic Metropolitan of Russia, with seat at Petrograd, gave an interview at Berlin. His Grace said:

"Bolshevism is not, as it has been represented lately, a national Russian movement. Russian emigrants in Berlin who believe that it is a Russian national movement are entirely mistaken. They are no longer in touch with our country.

"A really national government would, of course, be the end of Bolshevism proper.

"The bulk of the Russian people are politically an inanimate mass, which is being pushed to and fro by Trotzky, otherwise Bronstein, Radek, otherwise Sobelsohn, Zinovieff, and other leaders whose names utterly differ from those under which they were originally known.

"There is a small group of fanatical, but entirely sincere Communists who dream of the world revolution and who would not be restrained by any consideration whatever, either political or moral. Of these, very few indeed are pure Russians.

"The others are Jews, Letts, Poles, Germans, and so forth. In Petrograd and Moscow, Russians are still allowed certain offices and certain positions. Tchitcherin and others are examples of the Russians who are allowed such offices.

"In my View, however, the dominating persons are Trotzky and his co-religionists."

Therefore when the argument is offered that Russia should have whatever form of government she may choose, and consequently that the Soviet should not be disturbed, we answer that the Soviets are not the choice of Russia. They are a minority held in power by armed force. The unjust war which the nations hurled upon the world crushed Russia. In her weakened state, she easily fell into the tyrannical distatorship of Lenin and Trotzky. If moral force ruled the world, the nations would rescue Russia from the Soviets and help her to establish under God a just government.

On July 8, 1920, the Government of the U. S. removed restrictions against trade with Russia, with the understanding that our citizens may trade with Russia at their own risk. This was necessary to give American Commerce a free opportunity to compete with the commerce of other nations. The Bolsheviki have gold that they have stolen from the Russian Treasury and from private individuals; this gold attracts the merchants of the world. But our Government in clear terms condemns the usurping tyranny of the Bolsheviki in the following declaration:

"This (United States) Government is not willing by means of political recognition to lend positive assistance to a faction whose disregard of the principles of democracy is evidenced at home by the maintanance of a minority despotism, and abroad by an insidious campaign of propaganda to subvert popular governmental institutions expressive of the will of the majority."

Since a united action of the Nations to save Russia is not to be hoped from the morally bankrupt nations of the world, perhaps our country has done as well as possible in the given Circumstances. Its policy toward Russia is far more just than that of England, France, and Japan, who care nothing for the people, but are greedy for Russia's gold.

"While the Government of the United States confirms categorically its decision not to deal in any way with the Bolshevist tyrants, the Governments of Great Britain and France seem to be inclined, in one form or another, to recognize the so-called Bolshevist government, in spite of the opposition to it on the part of the Russian people, and make

such a recognition dependent upon the acceptance by the Bolsheviki of the following terms: first, they must recognize Russia's foreign debts; second, the Bolsheviki must agree to cease their propaganda in foreign countries; third, they must not interfere with the interests of Great Britain in the East; and fourth, they must compensate British and French citizens for their losses in Bolshevist Russia. Finally, to these terms another is added and that is that the Bolsheviki should stop the offensive of the Red Army against the Poles and should not pursue the Poles as soon as the latter retreat within the ethnographic boundaries of Poland.

"Russian patriots and democrats could justly object to the very fact that some of the Allied statesmen did not hesitate to open parleys with the Bolsheviki. Russia lies in ruin because of her loyalty and sacrifices for the Allied cause, and with this cause the anti-Bolshevist forces in Russia remained affiliated through all their activities. By abandoning the anti-Bolshevist forces, the Allies are abandoning their friends and are rendering support to the enemies not only of the Russian people but of their own cause and of their own peoples as well." (*Struggling Russia*, July 17, 1920.)

In the same issue of the aforesaid publication appeared the following resolutions which present the views of the sobered socialists, who now recognize from the practical trial of Socialism in Russia that it is an impossible thing that destroys the normal life of a country and sets up a tyranny of the basest elements in society.

1. A NOTE BY THE RUSSIAN POLITICAL DELEGATION

In July, 1920, the Russian Political Delegation addressed the following note to the Allied Governments:

"The Russian Political Delegation deems it its duty, in view of the parleys which the British Government is about to engage in with the representatives of the 'Soviet Government' to the end of establishing commercial relations with the latter, to remind the Governments of the Allied Powers of the true nature of the Soviet rule in Russia and of the inevitable consequences which are bound to result from the maintenance of relations or the conduct of business affairs with that rule.

"History knows of no other example of such a rule as that which is being exercised today in Russia by the 'Soviet Government.' Having decreed the nationalization of all private property, the Soviet rule has set up as the sole and supreme

master of the entire national wealth. After two and a half years of ruling, the 'Government of the Soviets' has failed to utilize its power for the benefit of the State and the welfare of the people and has succeeded only in pillaging and disorganizing all that had been accumulated in Russia before its coming into power. Even agricultural production, which was able, in a certain measure, to escape the direct effects of the Soviet rule, recieved a profound blow from the Bolshevist economic regime. The menace of requisitions, the very low prices fixed for agricultural products. the almost complete absence of manufactured articles for exchange,—all these factors lead the peasants to limit their labors strictly to the immediate personal requirements of their families. As a result, the area under cultivation has become so diminished that at this present hour all Russia is threatened with famine. A great part of the heretofore accumulated wealth of Russia has been employed by the Bolshevist rule for the purpose of propagating world-wide revolution and sustaining innumerable administrative parasites and party agents. And today, when their regime is about to founder, the Bolsheviki are putting forth their supreme efforts to obtain aid from abroad in order to prolong their stay in power and in the hope that a world-wide revolution will avert their fatal end.

"No Government in the world today exercises such unlimited power over its subjects. The Soviet rule does not trouble itself either with laws or morals. It regards the rights of citizens as mere bourgeois prejudices. It maintains itself only by bloody terror. In addition, this regime has proclaimed a practice which has no counterpart in the worlds' history, in depriving all those Russian citizens who fail to declare themselves as its partisans of the means of earning their bread by lawful means. The right to life and labor belongs in Russia today only to those who affiliate themselves with the Bolsheviki

"Such a situation, of course, makes it imperative for the Bolsheviki to seek commercial transactions with foreign lands. No commercial transaction, however, with private or public enterprises is possible today in Russia outside of the Soviet power. All merchandise which is likely to be imported into Russia, as well as all benefits that might accrue therefrom, will serve not for the purpose of revictualing the famished population but for the bolstering of the Soviet rule and for the international propaganda.

"The Russian Political Delegation wishes to declare that far from being hostile to the resumption of commercial rela-

tions with the Russian population it will consider itself supremely happy when such relations become possible. But it protests against the fact that Russian interests are being sacrificed to the interests of the Soviet rule and against the fact that the Bolshevist delegates are likely to be considered as the representatives of the Russian people.

"Commercial exchange, if arranged to suit the conditions demanded by the Soviet, will not be an aid to Russia but co-operation extended to its oppressors. Such a policy will, in the end, result only in the strengthening of destructive propaganda in such lands which will not prove too far for the reach of those men who having seized power against the will of the people are leading Russia to ruin."

Signed:

Prince G. Lvov,
N. V. Tchaikovsky,
B. Maklakov,
B. Savinkov.

2. RESOLUTION OF THE PARIS GROUP OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

"Having discussed at the meeting of June 10, the question of the negotiations now in progress in London between the British Government and the official representative of Lenin's Government, as well as the opinions of the British and French Press on the subject, the Paris group of the Russian Constitutional Democratic Party welcomes the viewpoint of the French Government upon these negotiations, which is supported by an influential section of British and French public opinion, and deems it its duty to declare:

"1. That the mere fact that a Government which denies the elementary foundations of statehood and governs Russia by violence unheard of in the worst days of the old autocracy should be admitted to negotiations with Governments constitutionally representing their peoples, is in itself a powerful incentive to the international propaganda of the so-called 'world revolution,' which is and remains the main object of the revolutionary communism in all countries.

"2. That the practical purpose of these negotiations, namely, the restoration of peace in Eastern Europe and a normal exchange of goods with Russia is unattainable because,

"(a) Civil war is the inevitable consequence of the fundamental principles and tactics of 'Communism.' In one form or another, resistance to their methods of violence will continue until Bolshevism is completely destroyed.

"(b) Regular foreign trade is absolutely essential for providing adequate help for the population and for alleviating the unendurable conditions of life introduced by the Bolshevist regime. Such trade cannot, however, be established as long as the regime endures which has abolished private property and trade, which is unable to restore the productivity of national labor and normal relations between different social strata of the population and between different parts of the State.

"3. That the measures now being devised for the resumption of trade relations with the Soviet Government are of an artificial nature and are detrimental to the interests of the Russian people, because—

"(a) They tend to diminish the gold reserve which is necessary for the restoration of the economic and financial life of the State and of the country, and which represents a guarantee of the future settlement with the foreign creditors of the Russian State.

"(b) They may result in an artificial draining of Russia of certain raw materials and products which are at present required for the population.

"(c) They strengthen the military basis of the Bolshevist domination of enslaved Russia, and thus make the inevitable collapse of the Bolshevist regime more remote, while prolonging the condition of anarchy into which that regime has plunged Russia.

"4. In view of the above, the Paris group of the Constitutional Democratic Party is compelled to recognize the negotiations now in progress in London as a danger to international peace, practically useless and inimical to the interests of the Russian people. The Paris group deems it its duty to reiterate the declarations which have repeatedly been made by the representatives of the Russian Government, as well as by responsible Russian politicians, that no arrangements and agreements with the Bolsheviki at the expense of the Russian people will be recognized as legally valid."

One of the fatal effects of Communal industry in Russia, is the failure to provide skilled labor. The suppression of private incentive and reward reduces the workers to a listless mass of unskilled workers, mobilized as soldiers, poorly functioning in dull, hopeless apathy. Many of these wretched workers flee to the country. In a statement now in the hands of the Government at Washington, Leon Trotzky, in 1919, declared:

"Hunger, the unsettled dwelling problem, and the cold are driving the workers from industrial centers to the country,

and not only to the country, but also into the ranks of profiteering, into the ranks of parasites."

"The documents brought from Russia to Washington, include reports of economic conditions inside of Soviet Russia made before a recent session of the congress of delegates from councils of national economy, trade unions and the Moscow soviet by Leon Totzky, A. Rykov, chairman of the supreme council of national economy in the soviet government, and by M. Tomski, chairman of the central council of trade unions.

The reports all deal with the steady decline of industrial productivity in soviet Russia since the rise of bolshevik power and on the phenomenon of a labor shortage in industry when the demand for labor is at a low mark.

These reports were among the official soviet documents, not intended for the outside world, which have just reached Washington from Helsingfors, where they came into possession of Gregory Alexinsky, a former moderate socialist member of the Russian duma.

"The trade unions claim to have over one million organized workers in industry," Trotzky declares, "but in factories of these trades there are only 850,000 workers."

The lack of skilled labor is stated to be so acute that even establishments engaged in producing supplies for the red army have at times experienced the greatest difficulties in obtaining sufficient skilled workers to enable operation to continue. Rykov characterized the skilled labor shortage during the present industrial depression as one of the most dangerous phenomena of existing Russian economic life. It has attained such proportions, he said, "that we are unable to utilize certain establishments, even though they are provided for raw material, only because of the lack of skilled labor."

Commenting on the industrial situation, Rykov's report states that the nationalization of industry has been quite thoroughly carried out by the bolshevik authorities. In 1918, he says, the soviets had nationalized 1,125 factories and mills. Toward the close of 1919, he gives the number of industrial establishments taken over by the state at 4,000.

"Of these," Rykov writes, "only 3,000 are working at present. All the rest are closed and idle. The number of workers, by a rough estimate, is about one million. Thus you can see that both in point of number of the workingmen employed as well as in point of numbers of still working establishments, the manufacturing industry is in the throes of a crisis."

Trotzky attempted to explain the industrial crisis by the "destruction of technical equipment," Rykov, however, stated that "the soviet state, the workers and peasants power, could not utilize even those lathes, machines, factory equipment which were still at its disposal."

Shall we charge it to mental weakness or moral degeneracy that the Labor Unions of the world unite their efforts in support of the Soviets of Russia? In cannot be alleged that only the case against the Soviets has been heard. The evidence against them comes from all classes of their own oppressed people; from sympathizers who visited their country in order to defend them; from their own statements published in their own papers; from their deeds which the eyes of the world have seen; from official investigation in the name of nations friendly to the democratic aspirations of Russia; from a consensus of sources which we can not doubt without rejecting all human faith.

The American Federation of Labor deserves the approbation of humanity for the following resolution carried in the Montreal Convention, 1920, by a majority of 561 to 39:

"Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor is not justified in taking any action which could be construed as an assistance to or approval of the Soviet government of Russia so long as that government is based upon authority which is not vested in it by a popular representative national assemblage of the Russian people, or so long as it endeavors to create revolutions in well-established civilized nations of the world, or so long as it advocates and applies the militarization of labor and persecutes the organizing and functioning of trade unions and the maintenance of a free press and free public assemblage."

On May 25, 1920, a British Labor Delegation sent to Russia to study conditions, attended a Labor Union in Moscow. Speeches were made by Messrs Daun, Kefal, and Chernov. Chernov was minister of Agriculture under Kerensky.

The speeches of both Daun and Kefal complained to the Labor Delegates of the misery of the people and of the unbearable state of oppression under which labor now exists.

The speech of Chernov went much further and consisted of a furious indictment of the government. Chernov declared every factory in Russia was under iron discipline, and no such thing as liberty for the working class was left. He complained of the horrible decay of Russian civilization, which he said was proceeding hourly toward ruin, and asserted the Russian proletariat had rid itself of one bourgeois class only to have

been betrayed into the clutches of another, infinitely more grasping and despotic.

Chernov's speech threw the meeting into confusion. The hall was forcibly cleared and the meeting declared at an end.

The facts as given are substantially though briefly confirmed by both "Izvestia" and "Pravda." The latter paper definitely places both Mensheviki and Socialists-Revolutionists in the category of traitors. It said: "The Mensheviki and the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists hoped the presence of the British Labor Delegates would leave them in safety while they attempted sedition, but they will not escape punishment. Every one causing any agitation in the rear is a traitor to the proletariat and cannot be easily forgiven."

The tyranny of the low born villains who now have power in Russia, reminds one of Voltaire's comment on the destruction of the French Parliament in 1771:

"I think the King is right; if one must serve, I hold it better to serve a well-bred lion, who is naturally stronger than I am, than two hundred rats of my own breed." The Russian people destroyed the lion and are now serving the rats.

The rise of applied Socialism in Russia and its unnatural, destructive power is clearly presented by Nicholas Tchaikovsky ("Struggling Russia," November 29, 1919.)

"Whatever has happened, Bolshevism cannot last long in Russia. That great land will soon bury it and seal its grave with a tombstone to mark its ignominy. Its memory will linger in the minds of the people as a terrible nightmare, as an evil era, an epoch which they will never want to return.

"The first touch of real freedom found the Russian people in the trenches, at their posts, and under conditions of hard labor. The depths of their hearts thereupon became inflamed with the desire to become *absolutely free*, to obtain conditions under which 'all and everything would be allowable,' all would be accessible and all possible. Only such a freedom inspired them. The realities of freedom, freedom limited by rights of others and their own duties and obligations, appeared to them a curtailment and a piteous remnant and made no appeal to them. They failed to show their appreciation of it when it confronted them in the form of a provisional democratic order. In their cultural poverty the realistic aim of complete freedom could be achieved in no other form, but in that of some comfortable prosperity at the expense of someone else, be it at the expense of the State or of private resources. Everything was common and general, and everything was therefore, subject to common division. These inner contra-

dictions in the minds of the people proved to be fertile ground for the Bolshevist seed. The fantastic swing of their imaginative souls was as wide as the Southern steppes, but, alas, the flying height of their creative powers were no higher than the attempts of a tiny wingless chicken.

"Under the circumstances it was comparatively easy for the men with a very plastic conscience and very deft fingers, who turned up at the right moment, to utilize this illusory stage of the people's mind for their criminal purposes, to foist upon the Russian people their doctrine of irreconcilable social contradictions and to split and to conquer Russia for German 'kultur.' They convinced the people that absolute freedom was not only possible, but that it was due them, the proletariat, as their right. And if this absolute freedom was not yet fully realized upon this earth, it was the fault of no one but of the wily machinations of their class enemies, who must, consequently, be destroyed as vile parasites without regard to feelings of mercy or justice.

"The heads of the bewildered and deceived people were swinging fast round and round, and they believed the bloody preachings of the charlatans. They trusted in their promises of an immediate peace, their promises of land distribution and of complete freedom, and they willingly exchanged for these 'birds in the sky' the one they held in their hands, the armed forces of the country, the keys of the State Treasury and to the printing presses. The people trustingly handed themselves completely over to them, and were ready to be led into their earthly paradise.

"The entire power of the great country thus fell into the hands of the Bolshevist Soviets. They were entrusted with the governing and the legislating of the land in the interests of one single class, at the expense of all the others. In actual fact it meant the introduction of a forcible brand of Bolshevist communism, of the application of the principle of 'rob the robbers,' down to the shooting of all those who differed with them and who protested against violence and the crimes committed by the 'Extraordinary Commissions' and Soviets.

"The apparatus for the enslavement of the Russian people was thus created by their own hands. After this was accomplished, their masters began to handle them with little ceremony. To begin with, they forcibly and thoroughly disarmed the people. Later, under the threat of death penalties, all their democratic and professional organizations were disbanded, and, finally, they were deprived of the means of expressing their opinions through the supression of all organs

of the press, the confiscation of all printing shops and the prohibition of all public meetings except those of the Bolsheviki. But that was not quite sufficient, so with the aid of extra governmental rations of food, of soft berths and sinecures, and a system of espionage by the 'extraordinary commissions'—of which even the Tzar's government did not dream—they converted the people into a mob of bewildered slaves and famished maniacs. A greater mockery of human rights and of the freedom and happiness of the people cannot be imagined!

"Today the great masses of the people—the peasantry of Russia—have lost faith in the sirens of Bolshevism. But no amount of protesting, no rebellions and riots can now return to them their power that is in the hands of a handful of power-mad, blood-thirsty, and fanatical charlatans of class doctrines, charlatans who have surrounded themselves consciously with notorious criminals, traitors and hired assassins. The passionate impulse towards limitless freedom has brought the great people of Russia to complete and unheard-of despotism. The immediate cessation of the war, through the infamous treaty of Brest-Litovsk, gave rise to an endless civil war on all fronts, a war that is still going on, a year after the World War has come to an end. The forcible introduction of 'communism' has resulted in the complete looting of all State and private wealth. Rivers of blood are flowing in Soviet Russia, life has come to standstill, and the brutalization of human beings has reached such a state that 16-year-old girls act as executioners in the 'extraordinary commissions' and murder with their own hands dozens of their fellow human beings who happen to have different ideas and convictions. Pauperization, hunger and cold have reached such a degree that they are selling tombstones from the graveyards and are burning pavement-wood blocks for fuel. The population in the big cities, such as Petrograd and Kazan, has dwindled down during the past two Soviet years as snow under the bright sun.

"At present there is no one who has any doubts about the fact that the Bolshevist Utopia has suffered complete bankruptcy. The Bolsheviki are ascribing this failure, in their organs and their proclamations, to unfavorable conditions, to the opposition of the bourgeoisie and the Allies. The Bolshevist Utopia, however, is so replete with inner contradictions that it could not have been realized under any conditions. To show how far this Utopia is from the realities of life, it is sufficient to state that the Bolsheviki at the outset drove out from the nationalized industrial and even scientific enterprises

all specialists and organizers, i. e., all the workers who contribute to these establishments the greatest amount of creativeness and who are the chief elements in the productiveness of these industries and enterprises. That explains why the Bolsheviki were compelled later, when all industries in Soviet Russia came to a standstill, to invite back the 'bourgeois specialists' into industry regardless of their political reputation.

"A similar development took place with regard to the much-disputed question of equal compensation for all kinds of labor. This principle had to be abandoned, and they were forced to return to the system of piece work and bonuses for extra productivity. They finally had to abandon the management of enterprises by ignorant and callous 'committeemen' and to replace them with appointed, but well qualified and responsible managers. The nationalization of housing and children have gone through a like development.

"Thus the Bolshevist Utopia has suffered defeat after defeat throughout all its undertakings, not merely because they were purposeless and unpopular, but because they were in sharp antagonism to the very psychology of man and in contradiction to economic laws. As is well known, according to Bolshevist doctrine, personal freedom and independence is a 'bourgeois prejudice,' and all members of society are subject to common regulations. Nevertheless, the creativeness of the human mind is a purely individualistic phenomenon and, cannot be converted into public property. Consequently, the abolition of personal autonomy spells the death of creativeness, and together with it, the productivity of labor in human society. A more absurd proposition could not be advanced, even from an ultra Marxian point of view.

"The very argument that the new system fails of success because it meets with obstacles on its way, obstacles which can be overcome only by force, is beneath criticism. A truly living system, such as, for instance, the co-operative organization of distribution and production, has managed to overcome all obstacles, economic as well as social, and is triumphant without resorting to any violence. It draws its strength from the natural course of the evolution of life. The Bolshevist Utopia, on the other hand, is being submerged in the blood of innocent victims, failing of success, and offers no hope of a success in the future.

"What a satanic vanity, what a criminal absence of any sense of responsibility was necessary for the undertaking of such a gigantic, never-before-tried experiment as the one which the Bolsheviki have tried upon the Russian people, and

which they have designed to try upon all other cultured peoples of the world! And all because of their vainglorious blindness caused by their demagogic success in the capture of power and the dissolution of the Russian Army and State. As if the only thing worthwhile is the dissipation and the destruction, in the name of social hatred, of all that mankind has created during ages, and not the creation of a new, more perfect and beautiful commonwealth in the name of social love!"

But why spend time in describing a passing madness that soon will be no more? Because, although Russian Bolshevism shall soon pass, the pest, Socialism, will remain in other forms, and will endeavor to tempt men to accept its doctrines which ruined Russia. Full knowledge of Russia's tragedy may deter men from a repetition of the experiment.

A strong argument against nationalization of industry is offered by Prof. I. V. Isaiev ("London Economist," 1919.)

"What is going on now in Russia is not the dictatorship of the proletariat, but the dictatorship over the proletariat. There are at each factory small groups of Communists. They are armed, are always there, and in many cases they even live at the factories, watching over all the movements of the workmen. The elections to the factory committees and Soviets of workmen delegates are effected under their control and pressure. The factories are guarded by armed forces. Those factories which refuse to elect candidates indicated from above are threatened with reprisals and even with the factory being closed down. In the Soviet of workmen's delegates no debates or discussions on decrees or projects of law are allowed. They must be accepted without objections, on the instructions of the Commissaries.

"It is natural that by holding the whole economic machinery of the country the Bolsheviki are keeping the laboring masses in submission. Consequently nationalization, as carried out in Soviet Russia, is a purely political act. From the economic point of view it proved a complete failure, and led not to the emancipation of labor, but to the enslavement and suppression of freedom of the individual."

"On April 19th and 20th, 1920, the representatives of the Russian Co-operative Organizations in London held a meeting at which two co-operators, F. I. Shmeleff and N. V. Makeef, who were delegated to visit Moscow in order to ascertain whether it is possible to establish trade relations with Bolshevist Russia, made their report. Their report, printed in full in "The London Times" of April 25, 1920, is as follows:

"On February 18, 1920, the delegation entered the territory of Soviet Russia across the Finnish frontier, having in their possession the guarantees communicated by wireless from the Soviet Government of an unhindered admission into Russia and return from Russia, and after receiving from M. Litvinoff, the representative of the Soviet Government, passports and visas for entry into Russia.

"From the very frontier the delegates were isolated from the outside world, a special guard being assigned to them, which guard brought them direct to Moscow and did not permit of their stopping at Petrograd, although the delegates had the intention of doing that. In Moscow the delegates were conveyed to the house of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs on the Safiskai Quay, where delegates and correspondents arriving from abroad are usually quartered. The system of isolation was continued also here; the delegates had attached to them two employees of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs on whom the duty was laid to be always with the delegates and not to permit their being visited by any persons except those who had the special permission of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs."

Notwithstanding these disabilities, the co-operators were able to witness the ruin of Russia. The following extracts are taken from their report ("Struggling Russia," May 15, 1920.)

"The whole country is in the power of the Communist Party, which continues to carry through Socialist measures according to the program of the Communist Party. A tendency is noticeable towards a system of centralization, i. e., the subordination of local soviets and economic bodies to the central authority; the nomination by the central authority of presidents and members on the local,provincial, and regional bodies of the Soviet system, on executive committees of workers' soviets, the People's Economic Council, and on the supply committees. Formerly at the head of these institutions were none but elected persons. In order to obtain majorities in the Soviets the Communist Party resorts to all methods, including force, which it has at its sole command.

"The village lives quite apart from the town, and in it have been conserved to a greater extent the physical and material forces of the country than in the town. The town population is dying out in the literal meaning of the word. The yearly mortality in Moscow has reached 112 persons per 1,000. Typhus is raging in the villages, and to a still greater extent in the towns and along the railways. Medical aid in the towns is scarce, whilst in the villages it is almost entirely

non-existent. There are no drugs at all. Compulsory labor and the collection of products as taxation in kind greatly irritate the population. By every means in their power the people are trying not to carry out the obligations imposed on them, and are carrying them out only under the pressure of physical force and terror.

"The former privately-owned estates are deserted, although on some of them have been organized the so-called Soviet farms. In suburban districts the peasants have become enriched at the expense of the impoverishment of the town. They have acquired various household goods which in former times never entered a peasant's household.

"The peasantry sell agricultural produce very unwillingly, and, otherwise than by exchange for articles such as soap, salt, matches, etc., it is impossible to get anything. The peasants only deliver raw materials under compulsion. Owing to the famine, the people are concerned solely with their own preservation, the production of foodstuffs, and the evasion of the heavy and unpleasant obligations imposed on them by the authorities.

"Only the official Press published by the Government, or the Communist Party, is in existence.

"All industry and trade is socialized and nationalized, and is under the control of special central bodies under the direction of the Supreme Soviet People's Economic Council. At the mills and factories there are no raw materials, fuel, or organized labor. The majority of skilled workmen engaged on various Government duties, and those of them who have not yet broken their connection with the villages have gone back there."

Generally speaking, national industry in ruined.

The failure of Socialism in Russia is due to two causes. No political or economic system can succeed which is controlled by such villains as Lenin, Trotzky, and the other Soviet leaders. But also a more fundamental cause lies in the essential evil of the principles of Socialism. The resolution of the Paris Group of the Constitutional Democratic Party of Russia rightly declares, "Civil war is the inevitable consequence of the fundamental principles and tactics of Communism, and that normal national life can not be established as long as the regime (Socialism) endures which has abolished private property and trade, which is unable to restore the productivity of national labor and (to restore) normal relations between different social strata of the population and between different parts of the State."

Socialism in Russia has created an inverted absolute monarchy. It has created a "Laborocracy," and transferred to the "Congress of Soviets" and its impious head, powers more absolute than those of Nero and Caligula.

Prof. S. Zagarsky, an able Russian economist, former editor of the daily *Dien* of Petrograd gives us the following statement touching Russia's gold:

"According to the Bolsheviki, they have at their disposal gold in bullion to the value of 75 million pound sterling. According to our own authentic information, which is also quoted in the latest bulletin of the highly reliable and accurate French "Agence Economique et Financiere," the Bolsheviki have already obligated themselves to export to England 7,500,000 pounds in gold; in other words all the gold the Bolsheviki now have at their disposal can last in the best event only for ten such agreements. But gold has already been exported also to Sweden, to the amount of one million pounds, and to Esthonia to the amount of 4,500,000 pounds. In a word, at the very beginning, Russian gold is already flowing in a broad stream all over Europe. It is already accomplishing its sinister work, bribing with its seductive glitter everybody and all—including the City of London!

"That the Bolsheviki are acting in this manner is not to be wondered at: to them the vital interests of Russia are only to be considered as far as they are compatible with the maintenance of their power. But for Western European business spheres this is an entirely short-sighted policy. It only kills the goose that lays the egg. Russia's national economy, deprived of the basis of its future monetary system, with a rate of exchange which is unable to recuperate, burdened with tremendous foreign debts for the settlement of which there will be nothing left, with a chronically huge liabilities account on its balance sheet, will not be able to reestablish its productive forces. Under such conditions the world's economic life will also in the future be deprived of an opportunity to reestablish Russia and to obtain from it what the world requires to mitigate the present world crisis.

"A vast country like Russia, with tremendous natural resources, and an immense market for foreign goods, can serve the interests of other rich countries only when its monetary and financial system is in a more or less tolerable condition. For it was in its own interests that England put through the rehabilitation of the monetary system of India. So that the monetary reform of 1895 in Russia, establishing there a gold standard, was closely linked with the improve-

ment of the interests of our foreign creditors and contractors. If the Gold is pumped out of Russia at present, England will be forced in the future to make amends for its short-sighted policy, a policy dictated by the desire to exploit Russia's temporary troubles."

The principles of Socialism have produced the despotism of the Soviets. To dethrone the old regime the socialists promised the masses a new paradise. They have deceived the people and have destroyed the foundation of human society. Life, honor, liberty, family, home, labor, are destroyed by the Moloch of Socialism. Socialistic, atheistic absolutism is the logical result of the principles of Socialism. Thus declares the brillian Russian journalist Alexander Yablonovsky:

"I desire to make clear above everything: We have not left our land because the revolution has taken from us our all and destroyed the fondest hopes of numerous generations. We have fled because the Asiatic Socialism allows no place whatever for free human labor. Foreigners know but little of our revolution, and this side of the Russian tragedy is utterly unknown to them. But, alas! this is the absolute truth. Today there is not in Russia a single profession over which the Damoclean sword of Asiatic Socialism is not suspended.

"Are you a tiller of the soil? Then, be ready every hour of the day for a visit of armed men who may come to you, take away your crops, lead your cattle away and conscript your sons into the Red Army.

"Are you a man of commerce? Then, be aware that in Soviet Russia private commerce is forbidden, all stores are boarded up, all wares confiscated, capital pillaged and all banks requisitioned.

"Are you a professor? Know, then, that in Russia there is no free science and all free education is severely punished. There is no other law of the land except socialist science, and no other method of instruction but the one labeled sovietist is permitted.

"And, lastly, are you a writer? Know, then, that in the Bolshevist paradise all journals and all non-official periodicals are formally forbidden and the free human word is considered the gravest of crimes, carrying with it the reward of death.

"In a word, if a foreigner were to attempt to understand Russian life as it is today, in its fullest aspects, he would first have to strip himself *in toto* of all old ideas and all ordinary conceptions of civil life. Imagine Paris without a Parliament, without deputies, without laws, without public forums,

without shops, without journals of opinion, without banks, without postal service, without a university, without railways, without schools, and only with a foreground like this might you begin to picture to yourself the bliss of our socialist paradise. Add to this the fact that the inhabitants of this paradise of gorillas must be ready every day and every hour of the day to fall the victims of violent death for one cause or another, for in Russia *everything is possible.*

"Is it possible that they can take life there without trial and verdict, by virtue of a mere order of the Red Terror?

"Yes, they can.

"Is it possible that in accordance with all the rules of the Red Army, soldiers may break into the bed-chambers of our daughters, in the thick of night, and search and ransack them?

"Yes, they may.

"Then, one's life, honor, liberty, family, home, labor,—all is crushed into dust beneath the paws of the gorilla of Asiatic Socialism, all, to the very last vestige.

"The gods are athirst! And the gods of the Revolution are thirsting unceasingly, for whosoever preaches only hatred and lives only by hatred, can no longer stop hating. Once the fire in the stove has been started, fresh wood must be thrown in, otherwise the fire will go out.

"And thus the whole Russian *intelligentzia* has been made to serve as fire-wood. The *intelligentzia* has been exterminated in the civil war, drowned in the rivers, burned in the hospitals, shot in the Extraordinary Commissions, hanged in the public squares."

The socialists of the United States by a referendum vote decided to unite with the Third International of Moscow. By that act, they aid and abet and are in a degree accomplices of those criminals who have ruined Russia and who aim to ruin the world. Lenin may reject their affiliation, but that does not exculpate them; they hold his principles even though they may oppose his power. It was wise and just for the Assembly of the State of New York to reject the emissaries of the Third International of Moscow. The allegiance of these men is not to the United States, but to International Socialism. The committee which tried them may have made a technical use of their war record to exclude them; but the fundamental reason is that the excluded assemblymen elect are oathbound to the Socialist party. They are pledged to the Soviet Platform, which contemplates the destruction of human society, and which has accomplished its purpose where it has been tried. It is but natural to hear protests against the As-

sembly's action by newspapers controlled by Jews and by brainsick idealists and demagogues. But it is disgusting to find certain so-called religious newspapers taking up the defense of the expelled socialists and the defense of many other socialistic evil principles. These noisy scolds attack lawful industrial enterprises, stir up discontent in the souls of the laborers, misrepresent facts, give comfort to the deadly enemies of religion, law, and order, advocate the abolition of capitalism, the abolition of the wage system, and full liberty to the socialists to corrupt our laws and to disrupt our excellent industrial system. No Utopia shall ever be realized on earth. Some evils shall always be found in every human institution. The way of wisdom today in America is to hold to the excellent industrial system which is being perfected by many important reforms and which would progress much faster in its upward course were it not hindered by the unsound theories of the preachers of hate and discontent.

In the following sound appeal, we believe that there is much impossible of realization. All of it ought to be realized, but an unbelieving world will not accept a plan whose operation must be based on the ethics of Christ. But the appeal is valuable inasmuch as it forcibly points out the dangers of that which misguided men would substitute for the existing industrial order. The industrial slogan of our day should be: Not the abolition of private property, but its greater diffusion by thrift and lawful methods.

On July 23, 1920, Rev. Frederick Siedenberg, S. J., Dean of the Department of Sociology, Loyola University, Chicago, spoke at Mount St. Joseph College on the present industrial unrest. Father Siedenberg said:

"The world will not go back to pre-war standards and the wage-earner of today will not be content with a world merely safe for political democracy. He is determined that it shall be safe also for economic democracy. The war taught the toiler that in war, Industry is the second line of defense, and that in peace it is the first line. Unless we study the demands of the times and act accordingly, the supremacy of capitalism will give way to a supremacy of labor; we shall change the dynasty of capital for the more dangerous dynasty of labor. A state-proud Socialism would be worse than a purse-proud capitalism and our remedy would be worse than the disease it is trying to cure.

"The solution is not in revolution but in reform. This reform can be brought about only by a return to Christian principles and practice which gave birth and value to whatever

is worth while in civilization. In the economic world Capital and Labor must not be separated but must be brought together, and the industry of the future must go back to its medieval prototype, and become once more a social institution in which employer and employe will realize their common brotherhood and their fundamental relations to each other. Profiteering and parasite industry must give way to co-operative and democratic industry; not however with the abolition of private property but with a greater diffusion of private property. There must be a living wage, but there must also be honest labor for that living wage. There must be more concern for vocational education, for standards of health, for public recreation and especially for the highest development of man in his yearning for the true, the beautiful and the good. Man can never be a mere cog in the industrial machine, because back of labor is a human personality, a divine spirit that lives not on bread alone."

At a conference of Independent Socialists held in Berlin in the late summer of 1920, Prof. Karl Ballod, just returned from research work for the Latvian government of Russia, one of the foremost authorities on Russian economies, declared:

"Whatever our sentiments toward the Russians may be, the fact remains that they have not given proof that they are able to establish Socialism in their country. I once was of the opinion that Soviet Russia and Germany could support one another economically, but I have now abandoned this opinion."

Data regarding birth and death statistics in Petrograd, as compiled by the People's Health Commissioner, have just been published for the year 1919. According to this compilation, the rate of mortality per thousand was 21.5 in 1911, 23.1 in 1912, 22.2 in 1913, 22.5 in 1914, 23.2 in 1915, 32.5 in 1916, 26.7 in 1917, 43.6 in 1918 and 74.9 in 1919. The number of births, on the other hand, figured as follows (per thousand): 29.4 in 1911, 28 in 1912, 27.5 in 1913, 26.2 in 1914, 22.8 in 1915, 19.4 in 1916, 15.2 in 1917, 15 in 1918 and 13 in 1919. From this we see that in the year 1919, the number of deaths exceeded that of births six times in the largest cities of Russia.

International Socialism

On Dec. 30, 1920, the socialists of France voted by a large majority to adhere to the Third International of Moscow and to defend "with all our strength" the Russian Revolution. This split the party. The minority composed of the Right and Centrist parties became the official socialist party of France. The majority became the Communist party of France. They declare themselves to be "clear cut socialists dedicated to class struggle and the realization of a socialist commonwealth and against participation in all bourgeois ministries.'

Their manifesto is a frank avowal of the true animus of Socialism. For politic reasons some of the exponents of Socialism try to persuade the world that Socialism is a peaceful economic evolution. This pretension is belied by history. Socialism is a violent rebellion against the religious and social order. It directly attacks the nature of man and his destiny. Its sin is hatred of God and of his law. In Socialism man is not a being held in a probationary state of existence awaiting a fuller life of immortality, but a mere economic unit with no interests and no destiny beyond his material existence. They set out to build a theory for a being that does not exist. Every socialistic principle is in conflict with God and his creation. Where law and order are strong fixed, Socialism cunningly conceals its real animus and bides its time. It is mild in America because it recognizes that public opinion is opposed to its revolutionary program. But the Socialist carries in his heart a hatred of religion, of the State, and of existing institutions.

Socialism in England assumed a definite communistic form in London on July 31, 1920. The Independent Socialist Party of England had addressed the following questionnaire to the Third Moscow International:

"In what respect does the Third International consider that Communism differs from other forms of Socialism?''

The Executive Committee of the Moscow International, considering this question as pivotal, answered it first. The reply was long. It reviewed half a century of Socialist activity, and attacked the "centre" of the Second International,

represented in England by Ramsay Macdonald and Philip Snowden, in France by Jean Longuet, in Germany by Karl Kautsky and Haase, in Italy by Modigliana, Turatti and Treves, in Russia by Axelrod and Martov, in the United States by Morris Hillquit,—all of whom it accuses of playing during the war the role of Pontius Pilate, "washing their hands of the guilt." The main offense of these Centre leaders, implies the document, is that they do not foment revolution and sedition, that they "persuade the workers that socialism can be obtained only by constitutional means," * * * that they "carry on no kind of agitation among the British soldiers and sailors." The argument is clinched as follows:

"In what respect does Communism differ from other forms of socialism? We reply: There are no other forms, there is only Communism. Whatever else goes under the name of socialism is either wilful deception by the lackeys of the bourgeoisie or the self-delusion of persons or groups who hesitate to choose between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie; who hesitate between a life-and-death struggle and the role of assistants to the expiring bourgeoisie."

"* * * Whoever tells the British working class that it can overthrow the capitalist dictatorship in the British Empire through any other means than the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, by taking the full power into their own hands, by depriving of political power all those who defend capitalist exploitation and by organizing a Red labor army, deceives himself and others. * * *

"Had the British working class gained power by means of Parliamentary elections, by means of so-called democracy * * * the Communists are not for a moment freed of their duty of saying to the workers the following:

"(1) That it is not unlikely that the British bourgeoisie, the most energetic and skillful oppressor of national movements, the richest in the world, the ruler not only of millions of the peasants and the workers of the Colonies—it is most unlikely that this bourgeoisie will give up its power without a struggle and become subject to the paper will of a Parliament:

"(2) That, therefore, the workers should prepare not for an easy Parliamentary victory, but for victory by a heavy civil war:

"(3) That, should the workers have succeeded in gaining power without this civil war, that would only signify that the necessity of civil war would confront the working class so soon as it set out to realize its will to defend itself from capitalist exploitation and speculation; so soon as it began to

liberate the masses in the Colonies now oppressed by British Imperialism."

The Communists readily obeyed Lenin's command and reorganized on his principles. The new party stands committed to the following program:

The establishment of a Soviet form of government by means of revolution.

The establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat.

Participation in Parliament under mandate from the Communist Party only.

Affiliation with the Labor Party with the objects expressed.

The Communists thus organized proclaim the following declaration:

"Faced with the vigor and the solidarity of the imperialists internationally, and their organized determination to crush every vestige of working class freedom, and particularly to batter down the workers' republic in Russia, who now can defend the time-worn ideas still held by some Socialists of a gradual evolution or peaceful transition from capitalism into socialism? * * * To hasten the world revolution accruing, a Communist Party is wanted,—party of action. One that will wage the class war up to the point of revolution. This Communist Party must stand for the dictatorship of the proletariat."

In face of these facts, the apologists of Socialism find themselves greatly disadvantaged. Moderate Socialism represented by the Second International of Geneva is a vanishing equation. At the International Congress of the Second International held at Geneva, July 31, 1920, there were scarcely 100 delegates. The Congress merits well of humanity for its unqualified repudiation of Bolshevism. Thomas Shaw M. P., of England was elected president.

Mr. Shaw transferred the Presidency temporarily to M. Vliegen in order to make an eloquent attack on Bolshevism as he had seen it during his recent visit to Soviet Russia as a member of the British Labor Commission. In Russia, he declared, there was no such thing as a dictatorship of the proletariat. All liberty was abolished, and the working class was oppressed by an autocratic and militaristic regime analogous to that of the Czar. Mr Shaw said in part:

"We bring back from Moscow and Petrograd a sad impression of the condition of the laboring class. The workmen have almost no bread to eat. The terror inflicted by Bolshevism is so great that no one dares express his opinions.

Arrests are frequent, following the bloody executions so numerous at the beginning of the Bolshevist regime. The workmen must work as directed, and at what they are told."

The first hand evidence of Mr. Shaw is corroborated by many witnesses.

The following dispatch is published by the *New York Times*, December, 1920:

"Helsingfors—The Soviet journal, *Pla Kateny*, officially reports that the food supplies for the army of the Soviet administration will last only till January 15. The government therefore ordered the dispatch of special military forces composed of armed town laborers and Tartars to country districts in order to make peasants hand over grain. In order to encourage the troops in the work the government allowed them 15 per cent. of the supplies they seized. Bolsheviki journals state that the Bulgarian government has refused the bolshevik foreign minister's demand for the resumption of diplomatic relations.

"The Russian journal, Obstjeje Dielo, states that serious disturbances occurred lately in the factories of Petrograd, the laborers demanding that some commissioners be removed, food rations increased, and working hours, which are sixteen daily, shortened. The rebellion was crushed, and 105 laborers were executed."

Moderate Socialism is an anomaly. Socialism is founded on violence. Human society in its mortal stage is not a perfectible entity. It must pass through its probationary state into its immortal state by a process of elimination and selection. In Heaven it will be perfect. Religion with the defects of its human element is infinitely better than no religion; the States of the world with their evils are better than anarchy; capitalistic industry with its imperfections and inequalities is better than the disorder and stagnation that would result if the capable few did not direct the masses; private ownership with its attendant shortcomings is better than the dead level and dead apathy of incentiveless Communism.

It is humanity's duty to improve these necessary institutions, and to apply to their betterment the best results of virtue, judgment, and experience. But the man who aims to supersede these creations of natural right by the impossible Utopian dream of Socialism is out of harmony with God's plan of the universe.

The Socialists recognize that they can not put through their plan with God in the Universe, and therefore early in their

program, they eliminated God and the supernatural order. Their materialistic god is economic man.

The Socialists who aim only by lawful means to eliminate the abuses in society are not socialists. They are social reformers. All their theories are not just or practical, but they should not be classed with the followers of Marx. Their greatest fault is to march under the banner of Socialism and to give aid and comfort by their presence to the enemies of God and man.

In the Socialist National Convention at New York, May, 1920, the moderate party led by Hillquit defeated the radical wing by a vote of 103 to 33. The discussions, however, reveal that the fight concerns methods. J. Louis Engdahl of Chicago, led the radicals against Hillquit.

"You are afraid of the dictatorship of the proletariat," shouted Engdahl in closing the debate on the Illinois measure. "Yet you have the dictatorship of Palmer, Wilson and Burleson. You can't fool anybody by phrases, nor can you fool anybody with the decorations of this convention hall, the American flag, the flag of Wall Street and the dictatorship of Wilson.

"There is only one road to victory. There is only one flag, the red flag of Internationl Socialism. We can do nothing better than ally ourselves with our comrades in Russia, Italy and elsewhere, where thay believe in international Socialism.

"I see only one kind of Socialism—international, world Socialism. We cannot compete as phrase-mongers with the labor party, the Non-Partisan League, the Committee of 48, or any of the old parties. But we can compete with all in the phrases of revolutionary Socialism."

James O'Neal, of Brooklyn, arguing for the victorious Hillquit "conservative" platform, bitterly arraigned the word "dictatorship."

"Are we scientific Socialists? Or are we dogmatists?" asked O'Neal. "The time and conditions which favored the Russian revolution must be studied before we attempt to adopt them here.

"I don't like the word dictatorship. Let it go throughout the country that you favor a dictatorship of the proletariat and you cease to be a political party. Introduce such a resolution and you must do your work under ground or you will be driven under by Sweet at Albany and politicians at Washington who exercise such a dictatorship, but that would not excuse us.

"Bourgeois democracy with all its shams and illusions permits in normal times decision by an honest and fair dis-

cussion. To espouse the dictatorship program would turn every such democracy into an absolute autocracy."

Struggling to defeat the "conservative" forces of Morris Hillquit, four Chicagoans—J. Louis Engdahl, Samuel H. Holland, William F. Kruss and Irving St. John Tucker—battled to substitute their program for that given the convention by Hillquit and his platform committee.

The keynote of the Illinois substitute platform was sounded in its preamble which read:

"The Socialist party summons all who believe in this fundamental doctrine to prepare for a complete reorganization of our social system, based upon public ownership of public necessities, upon government by representatives chosen from occupational rather than solely from geographical groups in harmony with our industrial development, and with citizenship based on service that may end forever the exploitation of class by class."

Explaining this before the convention opened, Engdahl declared it called for the limitation of citzenship to those who gave service to the nation, including aliens and excluding native-born Americans who did not serve.

"This means the dictatorship of the proletariat, "Engdahl said. "It means real, red, radical Socialism such as our comrades in France, Germany, Russia and Italy are fighting for.

"It means that we demand that we identify ourselves unmistakably with the principles of international Socialism."

We should greatly err if we believed that Mr. Hillquit stands for a brand of Socialism different from the Russian brand. In the aforesaid convention, after eulogizing Debs as "a saint in prison garb," Mr. Hillquit declared as follows:

"We Socialists represent the new social order. Hence we are invincible.

"Turn your eyes to the east and behold the birth of the new order. It is coming in pain and suffering and struggle, but its advent is universal.

"In one form or another, Socialism has conquered, or is conquering, the great countries of Europe, sweeping rapidly from East to West. The wave of Socialist regeneration is sure to carry to America eventually."

In conclusion, Mr. Hillquit called for three cheers for "International Socialism," which were given with a will.

The fight over the methods of Socialism was renewed in the National Socialist Convention at Detroit in 1921. Under the leadership of Morris Hillquit, Victor Berger, Algernon

Lee and Cameron King, California, the resolution to make dictatorship of the proletariat a part of socialist policy was defeated. This moderation however does not rehabilitate Socialism. Those who oppose the resolution do so through mere opportunism. They do not repudiate the resolution as an unjust principle, but simply on the ground that at present in this country it is impossible.

They reiterate their adhesion to the fundamental fallacy of Socialism, collective ownership. Socialism is now more dangerous than ever before. By cunningly affecting moderation, it will enroll more readily the workingmen, and increase the discontentment of the masses. Socialism has succeeded in dominating most of the Non-Catholic Labor-Unions of Europe; it aims to accomplish the same in our country. In a desperate fight at Denver in 1921 the American Federation of Labor severed its connection with the International Federation of Trade Unions which, it declared, had become revolutionary.

This is a step in the right direction, but it is only a step. We welcome it as a testimony of the failure of Socialism.

The Socialist Party of the United States by a referendum vote of its membership adopted a resolution on the subject of its international affiliations, the gist of which is expressed in the concluding paragraphs:

The Socialist Party of the United States, while retaining its adherence to the Third International, instructs its Executive Committee, its International Secretary and International Delegates:

(a) To insist that no formula such as "the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of soviets" or any other special formula for the attainment of the Socialist Commonwealth be imposed or exacted as a condition of affiliation with the Third International.

(b) To participate in movements looking for the union of all true Socialist forces in the world into one International, and to initiate and further such movements whenever the opportunity is presented.

The resolution was first offered at the national convention of the party, held May, 1920, in New York, by Morris Hillquit, as Chairman of the Committee on International Relations.

The most powerful force in American Socialism today is Morris Hillquit. He may well be considered the official spokesman of the party. In introducing the aforesaid resolution, Hillquit makes it clear that American Socialism is no better than Russian Socialism, but that it believes that it

would be inopportune to employ Russian Methods in the United States. It accepts the philosophy and the aim of the Third International: it merely changes the plan of the campaign.

Hillquit is an avowed opportunist. He is shrewd enough to know that historical conditions may make possible methods in Russia and in other countries which are not possible in America. He demands self-determination in the different countries in the choice of the methods. Even this demand for liberty of action in accordance with national circumstances is repudiated by the despot Lenin. Such disensions do not prove that a part of Socialism be good and a part be bad. It is all bad, and being founded on a monstrous lie, it can not be consistent and can not set up an efficient principle of authority. In introducing the above mentioned resolution. Hillquit outlined what might truly be called the program of the moderate socialists of the United States:

"We have always supported the Soviet Government of Russia. We support it today. Our sympathies are absolutely with it. I hope they will always remain so. Because, no matter whether the Government styles itself aptly or inaptly, it is the Government of the working classes of Russia. It is a Government which strives to abolish capitalism, and, because of that, is being persecuted by every imperialistic and reactionary power on the face of the globe. The reasons that impel our Government in Washington, the Governments of Great Britain and of France, to make war upon Russia, are exactly the same that impel us, as Socialists and working-class representatives, to support Soviet Russia in all its struggles.

"But that does not mean that we abdicate our own reason disregard the circumstances surrounding us, and blindly accept every formula and dogma coming from Soviet Russia as a holy Papal decree. It also does not mean that because we support the struggles of the working class in Russia, we accept for this country or for any other country the special institutions and forms into which these struggles have been moulded by the historical conditions of Russia."

In the socialistic basket of serpents, one serpent has struggled to get his head above the other serpents, but the basket remains a basket of serpents.

Hillquit is as radical as Lenin, but he is too shrewd to attempt the methods of Lenin in the United States.

In "The Call," May 21, 1919, in a long article in large type covering half the editorial page, Morris Hillquit said of

the "Left Wing' ' movement: "I am one of the last men in the party to ignore or misunderstand *the sound revolutionary impulse* which animates the rank and file of this new movement, but the specific form and direction which it has assumed, its program and tactics, spell disaster to our movement. I am opposed to it, *not because it is too radical*, but because it is *essentially reactionary* and non-Socialistic; *not because it would lead us too far*, but because it would lead us nowhere. To prate about the dictatorship of the proletariat and of workers' Soviets in the United States *at this time* is to deflect the Socialistic propaganda from its realistic basis, and to advocate the abolition of all social reform planks in the party platform means to abandon *the concrete class struggle* as it presents itself from day to day."

Being committed to the defense of a bad cause, Hillquit falls into many contradictions. He knows that dictatorship is subversive of human liberty. Our country in its recent war madness abdicated its liberties to a neurotic dictator under the spell of "catch words," and hypocritical ethical appeal. But when it awoke, it swept him away by the flood of its voting power. Our country does not like dictatorships. Hillquit knows this, and in order to sugar-coat the poison of Socialism, he tries to divest it of the dictatorship of the proletariat. To do this, violence is done to the meaning of words and to the facts of history. Thus he declares *ibidem:*

"I will further say in all kindness to all our comrades in Russia that they do not have a dictatorship of the proletariat. The Soviet Government is neither a dictatorship nor a rule of the proletariat. That does not make it any less dear to us. But when we speak of dictatorship we mean only one thing—the irresponsible rule of irresponsible rulers; otherwise it is not a dictatorship.

"Lenin is not a dictator and Trotzky is not a dictator. They have been elected to their positions, they have not proclaimed themselves in power. They can be re-called by the Executive Committee of the All-Russian Soviet; they can be recalled in numerous ways. There is not an institution or official in Russia that is not subject to recall or dependent on popular support. Why call it a 'dictatorship'? It is a limited democracy, a democracy which excludes from its ranks non-producing classes, just as the democracy of the United States at one time excluded non-propertied classes. Whether such limitation is necessary in Russia, I do not feel called to pass upon. But it is not a dictatorship. Nor is it a rule of the proletariat. The term 'proletariat' has a definite meaning.

It signifies the industrial worker who does not own his instruments of production. The rule of Russia is a rule of the workers and peasants, with the peasants in the overwhelming majority."

Hillquit has a clear right to reject the dictatorship of the proletariat. Every man should reject it. He has an equal right to advise socialists to reject it, but his following declaration is not true:

"If we accept the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' in the sense of destroying, disarming, and disfranchising our opponents, then we have no grounds for complaint if the ruling classes use against us the methods that we say we shall use against them.

"The Socialist Party has never advocated such methods. Marxian Socialism has never stood for it. And for this reason I say that as far as we, Socialists of America, are concerned, we cannot join the Third International if the recognition of the so-called dictatorship is made an absolute condition of our affiliation."

The dictator is of ancient Roman origin. He was a magistrate created in seasons of exigency, and invested for a time with unlimited power. From that precedent the term was applied to any one invested with absolute authority. It does not enter into the definition of a dictator that he be self-created or unlawful, although he may be both. A dictatorship may be invested in an individual or a class. During the decline of the Roman Empire the Pretorians exercised the dictatorship. The emperor was their creature.

A class that aims to gain control of power by other means than by the just use of the suffrage, and aims to impose its will upon others is a dictatorship. The question, whether it be a benign dictatorship or a pernicious one must be judged by the circumstances out of which it arises, by its principles, and by its acts. The essence of a dictatorship is its exemption from limitations, its supremacy over the will of others. Absolute irresponsibility is not involved in a dictatorship. The Roman dictators were decreed by the Senate, and their powers and prerogatives, though ample, were not absolute.

A man may be nominally an hereditary or elected ruler, but in reality a dictator. Porfirio Diaz was practically dictator of Mexico from 1884 to 1911. The form or farce of election was enacted periodically, but the dictator controlled all the agencies of government and of the elections so that he was confirmed in power. It was a benign dictatorship, greatly beneficial to Mexico. This benefit was due to the character

of the man. The dictatorship furnishes its author with great power for good or evil. It is a dangerous power to put into the hands of any man. The Paris Commune and the Soviet government of Russia are the chief examples of a class dictatorship. In these cases the class is considered as the depository of power, which functions through their representatives. In both cases these representatives centralized the power in themselves and became despots. We have already adduced convincing testimonies of many witnesses to prove the fact that representative government is suppressed in Russia by a small clique who have entrenched themselves behind a power that holds the people in practical slavery. The principles of representative government are deprived of effect by the bloody despotism of Lenin and Trotzky. Like "Mr. Dooley's" hero, Lenin and Trotzky allow the people to vote, but Lenin and Trotzky count the votes.

Hillquit's assertion is in direct contradiction to the clear declarations of Trotzky and Lenin.

In the latter part of 1920, Leon Trotzky, in answer to a book entitled "Terrorism and Communism" by Karl Kautsky, published a statement which was first presented to English readers by the *New York Herald*. A few representative paragraphs of this statement are here presented:

"The initial seizure of power by the Soviets in the beginning of November, 1917, went off, as it were, by itself, with infinitesimal loss of life. The Russian bourgeoisie felt themselves so estranged from the mass of the people, so destitute of internal strength, so compromised by the course and the outcome of the war, so demoralized by the Kerensky regime, that they hardly plucked up the courage for any resistance.

"In Petrograd Kerensky's rule was overthrown almost without any fighting at all. In Moscow the resistance was more prolonged, chiefly because of the lack of resolution which marked our own actions. In most of the provincial towns power was transferred to the Soviets on the mere receipt of a telegram from Petrograd of Moscow.

"If the matter had ended there the Red terror would never have been mentioned because it would never have come into existence. But November, 1917, was already a witness to the nascent resistance of the propertied classes. It is true, however, that the interference of the imperialistic states of the west was required to give the Russian counter-revolution faith in itself and to lend to its resistance ever-growing strength."

. . . .

"The Russian proletariat was the first to enter the path of social revolution, and the Russian bourgeoisie, politically impotent, dared not to be reconciled to their political and economic expropriation only because they saw their elder sister still ruling small countries, still retaining economic, political, and even, to some extent, military power."

. . . .

"As for us, we never indulged in any Kantian-priestly, vegetarian-Quaker chatter about the 'sacredness of human life.' We were revolutionaries in opposition, and we have remained revolutionaries after getting into power. In order that human beings may become sacred, the social order which crucifies them must be destroyed. And that can only be done by blood and iron."

. . . .

"With the arms made by himself in his hands, the worker is placed in a situation where the political fate of the State depends directly upon him. Those who in normal times oppressed and despised him now flatter him and try to curry favor. At the same time he comes into intimate contact with those very cannon which, according to Lassalle, form the keystone of the constitution.

"Even if the advanced among the workers were theoretically aware of the fact that force is the midwife of right, their political thinking neverthless remained permeated with the spirit of possibilism and accommodation to bourgeois legality. Now the worker is learning in practice to despise this legality and to destroy it by force. The static attitude of mind gives way to the dynamic. Heavy artillery thunders the idea into his head that in cases where it is impossible to go round an obstacle, the possibility remains of smashing it. Almost the whole adult male population has been put through this school of war, fearful in its social realism, that is creating a new human type.

"The clenched fist of iron necessity is now raised above all the forms of bourgeois society—over its law, its morality and its religion."

. . . .

"The proletariat, graduates of the school of war, will feel the need of talking the language of force at the first serious obstacle they meet within their own countries. 'Necessity knows no law'; they will throw that phrase in the faces of those who try to stop them with the laws of bourgeois legality. And the terrible economic distress which will gradually appear

during the war, and especially after its end, will drive the masses to break many and many laws."

. . . .

"If, even before the war, it was sheer Utopianism to expect that the expropriation of the propertied classes could be carried out quietly and painlessly, without risings, armed conflicts, attempts at counter-revolution and harsh expressions, the situation created by the imperialistic war will render doubly and trebly fierce that near and unavoidable civil strife, of which there can be one, and only one, termination—the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Leon Trotzky holds such a prominent place in contemporaneous history, that it may be interesting to present an extract of a character sketch written of Trotzky by Alexander Konprin:

"I remember it was last year, about the middle of June, I was staying over night at the home of a friend on Aptekarsky Island. It was the season of the Petrograd 'white nights,' when nobody seems to be able to sleep. In sleepless vexation I kept pacing back and forth all over the large study where my bed had been made up, looking over the titles of the books on the shelves and studying the photographs on the walls.

"A large half-length portrait of Trotzky attracted my attention. A small electric light with a side shade was attached to a movable bracket on the wall near the portrait I turned on the light and commenced scrutinizing keenly and closely those features, in which typical race characteristics and unusually well pronounced individuality are so strangely and contrastingly blended.

"I had frequently seen this portrait before, in passing by the windows of picture shops. Every time it would rouse within me a fleeting, vague, almost unconscious, but unpleasant feeling, of irritation and embarrassment as might happen to one who in a crowded street catches a momentary and purely mechanical glimpse of something very repulsive, only to forget about it immediately, but a few seconds later discovers within himself a seemingly inexplicable residue of vexation, and inquires of his memory: 'What was it that just happened to me? Whence this restless agitation within me? Ah, I see! The portrait!'

"But that night I had plenty of time. I kept looking fixedly at that face, trying to fathom, to penetrate it, as it were, and to imagine just what this man might be thinking and feeling. A broad, bulging forehead with a protruding top, and above it a disheveled shock of hair standing on edge; the

eyes squinting maliciously from behind spectacles; eyebrows Satanically raised, and between them, out of a deep concavity, the nose protruding in a determined, straight and prominent line, with its tip sharply hooked, like the beak of a vulture; nostrils distended, shaped large and wide open; the firm lips so tightly pressed together that one can guess the set jaws and tense cheek-bones behind them; a broad, firm, but not long, chin; a pointed, thin, little beard completes the Mephistophelian expression of that face.

"Most striking, however, is a certain hardly describable expression about the line of the upper lip and the furrows extending from the nose down to the corners of the mouth. One feels as if this man had just smelled of some horrible abomination, like asafetida, and can in no way free himself from the loathsome smell. I have observed this expression of malicious loathing among confirmed cocaine fiends and lunatics who, suffering from the mania of persecution, are constantly smelling at all foods and drinks and household utensils, suspecting some concealed poison.

"And as I was scrutinizing this portrait, a dark, primeval, elementary horror struck me. Have you ever seen through the microscope the head of an ant, a spider, a tick, flea, or mosquito, with its monstrous chewing, blood-sucking, stinging, sawing and cutting apparatus? Have you felt the supernatural, monstrous viciousness presaged in that chaos which might be called their 'faces?' And if you have seen and felt it, did not the wild thought enter your mind— what if this terrible creature so overwhelmingly armed for the shedding of blood should be of the size of the human being and possessed a full measure of human reason and will? If you ever entertained such a thought you will understand my fear on that night—a sickness and ghastly fear.

"I saw clearly that this man consists entirely and completely of insatiable malice and that he is being devoured by an absolutely unquenchable thirst for blood. It may be that there are within him also some other inherent traits, such as ambition, pride, carnal lust, and some others besides; but all of these are swamped, suppressed, drowned by the boiling lava of inherent, savage viciousness.

" 'No man can be born that way,' I then said to myself. 'This is some severe, deep-rooted, unusual and incurable malady.' Anyhow, the picture tells but little. But undoubtedly the face of the real, living Trotzky must be of a dark yellowish complexion and the whites of his eyes covered with a membrane of bilious slime.

"Subsequently, the testimony of people who had seen Trotzky often and at close range convinced me how right I was in my judgment."

Men are amazed that even a Russian can accept such a wild rebellion against all order human and divine. Trotzky gives us the key to the enigma:

"In peace time the capitalists used to look after their interests by 'peaceful' robbery of wage labor. During the war they served these same interests by destroying countless human lives. This has given their economic self-consciousness a new 'Napoleonic' trait. During the war capitalists grew accustomed to sending to their deaths millions of slaves of their own race and from the colonies, for the sake of coal, railway, and other forms of gain."

It is the great crime of the World War that has strengthened Socialism. The treaty of Versailles stands as a monument of shameful reproach to humanity. If the nations had a clean record, Socialism could not fasten itself upon any part of humanity. An adequate reform in the moral and political codes of humanity would purge society of the disease of Socialism.

Lenin in his address before the Soviet Congress, 1921, declares:

"We are approaching a decisive hour. We are about to pass from a state of war to an era of peace and of work. Dictatorship of the proletariat has triumphed because it knew how to combine conviction with coercion. Dictatorship of the proletariat has no fear of employing pitiless methods of coercion for, in employing force, it does so in the name and interests of the workers and the exploited. The workers' experiences with Denikin, Kolchak and Wrangel have convinced them that only the rule of the proletariat can save them."

The character of the Third International is revealed in the following appeal:

[Severnaya Kommuna, April 25, 1919]

"Proletarians of all countries unite! Long live May 1! Long live communism!

"Comrades!

"Exactly 30 years ago, in 1889, at the International Socialist Congress, when the Second International was held, the workmen of all countries decided to celebrate May 1 as the day of the mobilization of proletarian forces, the day of struggle, the day of international brotherhood, of the eight-hour working day, of the abolition of standing armies (against

war). These were the slogans of the first May 1 holiday, 30 years ago.

"In 1890 the European bourgeoisie trembled as the 1st of May approached. In Vienna, Paris, and a whole series of other European countries the bourgeoisie organized whole regiments, expecting the immediate uprisings of workmen. Since that time the celebration of May 1 has been a symbol of proletarian solidarity.

"But in the official Social-Democracy there developed from that time larger and larger groups that were hostile to the cause of the proletariat. When the imperialistic war started, the socialist-traitors, both German and French, proposed to the working class to abandon the celebration of May 1 in 1915, and the May 1 celebration of the proletariat in 1915 was perverted to a May 1 celebration of the bourgeoisie.

"Four years have passed since that time, during which the bourgeoisie has pitilessly shattered by fire and sword the flower of the working class and has ruined all countries. Now the war started by the bourgeoisie is coming to a close. Thirty millions killed and crippled, dozens of countries ruined, millions of starving people, millions of new war debts—these are the results of the imperialistic war.

"The Second International died. It wrote its own death sentence on August 4, 1914, when the Germans and French socialist-patriots voted for war credits, that is, to support the imperialistic war.

"The workmen of all countries, exhausted by the war and betrayed by their own leaders, are eagerly looking for an international bond to join them together. The robber-imperialists of Paris are trying to create their Black International, the so-called League of Nations. The conscious workmen of the whole world understand clearly that the so-called League of Nations is in fact a league to suppress the proletarian revolution. The socialist-traitors in Berne also tried to create their Yellow International.

"It was impossible to bring back to life the corpse of the Second International. The revolutionary workmen of all countries refused to take part in this despicable comedy staged in Berne.

"In 1919 was formed the Red International. Our Third International, of Communists, is an international association of the proletarians of all countries, who set for themselves the aim of overthrowing the bourgeois governments and establishing the international republic.

"Our Third Communist International has undertaken to organize the international celebration of May 1.

"Workmen, workwomen, soldiers, sailors, peasants, all toilers! The Communist International calls on you to take part in the great May 1 proletarian holiday.

"If the bourgeois slave-owners will remain in power, they will force on us a war, a new servitude, new taxes, amounting to billions, hunger and complete slavery. Over all Europe ruins are smoking and millions of proletarian children are dying of hunger. There is no grain anywhere, for during four years, instead of cultivating the fields, people killed each other by order of a group of slave-owners. The cities are being depopulated. In some countries almost the entire mature male population has been killed. Europe has been covered with blood.

"The communist revolution grows. The Soviet republics in Russia, Hungary, and Bavaria report what has been accomplished daily. Germany is shaking with civil war. A revolution is taking place in Turkey. In Austria and Czecho-Slovakia the workmen are gathering under the glorious flag of Socialism. In France enormous demonstrations have started; in Italy the struggle boils and the workmen call for a dictatorship of the proletariat. In England, strikes have taken on the character of an epidemic. In America the working class comes out on the streets; in Japan the workmen are agitated; in the neutral countries like Holland and Switzerland hundreds of thousands of workmen recently took part in a political strike. The workmen of all countries have understood that the decisive moment has come. 'Soviets'—by this you will conquer.

"The workmen know that only a dictatorship of the proletariat can save humanity from that bloody horror into which the bourgeoisie in all countries has plunged it. The workmen know that the proletarian dictatorship will lead to a triumph of socialism. There is no middle course. Either the blood dictatorship of executioners-generals, who will kill hundreds of thousands of workmen and peasants in the name of the interests of a band of bankers, or the dictatorship of the working class, that is of the overwhelming majority of toilers will disarm the bourgeoise, create its own Red Army, and free the whole world of slavery. Down with the autocracy of czars and kings.

"This last cry was raised in Russia in 1917, and its echo was heard over the whole of Europe. Crowns fell from the

heads of Nicholas Romanov, William Hohenzollern, Karl of Austria and other executioners of larger and smaller calibre.

"Down with the autocracy of capital! This cry is now raised when they rise a second time—when they get ready for the last fight.

"The eight-hour labor day—that was the slogan of May 1 holiday in the past. Soviet republics have already carried out this demand.

"Against bourgeois militarism this old May 1 demand remains in force even today. In the name of this demand we shall create our own Red Army, a class army, the People's Army, the army of labor, the army of the poor, the army of Socialism.

"The Red Army already exists in Russia, Hungary, Bavaria, and Austria. The Red Army soon will exist over all the world. The Red Army will triumph.

"Long live civil war, the only just war, in which the oppressed class fights its oppressors.

"Down with the French imperialists.

"Down with the bourgeoisie of the Entente.

"Down with the robbers who wish to send their troops to Russia in order to reestablish the authority of landlords, enthrone the monarch, and restore the bourgeoisie.

"May 1, 1919, should become the day of attack, the day of the proletarian revolution in all Europe.

"Let the workmen of all countries refuse to give up the rifles which the bourgeoisie forced them to take in 1914. The arming of workmen and the disarming of the bourgeoisie—these are the slogans of the moment.

"The conflicts which have taken place to date in the various countries were simply the preliminary skirmishes between labor and capital. The decisive struggle is approaching.

"Amidst storms, blood and tears, hunger and endless suffering a new world is being born, a bright world of communism, of the common brotherhood of the toilers.

"In 1919 was born the great Communist International.

"In 1920 will be born the great International Soviet Republic.

"Long live May 1!"

"[Signed] EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

G. ZINOVIEV,
President.

In his Thesis, published in the official Izvestia, March 8, 1918, Lenin declares:

"But not a single Marxist who does not break with the principles of Marxism, and of Socialism in general, can deny that the interests of Socialism stand above the interests of the right of nations of self-determination. Our socialistic republic has done everything that it can, and continues so to do, for the realization of the right of self-determination of Finland, the Ukraine, and so forth. But if the concrete state of affairs has become such that the existence of the socialistic republic is endangered at a given moment by the violation of the right of self-determination of several nations (Poland, Lithuania, Courland, and others), yet, of course, the interests of preserving the socialistic republic stand higher."

The Socialist has only one allegiance. He dismisses God from the Universe; he transfers his love of country to the international socialist republic. Very justly therefore by an overwhelming majority did the Assembly of the State of New York expel the five socialist members in the year 1919.

In the cases of Waldman, Claessens and Solomon, against whom there were individual charges as well as those growing out of their membership in the socialist party, the vote was 114 for expulsion to 28 against. In the cases of Orr and Dewitt, against whom there were no individual charges, the vote was 104 for expulsion and 40 against.

The vote ignored party lines and reflected the freedom from political pressure to affect the vote.

The law of liberty compels not a nation to place in its bosom a serpent to sting it to death.

It was good citizenship and sound exposition of the law which moved Supreme Court Justice Benedict in Brooklyn, N. Y., to deny citizenship to five alien socialists.

Justice Benedict declared: "A person who believes in the doctrines of Socialism, the principles of which are antagonistic to the principles of the constitution, notably property rights, can not be said to be 'well disposed to the good order and happiness' of the United States."

" 'Volia Rossii' (Russia's Will), the Russian daily published in Prague by a group of leaders of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists, under the editorship of V. M. Zenzinov, V. I. Lebedev and O. S. Minor, prints in its issue of December 2, 1920, the report of the Czechoslovak Labor Delegate, Pollyach, read by him at the Congress of the Socialist Party of Czechoslovakia after the return of the Delegation from a visit to Soviet Russia:

"Russia is still the centre of the world's attention. This is only natural, for the tremendous upheaval which has occurred in Russia is unique in the annals of mankind. At the same time, however, the methods which are being applied in Russia today are also unique and unparalleled throughout the whole world, i. e., in the international Socialist movement.

"We were honestly striving to learn the truth. We thought that if we should find in Russia any semblance of a Communist or Socialist system, if freedom should prove to be secured to the proletariat and to labor, we would tell our workers with perfect candor: 'Yes, There are in Russia beginnings of Communism, and the working class in Russia is living under far better conditions than in other countries.' It would then have been necessary to confess that we, here abroad, had erred, and that we should therefore defend the Russian Soviet Communist Party. We were resolved to speak thus, had we only found what we had hoped to find. We found however, in Russia the very opposite of what is being told here.

"It is idle to speak of any Communism whatsoever throughout the whole extent of Russia. I assume full responsibility for everything I am stating here.

"No Communism exists in Russia. This we are bound to tell our Czech organized laboring people. It is not myself alone who says so. It is confirmed by other foreign delegations and also by the Russian Bolsheviki themselves, who admit that it is idle to talk about any Communism in the economic, cultural, and social life in Russia.

"There is no political life in Russia altogether. It does not exist there in the sense as we know it here, in Western Europe. There is also nothing to be said about any spiritual life, nor about any activity in the labor movement.

"Not Life but a Cemetery, or a Wilderness, did we find. Russia is ruled exclusively by the Bolshevist Party, numbering up to 600,000 enrolled members. This is the only party that publishes any papers. All other Socialist parties, such as the Mensheviki, for instance, who stand on a Marxian platform, recognizing the Soviet system and representing the revolutionary proletarian movement in Russia,—even these Mensheviki are forbidden to publish newspapers and to hold meetings. In Russia, exclusively Bolshevist newspapers can be published, edited, of course, in a one-sided manner. Of political discussion and activities in our sense of these terms, there can be no talk at all. Any criticism of the existing order, though it be the most fair, is punishable. All manifestation of public

opinion is suppressed. But you know all that by this time.

"With respect to economic conditions, complete chaos reigns in Russia at the present time. It is impossible to speak of any industry, of work, of industrial life of any kind. Generally speaking, industry is completely wrecked. No Socialization exists in Russia. This, because of the absence of all those prerequisites which revolutionary Marxism requires. The working class is not organized the way we had imagined it. *It has been militarized, bureaucratized, converted into an appendage of the State, in every domain of industry.*

"The kind of shop committees advocated and insisted upon by organized labor here, which are expected to educate every worker in the spirit of Democracy, solidarity, discipline, in a spirit that would afford opportunity for manifesting and developing the worker's individual professional skill and ability,—*such shop councils do not exist in Russia*, or if they do, then it is only on paper. The administration of an industrial establishment enjoys full authority to manage the establishment under its own individual responsibility; it has the sole power to decide *what* a worker shall do, *how* he shall do it, what kind of raw material shall be used, and so forth.

"*If you want to know who suffers most in Russia, which class of the population suffers most from hunger, and who makes the greatest sacrifices, it is the Russian proletariat.* It is the industrial and factory proletariat that starves worse than others. By this I do not mean to say that there is nothing but one great black spot in all Russia. There are also some bright little spots: educational efforts, social insurance, and many social welfare laws. Unfortunately, however, *all these bright little spots exist more on paper.* It is impossible to inaugurate anything sensible amidst this economic and social chaos.

"In Russia everything rests with the bureaucracy. The whole economic, political, and social life of the country is in its grip. In Moscow alone close to 400,000 officials and employees of various Soviet and professional organizations have gathered. And this, when there is said to be not more than a million inhabitants in Moscow. It is strange how it can support such a numerous bureaucracy! There are at least 100,000 workers, and 50,000–60,000 soldiers in the garrison of the city. What, then, are the remaining 300,000–400,000 inhabitants of Moscow doing? . . .

"In our own country, too, we observe a terrible state of profiteering; but were you to find yourself in Moscow, you would see such *horrors of speculation, trading and profiteering as we, here, have not even the slightest conception of.*

"Food and all other products are supposed to be distributed by the State alone. This, however, is insufficient to get along with. But then, one can buy everything under the sun at the Sukharevka market; soap, shirts, flour, sugar, bread, salt, meat, diamonds, books, shoes, etc., but all that at an incredible price! Free trade is forbidden and liable to entail severe penalties, the death penalty included. And still free trade is going on, only secretly, illicitly. Passing along the streets of Moscow, the heart bleeds to see ragged children selling cigarettes and speculating with all kinds of other articles. You would be horrified if you would only see the Sukharevka market. . . .

"Now I am not saying all this with the object of blaming the Bolsheviki for it, but only in order to acquaint our workers with the truth, with the facts. This desperate situation is caused by the fact that a certain part of the Russian workers is serving at the front, while the skilled workers are escaping to the rural districts to save themselves from death by starvation in the towns. They know at least that they will obtain food in the villages.

"Petrograd, once a bustling capital, now appears altogether dead. All stores, shops, everything is closed, presenting a distressing picture. All buildings are neglected and filthy. Notwithstanding that a considerable number of the workers were distributed among the living quarters of the bourgeoisie, there is still an awful scarcity of housing facilities in Russia. Frequently three, four families share one or two rooms. And mark you well, there are thousands of empty flats in Petrograd. Why, then, are they not utilized? They are not used because they are in such a terrible condition that it is impossible to force people to clean and repair them, so that the workers, just as was the case in the times of Tzarism, prefer to huddle up in small, filthy quarters.

"I do not wish to blame the Bolsheviki alone for this. Not a little are the 'Allies' with their blockade and interventions to be blamed for it. I have convinced myself that this forcible foreign interference has only strengthened the position of the Bolsheviki, aligning with them even all those Russian elements who are opposed on principle to the tactics of the Bolsheviki and to their 'dictatorship over the proletariat.'

"It is necessary for us to establish relations with the Socialist parties of Russia that adhere to the principles of our own party, such as the Mensheviki, and I fear that if the Bolsheviki will not come to an understanding with them, the catastrophe (of a general massacre and civil war) is inevitable.

Zinoviev represents the Bolshevist dictatorship as a transitory stage which must last until the death of the bourgeois State. I, on the other hand, believe that this would require several generations. And if the dictatorship should last all that time, everything will come to a standstill and nothing will remain of Communism and Socialism itself.

"We are now confronted by a most vital problem: Bolshevism is not Socialism. Instead, it is a monster that was able to grow up only thanks to the specific conditions of Russian life. Just imagine how an immense country like Russia, where 90% of the population are peasants, could all of a sudden turn into a Communist State! I can vouch that nowhere else in the world do people work so little as in Communist Russia. This is why we ought to combat resolutely the pernicious Bolshevist methods of action.

"Although the Bolsheviki call themselves the genuine Communists and Marxians, there still remains an essential difference between our methods and theirs, for with their methods we cannot realize Communism or Socialism.

"The Bolsheviki have also failed to realize their programme in agriculture. Up to this very moment the land in Russia remains in private ownership. No Communism can exist where 90% of the population are peasants, who, in my opinion, are incapable of being Communists. The peasants are far too conservative, and several decades will have to go by before they may begin to grasp the rudimentary principles of Communism. Let him who will not believe my report go for himself into Russia, only not in the capacity of a delegate on inspection, but as a common laborer going to work in a factory. Let him try to get in touch with the common people, let him observe *where* they live, *how* they live, and *how* they are treated, then he will gain an altogether different impression."

The socialists of the world are slow to understand that the Bolsheviki in Russia have failed not through a local defect that makes it merely a Russian question, but through the inherent genius of Socialism. The fundamental principles of Socialism by removing religion and authority from society allow the baser elements in society to acquire power: their power means a criminal tyranny. Man, as at present constituted, will abuse all things given into his hands. Abuses exist in society, abuses shall always exist. But in our present institutions a certain regard exists for the things necessary for the proximate and ultimate end of man. Socialism throws

these out of the reckoning, and violently tries to set up a social system which is contrary to the nature of man.

In "Struggling Russia," March 5, 1921, there are presented extracts from official Bolshevist newspapers.

The representative of the Supreme Council of National Economy, A. Lomov writes in the official "Pravda," that 20,000,000 peasants are starving in Russia. Wholesale extermination of the cattle is in progress for lack of fodder. The official "Economicheskaia Zhizn" (Economic Life) declares:

"The foundations of our agriculture, its very thews and sinews, are perishing. Labor-power, manure, milk for the sustenance of the children of our peasantry, everything is perishing. This is only the beginning of winter, but every succeeding month conditions will grow worse and worse."

A Bolshevist Commissary, Boguslavsky, writes in the aforementioned "Pravda," that the working men are without footwear, rubbers, and even without as much as a needle. Truly, they are living much worse than they did before. We are bound to admit that the Soviet power has failed to do for them the most indispensable things. In the "Pravda" No. 4, we find the following passages:

"It must be admitted that overtime work, frequently introduced without any serious necessity, and on an immense scale, as well as the denial of holiday rest to the workers, and other such things, only tend to increase sickness among the workers. At the same time the unhygienic conditions of the workrooms reach intolerable proportions and no measures are being taken to safeguard the workers against occupational dangers. The lack of food causes premature losses among the overworked skilled workers through early invalidism, increased mortality rates, and so forth. And finally, the total disregard of the protection of labor prevents the development of a favorable attitude among the workers towards communistic forms of production and makes them shrink from work."

The workings of the industries under the Bolshevist regime are described by L. Sosnovsky in the "Pravda" of December 1, 1920. Says L. Sosnovsky:

"The Yartzev Textile Mills, one of the great textile works, belonging to the 'shock-works' group and working for the Red Army, was shut down recently for two months. Several thousand workers became legal vacationists involuntarily, receiving for this vacation about 50 million roubles, and underproducing because of this enforced idleness about 500,000 arshin (1 arshin equals 0.77 yards) of cloth.

"There were enough cotton, fuel, and hands. What, then, was the trouble? It was this. In order to set machinery and looms in motion, it has to be lubricated with lubricating oil. Lubricants are distributed by the Main Fuel Supply Department ('Glavtop'). Now, this is the way it is done.

"The factory must file an application for every quarter of a year for its oil supply, accompanying its application with an endless number of filled-in questionnaires. Then the procedure is as follows:

"1. The factory sends the application to the group administration which unites several factories.

"2. The group administration refers it to the Cotton Section of the Main Textile Department ('Glavtextil').

"3. The Cotton Section turns it over to a special committee for examination.

"4. The Committee sends it to the Supply Section of 'Glavtextil.'

"5. The Supply Section refers it to its sub-section of oil supply.

"6. Then it goes to the 'Glavtop.'

"7. From the 'Glavtop,' after passing through many of its sections, it is sent to the Main Naphtha Department ('Glavkoneft').

"8. 'Glavkoneft,' again only after passing it through some sections, refers it to the 'Raikoneft' (Regional Naphtha Department), and, finally,

"9. The 'Raiknoneft' passes it on to the depot.

"The Yartzev Mills started their efforts to obtain the oil needed for July, August and September already on June 14. But they got to the depot only on August 14. Then came the problem of shipment of the oil to the factory. Here begins a new story:

"First comes the Transport Section of the 'Glavtextil.' Then, the Transport Section of the Supreme Council of National Economy. After this, the Central Transport Commissariat, and so it goes on.

"The oil was shipped on August 20. In transit, however, it got lost, and was missing for 17 days. On September 6 it arrived at Yartzevo at last.

"But . . . here it turned out that on account of a 'trifling' mistake at Glavtop, the wrong sort of oil had been shipped. By the time this mistake was rectified, and by the time the right kind of oil was received, and loaded, the 28th of September had arrived. (I remind the reader that the oil was needed for July, August and September). The oil reached

the mills on *October* 13. That is to say— part of the oil. Another part of it, engine oil, arrived *at the end of October.*

"The fact is that in order to obtain lubricating oil, efforts had to be started in June, and the oil was received at last—in a greatly reduced quantity—at the end of October. Meantime the mills were shut down. A loss of half a million arshin of textiles for the Republic. The Army—naked.

"And now let me give you an illustration of the speed with which this work is done.

"On November 27 the answer came from the Glavtop granting permission to exchange the wrong oil. (Already exchanged a month ago).

"Knowing the state of affairs, both the administration of the mills as well as the group administration have given up all other work and keep running back and forth over the corridors of the Glavtop, trying to push through their papers."

The Bolshevist economist, Y. Larin, in the "Izvestia" of December 10, 1920, shows that not less than 19 institutions have to be gone through before a small amount of axle grease can be obtained. The degradation of Russia's industries under the Bolshevist regime is finally shown in the following quotation in the "Pravda" on January 4, 1921:

"Russia's most important iron ore district, that of Krivoy Rog in Southern Russia, which had furnished before the war about three-quarters of all the iron ore mined in Russia, was completely idle last year and continues in such a state of neglect and ruin up to the present time that if urgent and vigorous measures will not be taken, Russia will be deprived for a few years to come of the opportunity to utilize this ore.

"One of Russia's most important manganese mines, the Gorodishchensky mine in the district of Mariupol, has been flooded. The copper mines stood idle in 1920 and the mines in the Bogoslovsky-Kutinsky district have been flooded. The output of lead ore in 1920 fluctuated between 12% and 25%. Iron ore was mined in 1920 to the amount of only 6,616,000 poods instead of 65,000,000 poods as required by schedule."

It is of little wonder that under such conditions revolts against the Bolsheviki are continuously taking place in Russia. Especially significant is the anti-Bolshevist movement in the cities and villages of Southern Russia, where an anti-Bolshevist "Green" Army, composed mostly of peasants, is operating at present. The revolts against the Bolshevist power are being suppressed with the utmost cruelty. Following is the text of a proclamation issued by the Bolshevist "Extraordinary Commission" in Southern Russia:

"All risings of the White Guard and Green Partisan Bands will be suppressed with implacable severity. In case the present demand will not be fulfilled the guilty parties will be subjected to the most ruthless vengeance, to wit:

"1. *Stanitzas* and villages which will conceal the Whites and the Greens will be destroyed, the adult population shot, and property confiscated.

"2. All persons who have offered assistance to these bands will be immediately shot.

"3. The majority of the Greens who are now in the mountains have their relatives in the villages. These have all been registered, and in case of an attack by these bands, all the adult relatives of those who are fighting against us will be shot, while their minor relatives will be deported to Central Russia.

"4. In the event of a mass rising of any village, *stanitza* or city, we shall apply mass terror against these localities: for every Soviet representative that will be killed, hundreds of inhabitants of these villages and *stanitzas* will have to suffer."

In spite of the Bolshevist terror and the mass executions they practice, the anti-Bolshevist movement in the Russian cities and among the peasantry is growing all the time. The Bolsheviki are suppressing the movement of the Russian people against them with cruelty unknown even under the Tzar's regime, but this bloody policy will not save the Bolsheviki just as it did not save the old regime from the just wrath of the people. The hour of a decisive battle between the Russian people and their Bolshevist oppressors is near, and there is no doubt that the people will finally win. This will open the way for Russia's regeneration.

In Russia from 85 to 90% of the inhabitants are peasants. The following is taken from the above mentioned issue of "Struggling Russia":

"The official Bolshevist 'Economicheskaia Zhizn' (Economic Life) of November 7, 1920, publishes some figures showing the distribution of the land among the peasantry after the Bolshevist *coup d'etat.* Although Bolshevist statistics cannot be regarded as very accurate, it is still possible to learn a great deal about actual conditions in this domain by a careful study of this interesting article, written by the Chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, M. Kalinine.

"The writer distinguishes three periods in the process of the change that has occurred in rural Russia during the past three years. The first period ended with the seizure of

the land belonging to the large estate owners. The next period begins in the last half of 1918, when the peasants were attempting among themselves to equalize land ownership. This is the period of the struggle of the poorer and middle-class farmers against the wealthy ones, called 'Koulaki', i. e., tightfists.

"The present, third period, according to the author of the article, is characterized by a tendency among the peasantry towards a clearer demarcation of the individual land parcels from each other. On the whole, the peasants betray no desire to retain the ancient 'Obschina' (communal system of land holdings). The suggestion is therefore made that pressure should be brought to bear upon the peasantry, so as to compel their 'inert masses' to inaugurate the Communistic form of agriculture. Under this sort of pressure the number of agricultural communes rose in the course of one year from 950 to 2,000, but lately their number has been shrinking, so that we find in 42 provinces of Soviet Russia on the first of September, 1920, only 1826 such communes in existence. In comparison with the extent of Russian peasant farming, all these Soviet farms, of course, represent but a drop in the ocean.

"The actual figures of the land allotments among the peasantry in four provinces are as follows:

"Of 100 peasant farms, land was held in:

(Dessiatine — 2.7 Acres)

	Moscow Province.		Vladimir Prov.	
	1917	1919	1917	1919
Landless	23.4%	12.7%	12.9%	6.6%
Up to 2 des	55.2%	78.8%	36.9%	56.3%
2-6 des	19.7%	8.2%	42.8%	34.8%
6-10 des	1.4%	0.3%	6.4%	2.2%
10-16 des	0.3%	0.0%	0.9%	0.1%

	Petrograd Prov.		Novgorod Prov.	
	1917	1919	1917	1919
Landless	15.7%	11.9%	20.6%	18.0%
Up to 2 des	50.8%	71.0%	28.2%	63.1%
2-6 des	30.7%	16.9%	46.3%	18.5%
6-10 des	2.6%	0.2%	4.3%	0.4%
10-16 des	0.2%	0.0%	0.5%	0.0%

"Similar results were obtained from an examination of the figures of land distribution in the Provinces of Vologda, Riazan, Smolensk, Ekaterinburg and Viatka. All these

statistics, if correct, prove that the number of landless peasants, even after the Revolution, decreased in a few provinces only by about half, and in others only about 20-40%. Thus the most radical of all revolutions, involving the seizure of all estates of the land barons, was not able to eliminate entirely the class of landless peasantry.

"Furthermore we note a very large increase in the number of farms owning but two dessatines of land; in view of the present agricultural methods in Russia this is an absolutely insufficient allotment. The increase in the number of these dwarfish farms occurred at the expense of the normal (2-6 dessiatines) and large ones.

"It is very doubtful whether such a distribution of the land may be regarded even as an approproximate solution of the agrarian problem. At any event it has only established a very uncertain state of equilibrium among the peasants and it augurs for a great many changes in the future. That the present state of agriculture in Bolshevist Russia is by no means what it ought to be, may be seen from the fact that in 1917 only 11.2% of all peasant land remained uncultivated, whereas in 1919 it already mounted to 35.7%, i. e., over one-third of the entire area. This fact is the most dangerous of all for the Bolshevist regime."

Prof. Issaiev in "Struggling Russia," Feb. 7, 1920, presents the following convincing argument against nationalization of industry:

"According to 'Economic Life' (official organ of the People's Economic Council) of February 22, 1919, the railways were able to provide for themselves 718,000 c.s. or 70 per cent. of the total of their programme, while the People's Superior Economic Council provided only 56,000 c. s. or 2 per cent. Finally the Superior Economic Council was obliged to confess that the failure of supplying wood fuel to the railways was due to the refusal to avail themselves of private enterprise. The President of the Chief Forest Committee, Lomov, declared that 'proletarian principles must be set aside and the services of private capitalistic apparatus made use of.' ('Izvestia' of the Petrograd Soviet, June 4, 1919.)

"The result of such an economic and food-supply policy is the complete disorganization of industry and transport, which in its turn leads to still greater complications in the organization of the economic life of the country."

. . . .

"A fact of the utmost importance is the rapid decline of the productivity of labor. According to data furnished by the

Mytishchy works in Moscow, the value of articles manufactured per day per head (prices are estimated at the rate of 1916 and reduced to an eight-hour day) amounted to 11.5 roubles in 1916, 8.65 roubles in 1917, 4.59 roubles in 1918—i. e., the intensiveness of labor declined by 25 per cent. in 1917 and by 60 per cent. in 1918. Taking into account the enormous increase in wages, it is obvious that the 'nationalized' industry is economically unsound and not self-supporting, but exists at the cost of State subsidies.

TEXTILE INDUSTRY

"The same can apply to the state of the textile industry, formerly one of the most stable and flourishing industries in Russia. According to data collected by the Bureau of the Soviet State Control concerning 46 cotton-weaving mills fully equipped and supplied, the number of employees in the first half of 1918 had increased by 19.5 per cent., the number of looms by 6 per cent.—i. e., the number of workers per thousand looms had increased by 12.6 per cent. At the same time the productivity of the loom-hour declined by 14 per cent., while that of the man-hour fell still more, namely, by 20 per cent.

"Similar things are taking place in the linen, woolen and cotton mills. Everywhere, alongside with an increase in the number of workmen per working loom or spindle, there is a marked decline in the productivity of labor at an average of 35 per cent., reaching in some cases to 75 per cent. That this is chiefly due to a decline in the intensiveness of labor coupled with a disproportionate increase of wages may be seen from the following figures: The cost of raw flax as compared with pre-war prices has increased to 713-757 per cent., flax yarn to 1,076-1,428 per cent., and woven textiles to 2,000 per cent. The price of raw cotton has increased to 615 per cent., yarn to 1,453 per cent., and cotton textiles to 2,250 per cent.; the number of workmen per pood of woven textiles has increased to an average of 45 per cent. In the woolen industry the cost of textiles has increased to 3,516 per cent., while the cost of manufacture alone, not counting the material, has gone up 6,000 per cent. ('Economic Life,' No. 56-61, 1919.)

"The government inquiry attributes this to the abolition of piece-work, the general disorganization, the decline of labor discipline, and also to the food shortage, which has given rise to great swindling. The organ of the Trade Unions, the Soviet paper 'Trud' ('Toil,' April 28, 1919), says: 'The incapacity of making good use of even what we possess is also of great importance in the present textile crisis. Thus the pro-

ductivity of labor has fallen to the lowest level; there is not a vestige of labor discipline; the machinery, owing to careless handling, has deteriorated and become less productive.' "

RAILWAYS

"Here likewise we will confine ourselves to a review of the purely economic side of the question. According to the data furnished by a special commission in January, 1919, the number of employees in the Moscow railway workshops was 1,172 in 1916; 1,179 in 1917, and 1,772 in 1918—i. e., 50 per cent. more. The number of missed days, etc., increased continually, being 6 per cent. in 1916, 12 per cent. in 1917, and 39-52 per cent. in 1918, so that the absolute number of actual workers in 1918 was below that of former years. The average monthly productivity (repairs and construction of new cars) in 1916 was 220 cars; in 1917, 96 cars; and in 1918, 44 cars. The ratio of workmen to the number of cars delivered was 0.44 in 1916, 1.0 in 1917 and 3.4 in 1918. In the Tula workshops the decline in the productivity of labor kept pace with the increase in the number of workmen. The number of men employed per each delivered engine was 8.6 in 1916, 13.2 in 1917, 41.5 in 1918.

"In the opinion of the commission such a decline of the productivity of labor is caused by complications in the food situation, by each man's peculiar conception of the meaning of 'liberty,' by the irresponsibility and negligence of various committees which constantly neglect their regular duties, by the unsatisfactory equipment of the workshops, etc.

"According to the data published in the 'Northern Commune,' March 26, 1919, the productivity per head at the Nevsky Works expressed in engines was 0.002 in 1916, and 0.0004 in 1918—i. e., it decreased five times. The expenditure of electric power per engine in 1916 was 62,000 kilowatt-hours, and in 1918, 188,743—i. e., three times as much. The quantity of working power increased four times (from 15,600 to 63,920). Finally the cost of working power per engine increased from 100,000 roubles in 1916 to $1,400,000 in 1918 (fourteen times).

THE RAILWAY BUDGET

"The change in the financial situation of the railways proper is clearly demonstrated by the following table taken from the report of the Commissary of Ways and Communications:

	Gross Receipts in million roubles	Expenditure of exploitation in million roubles	Expenditure of exploitation per verst in thousand roubles	Cost of Staff in million roubles	Net Profit or Deficit in million roubles
1916	1,350	1,210	1,700	650	plus 140
1917	1,400	3,300	46,000	2,300	minus 1,900
1918	1,500	9,500	44,000	8,000	minus 8,000

"As will be seen from the table, the gross receipts remain almost unchanged (owing to increased tariffs), while the expenditure is growing enormously and the railways produce a net deficit.

"Official reports attribute the cause of such a state of railway affairs to the unheard-of system of management, which has resulted in complete slackness, to the disorganization of labor and discipline, and also to the interference of outside elements—the 'authorities.' Want of space does not allow us to reproduce vivid descriptions of what is happening on the railways. As a result the Soviet authorities decided at the end of 1918 to adopt radical measures: the abolition of elected committees, the appointment of railway dictators, the introduction of piecework and premiums, etc,—in a word, a renunciation of all the principal 'conquests of the revolution' and a return to the 'old methods'.

"The Bolshevist industrial system carries within itself the seeds of its own ruin. It is impossible to carry on for any length of time a concern which is irrationally organized and is not self-supporting. And this is just what is taking place in Soviet Russia.

"The expenditure upon administration and payment of labor is in no relation with the profitability of the undertaking and swallows enormous sums. For instance, in one of the Moscow metal works the cost of administration and bookkeeping in 1916 was only 15 per cent. of the cost of the whole undertaking, while in 1919 it was over 65 per cent."

Prof. Issaiev furnishes all his evidence from government documents. Wherever a return was made to capitalistic industry, the productivity, happiness, and moral discipline greatly increased.

"Pravda" publishes the following characteristic appeal from Maxim Gorky:

"But are we making any new things or are we engaged in work worthy of a free people? No. We work without soul, carelessly, and without energy. . . . Through lack of foresight for the proper adjustment of work and worker, we are wasting the forces of our republic. Of course these are mere trifles, especially for us, who wish to edify, the whole

world with a new social order. But are the masters, who are unable themselves to work and who do not wish to work, entitled to be considered educators? The master will soon have lost his last pair of pants. I do not believe that Europe's workers will be much edified by such masters. Revolutionary Socialist policy is assuredly a very beautiful thing, but we must work. We have created an atmosphere of general idleness and criminal negligence. We have never worked so ill or so dishonestly as at present. To be sure, this is in part the result of malnutrition and consequent bodily weakness, but in the main it proceeds from a lack of the sense of responsibility."

Captain Hugh Martin was secretary to Senator John Sharp Williams of Mississippi from 1910 to 1916, and then went to Petrograd as an attaché of the American Embassy. When the war broke out, he entered the military intelligence branch of the service, was wounded in action, decorated by the North Russian government and was the only American officer with the relief expedition to Archangel.

In a series of interviews and lectures he has given us his personal experience of Socialism in Russia.

"I did not ignore Bolshevism," he declared. "On the contrary, I sought to find out just what it stood for and just what it sought to accomplish.

"I went into several industrial centers of Russia shortly after Bolshevism came into power. I wanted to see how their socialistic experiment was working out. The experiment was working, but the men were not.

"Under Bolshevism the men did not work. There was no reason why they should exert themselves. Energy and brains were upon an absolute level with laziness and stupidity.

"Bolshevism sought to remold the cast of human nature. It failed. It has been the greatest socialistic experiment in the history of the world. The world will benefit by it. Poor Russia will pay the price.

"Bolshevism naturally appeals to the cowardly instinct of mankind. It holds out the possibility of getting something without the application of energy or intelligence.

"The men who held lucrative positions under Bolshevism are the agitators who, under Kerensky, told the workers of Russia what terrible conditions they were in. As a matter of fact, the workingman was in better condition at that time than he had ever known before.

"Those agitators are the commissars of today.

"Bolshevism in Russia will fail. It has nothing to stand upon. It has no moral nor economic basis. It has built

a house of cards, and when they begin tumbling they will tumble suddenly and completely."

. . . .

"I am trying to tell our people the truth as I found it by personal contact with Soviets and three years' residence in Russia, mingling with the Russian people, speaking their language, sitting in their Soviet councils, traveling about among their villages and marrying a Russian girl, who is now with my people in Mississippi, learning the English language. I aim to tell the story fairly and to give the Bolshevists credit where credit is due them, for no one ever gets anywhere dealing in propaganda.

"I said there was a powerful propaganda at work in this country—the people do not appear to realize that we are really facing a grave situation. Conditions over there are inconceivable to a man who has not been there and experienced them.

"All but 1 per cent. of the Russian people are really opposed to Bolshevism. Near the industrial centers the peasants have been robbed of the products of their farms until they go so far as to bury any surplus grain rather than turn it over to red raiding parties. I traveled through 300 miles of country territory, visiting twenty-one peasant villages and found only one person who defended the Bolshevist regime.

"When the end does come, it will come suddenly and will sweep the Bolshevists off their feet. Another reign of terror will probably follow, as the people will take revenge for their wrongs. They have been and are being held by force, by intimidation and through systematic starvation."

In 1919, the Third International issued a Manifesto in which it declared:

"*To the proletariat of all countries*!

"Seventy-two years have gone by since the Communist Party of the World proclaimed its program in the form of a Manifesto written by the great teachers of the proletarian revolution, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. . . .

"We Communists, representing the revolutionary proletariat of the different countries of Europe, America and Asia, assembled in Soviet Moscow, feel and consider ourselves followers and fulfillers of the program proclaimed seventy-two years ago. It is our task now to sum up the practical revolutionary experience of the working class, to cleanse the the movement of its admixtures of opportunism and social patriotism, and to gather together the forces of all the true

revolutionary proletarian parties in order to further and hasten the complete victory of the Communist revolution.

"The opportunists who, before the war, exhorted the workers, in the name of the gradual transition into Socialism, to be temperate; who, during the war, asked for submission in the name of 'civil peace' and defense of the Fatherland, now again demand of the workers self-abnegation to overcome the terrible consequences of the war. If this preaching were listened to by the workers, Capitalism would build out of the bones of several generations a new and still more formidable structure, leading to a new and inevitable world war. Fortunately for humanity, this is no longer possible. . . .

"Only the Proletarian Dictatorship, which recognizes neither inherited privileges nor rights of property, but which arises from the needs of the hungering masses, can shorten the period of the present crisis; and for this purpose it mobilizes all materials and forces, introduces the universal duty of labor, establishes the regime of industrial discipline, thus to heal in the course of a few years the open wounds caused by the war and also to raise humanity to new undreamed-of heights.

"The whole bourgeois world accuses the Communists of destroying liberties and political democracy. This is not true. Having come into power, the proletariat only asserts the absolute impossibility of applying the methods of bourgeois democracy, and it creates the conditions and forms of a higher *working class democracy*. . . .

"The peasant of Bavaria and Baden who does not look beyond his church spire, the small French wine-grower who has been ruined by the adulterations practiced by the big capitalists, the small farmer of America plundered and betrayed by bankers and legislators—all these social ranks which have been shoved aside from the main road of development by Capitalism, are called on paper by the regime of political, democracy to the administration of the State. In reality however, the finance-oligarchy decides all important questions which determine the destinies of nations behind the back of parliamentary democracy. . . .

"The proletarian State, like every State, is an organ of suppression, but it arrays itself against the enemies of the working class. It aims to break the opposition of the despoilers of labor, who are using every means in a desperate effort to stifle the revolution in blood, and to make impossible further opposition. The dictatorship of the proletariat, which gives it the favored position in the community, is only a provisional institution. As the opposition of the Bourgeoisie

is broken, as it is expropriated and gradually absorbed into the working groups, the proletarian dictatorship disappears, until finally the State dies, and there are no more class distinctions. . . ."

Struggling Russia, May 31, 1919, publishes the following proclamation issued by a socialist committe of Petrograd:

"The Soviet was not elected. The elections were either pretenses or held under threats of shooting or starvation. This terrorism completely suffocated freedom of speech, the press and meetings of the laboring classes.

"The Petrograd Soviet consists of self-appointed Bolsheviki. It is a blind tool in the hands of 'agents-provocateurs,' hangmen and assassins of the Bolshevist regime. . . .

"Where is the dictatorship of the proletariat and working peasantry? It has been supplanted by the dictatorship of the Central Committee of the Bolshevist Party, governing with the assistance of a swarm of extraordinary commissions and punitive detachments of imported soldiers."

Mr. R. H. Bruce-Lockhart, British High Commissioner, from personal observations in Russia telegraphed the British Foreign Office, November 10, 1918:

"The Bolsheviki have established a rule of force and oppression unequaled in the history of any autocracy.

"Themselves the fiercest upholders of the right of free speech, they have suppressed, since coming into power, every newspaper which does not approve their policy.

"The right of holding public meetings has been abolished. The vote has been taken away from everybody except the workmen in factories and the poorer servants, and even amongst the workmen those who dared to vote against the Bolsheviki are marked down by the Bolshevist police as counter-revolutionaries, and are fortunate if their worst fate is to be thrown into prison, of which in Russia today it may truly be said, 'many go in but few come out.' "

Mr. V. M. Zenzinov, member of the Central Committee of the Socialists-Revolutionists of Russia,in *Struggling Russia*, April 12, 1919:

"It was during my stay in Petrograd in April, 1918, that a conference of factory and industrial plant employees of Petrograd and vicinity was held, to which 100,000 Petrograd workingmen (out of a total of 132,000) sent delegates. The conference adopted a resolution sharply denouncing the Bolshevist regime. Following this conference an attempt was made, in May, to call together an All-Russian Congress of workmen's deputies in Moscow, but all the delegates were

arrested by the Bolsheviki, and to this day I am ignorant of the fate that befell my comrades."

The aforesaid M. Bruce-Lockhart in the aforesaid telegram declared:

"The Bolsheviki have abolished even the most primitive forms of justice. Thousands of men and women have been shot without even the mockery of a trial, and thousands more are left to rot in the prisons under conditions to find a parallel to which one must turn to the darkest annals of Indian or Chinese history. . . .

"The Bolsheviki who destroyed the Russian army, and who have always been the avowed opponents of militarism, have forcibly mobilized officers who do not share their political views, but whose technical knowledge is indispensable, and by the threat of immediate execution have forced them to fight against their fellow- countrymen in a civil war of unparalleled horror."

The dictatorship of Trotzky and Lenin is a military dictatorship in times of peace. In addressing the ninth Convention of the Communist Party, in 1920, Trotzky declared:

"Mobilization is more necessary now than it was formerly, because we have to deal with the peasant population and the masses of unskilled labor which cannot be utilized to the fullest extent by any other means than military discipline.

"Under a unified system of economy the masses of workmen should be moved about, ordered and sent from place to place in exactly the same manner as soldiers. Without this, we are unable to speak seriously of any organization of industry on a new basis in the conditions of starvation and disorganization existing today."

The Krasvaya Gazeta ('Red Gazette') of April 18, 1920, reveals the fact that failure to accept this compulsory labor is punished by imprisonment. Desertion from the labor army is punished as desertion in war.

An authentic copy of the resolutions of the Russian Communist Party dated April 10., 1920, received by the State department is made public. The resolutions call for the mobilization of labor by conscription.

"The organizations of the party must assist in every way the trade unions and labor departments in regulating skilled workers for the purpose of employing them in productive labor, on the same principles and with the same severity as are adopted with regard to officers mobilized for the requirements of the army.

"Every skilled worker must return to his special work. Skilled workers may remain at other soviet posts only with the permission of central and local authorities."

Marxian Socialism brought into Russia that starvation and disorganization which is destroying Russia. Russia is rich in all natural resources. No country could have more quickly recovered from the war. It is the character of its government that stifles freedom, industry, and religion.

Socialism will not work. If a people overthrow the existing forms of government and the existing institutions of private property, the family, etc., they must substitute therefor a strongly centralized power and martial law in industry.

It is unreasonable to deny that some just principles may be drawn from Socialism. Few errors are all error. The errors that do the most evil are those that deceive the people by their element of truth.

Socialism as a system is the wreck of humanity.

There are revisionist socialists, who would remake Socialism. They would purge out all its destructive, impractical theories and use it only to reform existing institutions, without wrecking them. These men choose a wrong name for their theory. Historic Socialism is so loaded down and permeated with criminal theories that no reformer has a right to use its name for a movement different from historic Socialism.

One of the leading *remade* socialists of the world is Lieut. Henry de Man of Belgium. This man through international Socialism tried to prevent the war; he was closely associated with Hermann Müller, Jaurès, Haase and Huysmans; he speaks the languages of nearly all civilized countries, has visited them, and studied their civilization. His testimony is authoritative:

"Bolsheviks would probably retort that it merely proves America to be the most intensively capitalist of all countries. And from this they evidently conclude—according to their naive argument which opposes the category socialism to the category capitalism—that it is also the most degraded. But let any European socialist, Bolsheviki or not, candidly ask himself to what European socialism owes its peculiar combativeness, and, to a large extent, its very existence as a mass movement. Will he not confess that socialism owes what it has won rather to its opposition to survivals from the pre-capitalistic period, both in the institutions and in the public spirit, than to the essence of capitalism itself? I for one have my answer ready. In a country like America capitalism is 'pure,' by which I mean that it has developed in an atmosphere of national self-government, political freedom and equality of

chances and rights. It is thus the 'pure' political reflex of the spirit of competitive capitalist production. I believe that in such an atmosphere socialism can evolve gradually and experimentally from capitalism by the mere play of the tendency to indefinite improvement in efficiency which is inherent in the competitive system, and by the movement toward more and more political self-determination of the masses, which gives them the power to counteract the detrimental effects of monopolisation.

"There is no clearer proof of this than the failure of all attempts that have so far been made to acclimatise European socialism in America. Even if the anti-war attitude of the Socialist Party of America had not caused the majority of American-born socialists to leave the party, its traditional methods would never have appealed to the American spirit, for they were European and not American. This party is in fact a federation of unassimilated immigrants trying to import ideas, which may correspond to the conditions in their native countries, but certainly not to those that prevail in America.

"Whilst in the United States, I re-read Morris Hillquit's history of American socialism. I think it as representative of that Socialist Party's stubborn determination to ignore America as is its author of the cosmopolitan, un-American class that forms the bulk of its membership. It dwells extensively on the history and vicissitudes of the tiny colonies and sects created by emigrants and exiles from Europe on what they considered as the virgin soil of the New Continent. But there is not a word about American democracy, just as though there were no difference at all between, say, Russian Czardom and the United States.

"I find more potential socialism in the Declaration of Independence, in the speeches of Abraham Lincoln and Woodrow Wilson, than in any of the so-called socialists' abortive attempts to raise cabbages by the same method as that of our ancestors at the time of primitive communism. A movement that claims the support of the masses, yet deliberately refuses to appeal to their ideals and to utilize the power of their national traditions for an ulterior development that lies entirely on the same lines as those traditions, has no right to complain if the national community behaves towards it like any living organism that obeys the natural law of the elimination of foreign bodies.

"But then the word socialism probably means something quite different to me than it does to them. Socialism in

European countries, as Bolshevikism and German social-democracy show, is naturally undemocratic to the same extent as the government it opposes. Democratic socialism can only arise from democratic capitalism, and, as far as I am concerned, the war has cured me of any possible inclination to believe that socialism is worth striving for unless it be democratic."—("The Remaking of a Mind," pp. 260-262.)

Socialism is an anachronism. It is fighting the shadows of the past. It would establish a despotism of the worst elements in Society.

Our ablest and best men declare that Socialism would have prevented the splendid development of our Country, and that in every land it is a destructive force.

"Socialism is the most un-American thing in America. In fact, it is not American—it is foreign and all its ideas are foreign. But no two Socialists think alike. Before one can combat the teachings of any particular Socialist, it is necessary to ask what his ideas of Socialism are. The generally accepted meaning of Socialism is that system of fallacies which are grouped together under the head of government or municipal ownership, and it is from this system of economic Socialism that the country has most to fear.

"Economic Socialism means a stifling of the very individualism to which this country owes its whole development. It means the leveling of the ablest men to the capacity of the weakest. The development of the great West, under Socialism, would have been slower by many years than under individual effort. Imagine the great railroad builders who gridironed the trans-Mississippi country with iron roads, working under the 'hold back' theories of government ownership. Instead of a Jim Hill to develop an empire in the Northwest, some petty politician would have been at the head of the enterprise. Think of the different result! A government-owned railroad would be ruled by politics rather than by merit. Socialism would put the industry of the country into the hands of the politicians, instead of the economic experts. The railroads, as well as all other large corporations of a public nature, should undoubtedly be under the control of government, but not the sort of control that reaches out to the appointment of every pick-handler and section foreman.

"Great aggregations of wealth are necessary to the development of the country. No one man can build a railroad. Any man with $100 or less can become joint owner of almost any railroad or other corporation in the country. And that ownership is spreading rapidly. Today there are, so sta-

tisticians say, not less than 3,000,000 people in this country who help own the railroads of the country. Twelve years ago 700 people, together with James J. Hill, owned the Great Northern railroad. Today the stockholders number 18,000. Several years ago, when Theodore Vail became president of the American Telegraph company, there were 18,000 stockholders; now there are over 50,000 owners of that corporation, scattered from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from Canada to the Gulf. Some years ago the Pennsylvania railroad had 27,000 stockholders. Now there are 73,000 who own and control that property. Many people have an idea that these big corporations are owned by some one man or a little coterie of men. But the books and figures show that such is far from being true.

"With 2,000,000 different people owning the railroads, and the many other millions who own stocks and interests in the different big enterprises, it is evident that real and beneficial public ownership is already here. These millions of citizens are not to misled by the foreign theories and fallacies of government ownership. The level-headed men of America can be trusted to protect their country from the disastrous failures which have followed the installation into practice of these Socialistic theories in New Zealand, France, and other foreign countries.

"That accumulation of capital corporations, trusts, may have had their faults and may need to be watched over by the state with diligence and care, I shall not deny. But this much I do deny, that accumulations of capital and corporations are to be prejudiced as guilty, that men having part in them are to be deemed almost as without right to work, without right to fair play, which is the native appanage of all Americans. And this I deny—that all men are equally industrious, that consequently all are more or less entitled to an equal possession of wealth, or an equal industrial reward. This I deny—that men, being as they are by nature and by habit, society can ever be without its rich and its comparatively poor; that American industries and enterprises can hold their own in world-wide competition without there being here and there, ministering to its needs, large accumulations of wealth, and consequently, large gatherings of men into associations as contributors to this wealth. Destroy great enterprises, make impossible the unification of many individual energies—and if equality there comes, it will be the equality of mediocrity and social poverty.

"I repeat, Socialism is the most un-American thing in America."—(The Most Reverend John Ireland, D. D.)

The distribution of wealth among the masses of the people has steadily progressed since the days of the great Archbishop.

The dictatorship of Russia is in the hands of Lenin, Trotzky, and about three thousand subordinate Commissars. The Russian people would rise against these tyrants if they were capably led, and believed success possible.

The London *Morning Post*, July 30, 1920, published the following from its correspondent in Esthonia:

"Goldman and Berkman, according to the testimony given to me are profoundly distressed at the working out of the hotch-potch of Bolshevism, Sovietism, and Communism which goes to make the existing form of control in Russia. They have a long list of counts in their indictment, the most striking of which is that the present government in Russia has arrogated to itself such extensive powers and functions of every sort that, even if a large portion of the population were not atrophied by hunger, the whole tendency would be to kill individual resources and personal initiative.

"Emma Goldman, in talking with one of her interviewers made the point that, if personal initiative had not been throttled, the people long ago would have broken out in rebellion against the food and sanitary conditions. In particular, she alluded to the prevailing filth of Moscow, which, she maintained, could be greatly lessened by private endeavor.

"Practically all the other deported undesirables have grievances, it seems, of some kind, and none of them appears to be finding contentment under the regime which for two years they so noisily championed in America."

In a still later interview (1920) Miss Goldman declared:

"We always knew the Marxian theory was impossible, a breeder of tyranny. We blinded ourselves to its faults in America, because we believed it might accomplish something. I have been here four months now, and I have seen what it has accomplished. There is no health in it. It has taken away even the little freedom that man has under individual capitalism and made him a subject to the whims of bureaucracy, which excuses its tyranny on the ground that all is done for the welfare of the workers."

But the fall of the Bolshevist regime means anarchy unless the great powers intervene. Competent observers declare that Russia can not save itself. Napoleon saved France from a similar crisis, but a Napoleon does not appear in every

age. General William von Hoffmann, formerly chief of staff of the eastern division of the German Army, recently made the following statement:

"The crash of the Soviet regime would inevitably be followed by a reign of unparallelled anarchy. The only thing that remains is armed intervention by the great powers. During the war I directed the propaganda against the Russian army. The general staff naturally made use of every possible means to break through the Russian front. One of these means was poison gas; another was Lenin.

"The imperial regime despatched Lenin to Russia from the Swiss frontier in a sealed car for a definite purpose. With our consent, Lenin and his friends disorganized the Russian army. Von Kuehlmann (former German secretary for foreign affairs), Count Czernin (Austro-Hungarian foreign minister), and I then closed the Brest-Litovsk treaty so that we could throw our army against the west front. While in Brest we were convinced that the Bolsheviki could not hold power more than three weeks.

"In spite of the valuable service Trotzky and Lenin rendered, we neither knew nor foresaw the danger to humanity of this journey of Bolshevists to Russia. At that time we weighed the matter with as little consideration as the entente does now."

On his way back to Holland from Russia, Dr. Oudendijk, the Dutch Minister in Petrograd, was interviewed by the London *Times* and made an impassioned plea for Allied intervention as a duty to civilization:

"I wish to give a solemn warning to the working classes of all nations. Bolshevism, I say without exaggeration, is the end of civilization. I have known Russia intimately for twenty years and never have the working classes of Russia suffered as they are at the present moment. I have never seen or dreamed of the possibility of such corruption, tyranny, and the absence of all semblance of freedom as there are in Russia at the present moment.

"Translated into practise, the five points of Bolshevism really come to this: (1) High wages; (2) don't work; (3) take other people's property; (4) no punishment; (5) no taxation; and I suppose there will always be a certain number of people who will adopt a program which in practise amounts to this. That is why, having myself seen the disastrous effects of this policy on all classes of society, I take the first opportunity on my arrival in England to warn the public. The bulk of the workmen in Russia are today far and away worse off than

they ever have been, and the state of unemployment is simply terrible. When I left Petrograd the situation was one of utter starvation, and most people hardly knew how they would exist through the following day. The future to me seems hopeless. One thing is certain, that, left as she now is, Russia will be in a state of utter and complete ruin. Wherever Bolshevism rules the nation has been beaten to a pulp, and is utterly helpless."

Mr. Gregory Alexinsky in an article in *Struggling Russia*, June 19, 1920, thus discourages trade with the Soviets:

"Knowing, as I do, the economic situation of Bolshevist Russia I can safely affirm that no immediate material benefit can be gained by the Allies by such relations with the Bolsheviki. During my recent tour of the Baltic regions I came into contact with Petrograd Co-operatives. They positively declare that Russian Co-operatives, as they stand now, can furnish nothing to other countries, because they possess nothing. The peasant refuses to furnish his wheat to the Bolsheviki. How can you talk of exporting wheat from a country where every inhabitant is ready to commit almost any crime for a quarter of a pound of bread? How can you think of exporting timber when the doors of the houses of Petrograd are being torn down for kindling wood?

"If from a material standpoint the establishment of relations with the Bolshevist government cannot benefit the Allies, it becomes more dangerous from a political standpoint, in attracting Communistic propaganda westward and thereby prolonging the now unstable existence of Bolshevism in Russia.

"Those who will now abstain from compromising themselves by flirting with the authors of Russia's misfortune will be rewarded later when our country will be freed from the yoke of Bolshevism."

Justifying the attitude of the United States toward the Soviets, Mr. Bainbridge Colby our Secretary of State declared:

"The Soviet government is insisting upon political recognition as a condition precedent to a renewal of any commercial contact. While this Government has no desire to interfere with the internal affairs of the Russian people, or to suggest the kind of government that they should have, the existing regime in Russia does not represent the will or consent of any considerable proportion of the Russian people. It repudiates every principle of harmonious and trustful relations, whether of nations or of individuals, and is based upon the negation of honor and good faith and every usage and convention underlying the structure of international law."

In former times the scientists and scholars of Russia were numerous and of high repute. Mr. D. N. Shub thus writes in *Struggling Russia*, June 19, 1920:

"The ranks of the Russian *intelligentsia* are dwindling more and more. Starvation, epidemics and persecution by the Bolshevist authorities are driving the best sons of Russia to untimely graves. All those in whom Russia always justly gloried find no place for themselves in the 'Socialist Fatherland' of the Bolsheviki! Many scientists, professors, writers, artists and actors have already perished, others are slowly dying in Petrograd and Moscow, and only a few 'fortunate' ones manage to get away from the Hell of Bolshevism, out of its reach. Russian professors, scientists, journalists, artists and actors who, during the first years of the Bolshevist rule, had fled from Petrograd and Moscow to the Ukraine, the Don and Kuban, were forced at the occupation of these territories by the Bolsheviki to flee again, this time to Constantinople, the Princes' Islands, Bulgaria, Jugo-slavia and other Balkan States. Thus, according to the despatch of the correspondent of the Chicago *Daily News*, at present there are in Sofia alone, the capital of Bulgaria, more than forty Russian professors, among them many members of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Only a very few of them have managed to settle somehow temporarily, while the overwhelming majority, torn from the task to which they have devoted their lives, live as refugees, suffering terrible want.

"And yet, no matter how hard the lot of those representatives of Russian science and culture who find themselves without any means of subsistence in an indifferent foreign land, their fate is still a veritable paradise in comparison to the frightful conditions under which their colleagues who are compelled to remain in Soviet Russia are groaning. Over there life has literally become an inferno for men of science and culture. This is most eloquently testified to by the enormous mortality rate among this class of people during the past two and a half years. I shall not here repeat the names of the Russian scientists, professors, writers and other representatives of culture who perished during the first two years of the Bolshevist reign, as their names have been repeatedly mentioned in the columns of the general press as well as of *Struggling Russia*. I only want to state that within this relatively brief span of time there have died in Petrograd and Moscow 19 *members of the Academy of Sciences!*

"Within the past few months, however, the death rate among men of science in Russia has assumed particularly

stupendous proportions. We have already noted, in a previous issue of *Struggling Russia*, the death of Vladimir Hessen, the professor of Constitutional Law. Russian newspapers for April and May, received just now, tell us of the deaths of a number of other prominent Russian scientists. Here follows a brief, far from exhaustive, list of the most prominent Russian men of science who have died in the course of the past few months:

"1. In Novorossyisk died —Professor Eugene Trubetskov, one of the most prominent Russian philosophers and publicists.

"2. In Yekaterinodar died—Prof. A. S. Postnikov, one of the most prominent Russian economists.

"3. At Petrograd died:

"Professor of Constitutional Law and Member of the Academy, Mikhail Alexandrovitch Diakonov.

"Professor of Political Economy, L. Khodsky.

"The renowned Geologist, Prof. Alexander Inostrantzev.

"The Botanist, Prof. Goby.

"Professor of Musical Theory, Alexander Petrov.

"Professor of Foreign Literature, Academician, Fedor Batiushkov.

"Professor P. O. Morozov—a well-known historian of literature and art.

"The Ethnographer and Historian, M. M. Kulisher.

"4. At Moscow died:

"Professor Kirsh, the greatest Russian authority on heating systems.

"Professor Lev Mikhailovitch Lopatin, President of the Philosophic Society and Editor of the journal 'Problems of Philosophy and Psychology,' friend and comrade of the well-known Russian philosopher, Vladimir Soloviov.

"5. Committed suicide:

"V. M. Khvostov, Prof. of Roman Law and History at the Moscow University.

"Victorov, Prof. of Philosophy and Psychology at same University.

"I repeat it, this roll is far from complete. The responsibility for this stupendous death rate among men of science and culture rests exclusively upon the conscience of the Bolsheviki. It is they who have created for them unbearable conditions of life, both morally and physically, dooming them to lingering death by starvation.

"Do not let the apologists of Bolshevism tell you that the fault rests with the general famine that reigns in that country, thanks to the 'inhuman blockade,' for, throughout the

Bolshevist rule we have never heard of any of their leaders, not even of ordinary Bolshevist politicians, starving to death, while during the same time the most prominent Russian scientists and academicians either die one after another of hunger, or else like Professor Khvostov, Liapunov, Victorov and many others, commit suicide, or, like Professors Kokoshkin, Kolly, Florinsky, Astrov, Shchepkin, Nekrassov, Volkov and a host of others, are brutally murdered by the Bolsheviki, or have to seek safety in flight to the Princes' Islands."

The evil theories of Socialism drew forth from Daniel Webster the following denunciation:

"There are persons who constantly clamor. They complain of oppression, speculation and pernicious influence of accumulated wealth. They cry out loudly against all banks and corporations and all means by which small capitalists become united in order to produce important beneficial results. They carry on mad hostility against all established institutions. They would choke the fountain of liberty, they clamor against oppression in a country of industry, and dry all streams. In a country of unbounded perfect equality, they would move heaven and earth against privilege and monopoly. In a country where property is more evenly divided than anywhere else they rend the air with shouting about agrarian doctrines. In a country where wages of labor are high beyond parallel, they would teach the laborer that he is but an oppressed slave."

In February, 1920, Mr. Wm. C. Redfield, former Secretary of Commerce, of the United States, now president of the American-Russian Chamber of Commerce, made public the following statement touching the labor code of Russia:

"In the first place, all citizens of Soviet Russia between 16 and 50 who are not incapacitated by injury or illness, are subject to compulsory labor. Every laborer must carry a labor booklet, which is like a passport. In it must be entered every payment he receives, the hours he works, or is absent, the group and category, to which he has been assigned by the valuation commission, and every other detail of his life and activity.

"A wage earner is not permitted to change from one job to another, except by permission, only certified by the labor authorities, under whom he becomes virtually an industrial serf, bound to his job.

"No American would submit for a moment to such a tyrannical and oppressive system, and a reading of this code shows clearly how far the autocracy at Moscow has gone in the

direction of reaction and destruction of the liberty and right of the individual."

A true analysis of Bolshevism is given by Mr. Winston Churchill, Member of Parliament and British Cabinet Minister in the *Sunday Express* of London, 1920:

"There has never been any work more diabolical in the whole history of the world than that which the Bolsheviki have wrought in Russia. Consciously, deliberately, confidently, ruthlessly, honestly, if you will, in the sense that their wickedness has been the true expression of their nature—they have enforced their theory upon the Russian towns and cities; and these are going to die." Mr. Churchill observes that Communism must lead to conscription of labor as it has in Russia, and he declares that the Marxians of Russia prefer a world of equally hungry slaves to a world of equally prosperous freemen.

"These beings, animated by the most ferocious hatreds that the human breast has ever contained, were unable, except in periods of catastrophe, when they immediately rose to the surface, seriously to impede the steady onward march of civilization. From time to time they threw bombs or murdered prominent people as a proof of a faith that was in them. But they bided their time, and at last, when the loosely knit structure of the Russian Empire was shaken by the stress of the great war, their chance came. They represented the principle of death as the consequence of an all-pervading spirit of hate.

"With a clang they closed the gates both to the paths which make life tolerable here below and to those which we hope lead on to serener forms of existence, and instead they attempted to thrust upon mankind universal slavery disguised as universal equality under the permanent dictatorship of their own sect."

Mr. H. G. Wells in some recent articles published in the New York *Times* blames the character of the Russian people for the existence of the Bolsheviki. This moves the brilliant author Dimitry Merezhkovsky to answer in wrath:

—(Translation by New York *Times*, 1920.)

"At this moment not we Russians alone, but all the peoples of the earth, are divided into two camps—for the Bolsheviki, and against them. You have joined the former. And, however much you may assert that you are not a communist or a Marxist or a Bolshevik, you are not to be believed, for between the two camps there is no middle ground—he who is not against the Bolsheviki is for them.

"You maintain that 'there can be no other Government in Russia except the Soviet Government.' What does this mean? Is it that every people gets the government that belongs to it, just as every child has its own mother? You have seen a child in the arms of a gorilla and have decided that this is its mother; but beware, Mr. Wells, it may be that the gorilla has stolen a human child. You looked upon the face of Russia for sixteen days, but I—for fifty years. Russia to you is a stranger; to me she is a mother. And believe me, I can distinguish the face of my mother from the face of the gorilla.

* * * * *

"This happened in Moscow, and it is an actual fact. Some children, ten and fourteen years of age, cut the throat of a schoolmate, hid the body and ate of the flesh. In court the ten-year-old ring leader showed no remorse, but said 'the meat tasted all right, but afterward it smelt.' This was related in the Commissariat of Public Education."

The official organ of the Russian Bolshevik government reported an estimated deficit for 1920 on the operations of nationalized industries of 23,756,700,000 roubles (about $18, 292,659,000), according to a Berlin dispatch.

The total includes 5,630,000,000 roubles spent on official salaries and on organization of the industries; 14,393,000,000 roubles lost owing to production cost exceeding sale prices, and 1,210,000,000 roubles spent on political measures which were found necessary to keep the workmen quiet.

The political measures, the dispatch added, consisted chiefly in stationing soldiers and gendarmes in the more turbulent factories.

The official Bolshevist daily, *Pravda*, of November 14, 1920, publishes an article by T. Larin in which a comparative table of forty leading manufacturing outputs is given of the years 1913–14 and 1920. The industrial decline under Bolshevist rule is very great. In some leading industries Bolshevist Russia is producing less than three per cent. of the pre-war production. The average is nineteen per cent.

Hillquit admits that Marx considered the dictatorship of the proletariat as the necessary evolutionary process of Socialism.

The phrase "dictatorship of the proletariat" was first coined by Karl Marx, in 1875, when he wrote a letter in criticism of the proposed Social Democratic program of Gotha. Speaking of the period of "transformation," he asserted that the State during that period "could be nothing else than the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat." Later Engels

referred to the Paris Commune as a practical example of such "dictatorship."

This principle is one of the corner stones of Socialism. It enters into every socialistic program. The transition from the old order to the new socialistic order is to be effected precisely through the dictatorship of the proletariat. Then the socialistic state, having expropriated the propertied class, proceeds to accomplish the feat of eliminating all proletarians by making all men proletarians.

"The ideas of the proletarian are the ideas of Socialism, the aspirations of the proletarian are the aspirations of Socialism, the victory of Socialism is at once the triumph and the annihilation of the proletarian, for, by the institution of the Socialist state, the proletarian vanishes, he becomes translated into something different, namely, the citizen of a co-operative commonwealth."—(*The Militant Proletariat* by Austin Lewis.)

Hillquit declares that in fundamentals Socialism in the United States and Socialism of the Third International are one.

"Then why remain in the Third International at all? Because we realize that the Third International represents, after all, the best spirit in the Socialist movement at this time. Its formulas may be wrong, but, with all that, the Moscow organization is the most promising field for rebuilding the Socialist International, provided it does not remain an International of Eastern or Asiatic socialism, but opens its doors to all revolutionary organizations of socialism, and provided that it adheres to the rules which have always guided the Socialist Internationals, the First as well as the Second, the rule of self-determination in matters of policy and methods of struggle, so long as no vital principle of the Socialist program and Socialist philosophy is violated."

Even if American Socialism should secede from the Third International, it would prove nothing in favor of American Socialism. It would only be a dissension among the enemies of God and law, touching the methods to be used in the warfare. Opportunity in the United States counsels the political means rather than physical force to accomplish the ruin of society. Hillquit propounds this opportunist doctrine as follows:

"There is no reason in the world why we in the United States should take it upon ourselves to adopt the ideal of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat.' If we do that, and if it is made a condition of our affiliation that we recognize the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must adopt the Russian defini-

tion of the term, and what is that definition? The 'dictatorship of the proletariat' implies the disarming, disfranchising and outlawing of the bourgeoisie. In America, as in all countries of democratic and Parliamentary traditions, the Socialist movement cannot consistently employ such methods, because if we did, we would practically say to the parties of the bourgeoisie, to our Democrats and Republicans, 'Gentlemen, we want to take advantage of the ballot box in order to get into your legislative bodies, we want to get into power somehow, but when we are in power we shall disarm you and disfranchise you and outlaw you, as a necessary measure,' and the logical reply would be, 'All right, gentlemen, but today we are already in possession of the public powers which you seek to conquer, and consequently we shall disarm you and disfranchise and outlaw you as a measure of self-preservation.' "

When the decent civilized world stands aghast at the crimes of the Bolsheviki, it is amazing to hear this man with shameless effrontery defend the Soviet government of Russia as the "best thing in government yet devised by man." Socialism would have no vogue in a world of sane and virtuous men.

In December, 1920, the executive of the Second International issued a proclamation to the workers.

The proclamation is signed by Henderson and McDonald of England, Vandervelte of Belgium, Otto Wels of Germany, Troelstra of Holland, Engbjerj of Sweden and Huysmans of Belgium. A translation of the text says:

"The future of the international is at stake. Socialism is peace, Bolshevism is force and war. We accuse the holders of power in Russia, the leaders of the Third International of having demoralized the working class. They crushed the will of the Russian people and put in the place of democracy armed dictatorship, not of the proletariat, but of a small committee.

"Now they are about to enforce their will on the proletariat of the whole world. These lessons they learned from the former czarism; they have nothing to do with socialism. They hurl insults at 27,000,000 workmen and call them 'yellow', they organize a destructive war against the labor union and the fighting organizations of the proletariat. They lead the workmen from capitalist wage slavery into the slavery of the State; they deprive them of the right of association and liberty and prevent the establishment of economic democracy."

The leaders of the Second International fail to recognize that Socialism logically leads to Bolshevism. It destroys

social order, deprives man of his religious faith, reduces man to the status of the brute, and leaves society exposed to the adventurers who come into power through the principles of Socialism.

We reproduce from the *Daily American Tribune* the following testimony translated from *La Croix*.

"We have asked Father Maniglier about this. He is pastor of the Church of Our Lady at Odessa, and arrived at Paris some days ago. He has given us precise information, which is at issue with the vague notices one sees in the papers.

"Father Maniglier has been at Odessa since 1905: he speaks French, Russian, Polish, German, and Italian, and uses these languages in his ministry. He has seen the Russian revolution from day to day with full comprehension; and he has been thoroughly informed on the course of events throughout the whole of Russia. We would add that Father Maniglier by his connections, and by his deep knowledge of Russian affairs, has a perfect understanding of the nature of that people which we call European, but which, at bottom, is thoroughly Asiatic.

"What is your opinion of Bolshevism?" we asked.

"This is the thousandth time I have been asked that question since I left Odessa. What is it you want of me? Do you wish to know of the present condition of Bolshevism, or of its origin, or of its future? There is matter to talk of for hours."

"I do not wish to waste your time. I only ask you to tell me what one should think of the marvelous stories which the pilgrims from Moscow have told us of the Soviets."

"The answer is easy; they have seen nothing, for all was concealed from them. "

"Have you seen anything?"

"Yes, indeed; I have seen and understood.

"I have seen bands of bourgeois led off to punishment whose only offense was that they combed their hair and had clean hands."

"But they left foreigners alone?"

"Not always. One day, a French lady could not help crying out as the prisoners passed her. 'The poor people!' Then the commander of the soldiers blew out her brains."

"Have there really been massacres?"

"Yes; and they still continue. For Sovietism is brigandage let loose."

"Do not the Russian people revolt against it?"

"You do not understand. I told you that the Russian is an Asiatic, that is to say, a man who for ages has yielded to superior force."

"Yes; but now he is the strongest, as he has freed himself from his ancient oppressors?"

"He is too ignorant to use his terrible liberty to advantage. There are no profiteers in Russia now but professional bandits, who know their trade from away back. There is also that crowd of Intellectuals who, at the Universities, have learnt nothing but subversive theories, which they are now putting in practice."

"Do not the Germans count for anything in the situation?"

"They did at the beginning. Their emissaries gave matters the bad turn they took."

"Then you think there was some good in the Revolution at the start?"

"Yes. It aimed at stopping the treason to us which was being prepared, known to the Tsar."

"Then who derailed it?"

"Lenin, through German wickedness. And Germany understood all the harm that the man would do to Russia. But he was not alone. He was seconded by agents of the Kaiser, and by Russian Jews. Thus one would not be wrong in saying that Bolshevism is the work of Germany and Jewdom."

"Do you think the Soviets will be able to organize Russia?"

"They say so, but they are incapable of doing so, for several reasons. These are the two chief ones: First, the intellectual class, which is essential for the government of every nation, has been mainly destroyed; second, the Russian people has been brought up in such ignorance that it is incapable of governing itself."

"Then there will be a long chaos?"

"Yes: unless a strong man imposes his authority. In its present condition, the Russian people can only be ruled by a powerful chief."

"You don't believe, then, in the Soviet paradise?"

"Not for an instant. The evil for Russia is having made the revolution a hundred years too soon. Democracy is impossible if the people is ignorant."

"But Russia is religious?"

"Yes. But its religion is unenlightened, nor is it an adequate guide to conduct."

"Would it be easy to bring it to Catholicism?"

"I think so. But hitherto a Catholic propaganda has been impossible."

"Yet Nicholas granted liberty of conscience in 1904."

"Yes, on paper: but in 1905 I had to sign a written engagement to make no converts from Orthodoxy under pain of expulsion, or banishment to Siberia."

"Can you foresee the outcome of Sovietism?"

"I am not a prophet. However, I can assure you of one thing: Soviet rule will never bring about a normal government; it will remain a continual terror."

"But will it come to an end?"

"Doubtless; but when, I cannot say. It may be soon; for, as I said, all that is needed is the strong man who can impose his rule."

"A Russian?"

"Even a Russian."

"Then you do not despair of Russia's recovery?"

"No; but it must be helped, and we should never forget that in fighting the Soviets we are defeating Germany. It will be France's glory to have understood that, and consequently to have saved Europe from Bolshevism, the greatest peril it has ever run."—(From *La Croix*, Paris, Sept. 23, 1920.)

If we make allowance for the *Teutonophobia* natural to a Frenchman, this testimony is valuable.

In December, 1920, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of the United States addressed a letter to the Third International of Moscow declaring that Lenin's 21 conditions are dictatorial, impossible, and destructive of the aims of Socialism. The letter admits that in virtue of the referendum the Socialist Party of the U. S. is affiliated to Moscow.

"At the present time and until changed by a national convention or referendum, the resolution last adopted states the official position of the party. This declaration and all other declarations adopted by the party in national convention or by referendum vote are mandatory and binding upon this committee. We have no authority and we have no desire to assume authority to alter or abolish them.

"However, the committee does consider that it has at its discretion a certain latitude as to the time and manner of execution of adopted policies or declarations."

It is only a domestic quarrel touching methods. The Socialists of America wish to adopt methods that are possible

in America to accomplish the ruin of society which Bolshevism has wrought in Russia:

"To the Soviet government the Socialist party of America has given its unwavering support, as evidenced by resolutions of sympathy and comradeship, by persistent and reiterated demands upon our own government for withdrawal of troops, lifting of the blockade, resumption of trade, and recognition of the Soviet government. This proposition has not been based upon our complete approval of every act and policy of the Soviet government, but upon the unquestionable right of the Russian people and workers to establish such government, such administration, and such institutions as they deem necessary to secure and maintain their liberty and happiness.

"The Communist International on the other hand has not to do with the international affairs of the Russian people but with the interests of revolutionary workers of the entire world. It is not only the right but the duty of revolutionary workers of various countries to insist upon an opportunity of participating in the organization of an international body with which they desire to affiliate and to demand a voice in determining the policies of the body of which they form a part."

It is to be world revolution in the Russian fashion in Russia, but in the American fashion in America.

The letter is signed by the following members of the national executive committee of the Socialistic party of America: E. T. Melms, Milwaukee, George E. Hoyer, Jr., James O'Neal, Bertha H. Mailly, William H. Brandt, John Nagel, William H. Henry, and Otto Branstetter, executive secretary.

The following news item taken from the *Milwaukee Journal*, February 25, 1920, adds its weight to the evidence against applied Socialism:

New York—A sad, tragically disappointed man sat in the Pennsylvania hotel and wearily exclaimed:

"Russia today? If you have ever read Dante's Inferno and are able to picture for yourself the nothernmost hell—that is Russia, only worse. There isn't a man living who has sufficiently strong language to describe that country as it is today."

The speaker was Morris Schwartz, California, former Socialist. He went to Russia with his wife, a writer known as Jessie H. Molle of Wisconsin, to attend the Third International in Moscow. His wife was imprisoned by the Soviet government and died on a hunger strike. Mr. Schwartz arrived on the Aquitania.

"The poor people over there are dying by inches," he said. "Not only from exhaustion and privation, but from ghastly terrifying fright, for in Russia no man dares express his opinions, nor may men assemble to discuss the government. The walls have ears. A man who offends is dragged from his bed at the point of a bayonet, hurried away and shot without trial.

"Bolshevist Russia is forever proclaiming to the world that it stands for freedom. It is the most despotic government in history.

"All my life my wife and I worked for the Socialist party. My wife was an American from Wisconsin and knew Russia only by the glowing pictures drawn for her. She went to Russia with me as to the promised land. It broke her heart and she died.

"We were arrested one night and they started to take from us all our belongings. My wife had on a pin given her by her mother and which she prized highly. When she refused to give it up they put a bayonet at her breast and tore the pin from her throat. She went on a hunger strike in prison. She said, 'I have worked for the Socialist party all my life. If you cannot get a square deal in Russia now, life is not worth living to me.' So she died.

"I have learned my lesson. I believe that the capitalistic form of government has made mistakes, but I would rather live under a poor republican government with its occasional injustices than under the best Bolshevist government.

"Nothing could be more ghastly than conditions in free Russia under government by the proletariat?"

Not only has applied Socialism wrecked Russia, but it is reaching out to destroy civilization in other lands. Documents seized by the police in Barcelona and Milan in February, 1921, reveal an international communistic plot to overthrow the "bourgeois" governments of Spain, Italy, and France. May 1, 1921, was set for the uprising. The central organization is at Paris with branches in Berlin, Vienna, and other cities. Soviets have been organized by the Communists throughout France to take over the railroads, banks, etc.

For a long period Socialism in some of its many forms shall be a contagious disease, against which a strong quarantine must be maintained. Whenever Society by misgovernment or oppression of labor weakens its power to resist disease, then shall be the opportunity of Socialism.

The best preventative against the demon, Socialism, is to keep society healthy by just laws efficiently executed, just

wages and humane treatment of the workingman, and, most of all, by the recognition of God and of his commandments.

The dangers threatening Ireland from the Socialism of the Laborites is thus ably stated by Mgr. Kelly, Bishop of Ross, at a meeting of the Dublin Council of Agriculture.

"The workers," Bishop Kelly said, "propose to take over all the sources of production in the country, to work and manage them, and to run the Government. This is the denial of democracy. It is government by a class democracy. The tyranny of an oligarchy is bad, the tyranny of a multitude is worse. To take over the sources of production is not legitimate. The possessors and owners will resist, and there will be a fierce struggle. There are in Ireland 910,000 families; of these 552,000 are occupiers of land. All of them have a substantial interest in their land, and most of them are owners in fee. More than 400,000 of these families are farmers who derive their subsistence from their farms.

"Among the 368,000 families who have no landed interest are included the large array of owners of houses, workshops, factories, and various other forms of property. Hence in Ireland there is little room for a social revolution. As we know the Irishman, he will cling with a grim determination to his farm, shop, and workshop. Forewarned is forearmed, and if the owners realize that the programme of the Workers' Republic is to abolish individual ownership, and if they set their faces firmly against that charge, they will avert great evils from themselves and their country."

The Socialism of the Labor Unionists of Ireland destroys confidence in the stability of the Irish Republic.

Wherever Socialism has been put into practice it has developed into tyranny and disaster. We have an example very close to us.

In 1915, the Nonpartisan League was organized in North Dakota. In 1916 it gained a remarkable victory at the elections in North Dakota; it also spread over many other states. In 1918 the Nonpartisan League secured in North Dakota a two-thirds majority in both houses of the legislature, elected also men for all important state offices and secured the majority in the Supreme Court. In other states it also spread in a most remarkable way.

We present here some of the specifically Non-partisan planks of the aforesaid party's platform:

"We regard with satisfaction and gratitude the savings of many millions of dollars to the people of the nation by the action of the food administration in regulating the grain

and food markets and especially in stopping the iniquitous gambling in grains.

"We point to this record as complete proof of the justice of the complaint made for many years by the farmers of North Dakota, a complaint which has met only derision from the politicians and subsidized press who are subservient to the grain monopoly, that the farmers of North Dakota were annually being robbed of many millions by the nefarious operations of the grain combines.

"We respectfully petition the federal government so to shape its plans that it will not relinquish control of the grain market after the war, but will use the knowledge gained through the food administration to aid in keeping the grain markets open and free from the oppressive practices of monopoly.

"We endorse the taking over by the federal government of the railroads as a further step to promote industrial justice and the efficiency of the government in war. We suggest:

"Government seizure and operation of all war supplies factories where excessive profit-taking takes place.

"Direct contracts between the government and all workers on government supplies and work, through their organizations.

"The production of food supplies is not yet adequate to the needs of the nation and its allies. As a more rational program to promote production we suggest:

"Short time loans to the farmers by the government on crop security, whether on owned or rented land.

"Government control of the prices of commodities necessary for the farmers' use.

"Distribution by the government, acting as buyer and seller, through the parcel post of important essentials of life.

"A system of sale and rental of agricultural implements by the government, in order that the widest possible use may be made of power appliances to increase production.

"We recommend especially the laws reducing valuation for tax purposes on farm implements and personal property, the law making available increased taxes by reducing assessment on money and credits, the law creating a state department of grain grading and warehouse supervision which through the able services of the chief inspector and his assistants has prevented the farmers from being cheated out of thousands of dollars, by misgrading wheat, the law for the guarantee of bank deposits.

"We stand on our original program of political and economic reforms as far as they have not already been accomplished to make the state government more responsive to the will of the people and to establish state institutions which will break the power of monopolies over our markets.

"These proposed reforms include:

"Amendment of the Constitution to permit bond issues for public owned projects.

"A more workable form of the initiative, referendum, and recall.

"A speedier and simpler form for the amendment of the state constitution.

"A system of state owned central elevators, flour mills, packing houses, and cold storage plants.

"State controlled rural credit banks, operated at cost.

"Compulsory state hail insurance.

"In addition we now propose:

"Creation of a state labor and employment bureau with sufficient funds to maintain a free employment service and to collect and maintain information on labor needs and distribution.

"State insurance on all public buildings.

"We urge all our citizens, whether in the farms or cities, to let their voices be heard for true democracy, for improvement wherever possible in our government and our economic conditions, for freedom, for tolerance and for co-operation of all American citizens for the common good."

The Nonpartisan League has also circulated an Initiative Petition, of which the following is a synopsis, published in the Nonpartisan Leader:

"Give 10,000 electors at large the right to file initiative petitions.

"Give 7,000 electors at large the right to file a referendum petition.

"Give 20,000 electors at large the right to propose amendments to the Constitution by initiative.

"Give the legislature right to exempt all personal property from taxation.

"Make it possible for the legislature to levy an acreage tax on land for the purpose of establishing state hail insurance funds.

"Give the state power to issue or guarantee bonds, but provide that those in excess of $2,000,000 shall be secured by real estate first mortgages, not to exceed one-half value of property.

"Give the state power to issue or guarantee bonds on state-owned utilities or enterprises or industries up to $10,000,000.

"Require that every bond issue shall carry provisions by annual tax or otherwise for payment of interest semi-monthly, and payment of principal within thirty years.

"Give state, counties and cities right to make internal improvements or engage in any industry, enterprise or business not prohibited by article 20 of the Constitution; and prohibit state or any political subdivision from loaning money or giving credit to private organizations, except for reasonable support of the poor."

The origin and nature of the League is thus described by Bishop Wehrle, O.S.B., of Bismarck, North Dakota.

"The originator and principal leader of the Nonpartisan League was and still is, A. C. Townley. In former years he declared himself a member of the Socialist party; he also declared himself, as is well known in the neighborhood where he was living, free from all religion, and is, if not a professed, at least a practical atheist. In regard to his economic enterprises he is a peculiar genius. In 1917, he and his brother filed a petition for voluntary bankruptcy. According to his sworn statement before the United States officials, the liabilities were about $79,000, and the assets less than $500. The best man may suffer misfortunes so as to force him to bankruptcy; but one who succeeds in getting liabilities of $79,000 and has less than $500 assets must surely have a peculiar talent. Whether such a man is the right person for heading a nation-wide movement for social and economic reform, is another question.

"In 1916, Mr. Townley engaged from 12 to 20 organizers, who canvassed the whole state, visited the farmers at their homes, enthused them for the promised reform and took from them their party contributions, $6, $8, $16, and finally $18, from each member of the League. The stronger the League grew, the bolder also was their courage in asking money for League purposes. Nearly every one of these traveling apostles of the League was a Socialist; the biggest number of them came from the outside, from New Zealand, Australia, Oregon, Kansas, etc. They reminded one of the carpet-baggers who went to the southern states after the civil war and grew slick and fat on the spoils gathered there.

"According to Townley's statement at his hearing in bankruptcy, the Nonpartisan League organizers had up to January 1, 1918, collected some $2,580,000 in membership

fees in this and other states, also some $960,000 in Consumers' Stores membership fees. And ever since 1918, Townley and his organizers have got more members and more membership fees, and have opened other resources for getting the cash.

"The men who control all this money, control also in a high degree the whole Nonpartisan League. Now it has always been the claim of many outside of the League that Townley and comparatively few of his 'inner circle' have full control of the Nonpartisan money; and, as far as we can judge, the bankruptcy hearing proved clearly that such is the fact."

. . . .

"Every social or political *movement which appeals to the passions* instead of appealing to common sense *is a dangerous movement.* This is the case with the Nonpartisan movement. Nearly all Nonpartisan newspapers and orators try to spread among the people the impression that all bankers and land dealers, all bigger business men, elevator companies, etc., and especially all state officials of other parties were enemies of the people and strictly unjust in their dealings. They have also decried every official elected by the Nonpartisan League who has courage enough to form a judgment of his own, instead of accepting the dictates of the League leaders, as renegades, traitors, paid by Big Business, etc.

"As stated before, immense sums of money have been collected for Nonpartisan purposes, and these sums have been strictly under the control of a very small number of Nonpartisan leaders. Thus they *carry out capitalistic principles and business methods* to perfection and practice most successfully the art of 'high finance.' It looked very much like trying to drive the devils out by Beelzebub, the prince of devils. But such a reform is not a true reform. It may sound well to some men when they hear: 'Others have been grabbing long enough; let us make money now'. Those who speak and act thus, prove by this very fact that exactly the same vices which are practiced by the followers of de-christianized capitalism are deeply rooted in their own hearts.

"The Nonpartisan League started upon the plea of stricter economy and lower taxes. The fact now is, there has hardly ever been so much wastefulness and extravagance in the administration of the State as since the League is in power.

. . . .

"The Nonpartisan League shows in its press a strong tendency to *undermine the state constitution* and even the

constitution of the United States. It would take too much space to prove this by bringing many examples from different papers of the League. We have watched these things closely and we say: Within the last five months they have been publishing many articles which impressed one as being copy sent from headquarters and which try to teach the reader that there is no real need of the three departments, the legislative, the judiciary and the executive in the state's or United States' government, but that nearly all power should be given the legislature, which means, to that part of the government which is the most subject to party influence and to the momentary fickleness of the people's mind.

. . . .

"The tendency of state absolutism is also evidenced in many laws enacted by the Nonpartisan legislature. We say emphatically that an Industrial Commission, a bank conducted by the state, state mills and state elevators are in themselves not socialistic, and may be justified by existing conditions. But we say: The Industrial Commission, the Bank of North Dakota, and some others are *in their present form really dangerous*. Three men, or to speak more correctly, one man, the governor of the state, has by these laws received such unlimited power regarding appointments to office, fixing salaries, and regarding the control of state's money, up into great many millions, that the power of a former German emperor or Russian czar in such matters hardly stands comparison.

"The whole legislation of the two sessions of 1919, controlled by the League, bears the stamp of centralization as we find it in France, where a comparatively small number of officials has almost absolute control over the whole country.

. . . .

"A great many people have from the beginning of the Nonpartisan movement received the impression that it is a socialistic movement. Townley was a professed socialist; most of his organizers, especially those coming from other parts, were professed socialists; the laws enacted by the League in regard to taxation are carrying out the Henry George ideas, at least in part.

"Our attention has been called to a resolution of the National Socialistic Convention at St. Louis, 1918, which after a heated discussion was adopted by a vote of 114 against 56.

" 'Whereas, a new political party, called the Nonpartisan League, that according to the report made upon the same by Comrade Spargo to this convention, offers promise of

speedily acquiring power for a certain division of the industrial class of the United States, viz., the toilers of the soil, and

" 'Whereas, in North Dakota and other states, it appears that *large numbers of our comrades have affiliated with the League* in the hope of speedy economic reforms through political victory under the banners of the League, and such movement being already at work in many other states with a fair promise of success in all, and it being apparent that the National Nonpartisan League *presents a problem for solution that must be met and must be solved if the Socialist party is to continue as a political and social force in such states* as are invaded by the League. It being further manifest that many of the comrades in such League states propose to affiliate with the said League, merely for the reason that they mistake the mission of the Socialist Party. It, therefore, becomes the duty of this convention to reaffirm the principles of Socialism and declare the position of the party in the performance of its historical mission.

" 'Now, therefore, be it resolved, That the Socialist party, being the political arm of the working class in its fight for industrial freedom and its power resting mainly in its clear-cut, specific declaration of political and economic principles, rather than in the number of votes cast for party candidates, and the purpose of the Socialist movement being the emancipation of the working class from economic servitude, rather than the election to office of candidates, it is therefore declared to be the sense of this convention, that all state organizations facing the solution of this question be urged to remember that to fuse or to compromise is to be swallowed up and utterly destroyed; that they be urged to maintain in the utmost possible vigor the propaganda of Socialism, unadulterated by association of office seekers, to the end that the solidarity of the working class, the principles of international Socialism, may continue to lay the foundations for the Social revolution. The Social revolution, not political office, is the end and aim of the Socialist Party. No compromise, no political trading.' "

The brigands of Socialism quarrel over the spoils. Socialism at large opposes the office-seeking and political bargaining of Nonpartisan League Socialism.

On November 1, 1920, *The Milwaukee Journal* published the following evidence of the Socialism of the Nonpartisan League:

"The assertion that the Nonpartisan League, which captured the Republican state primary in Wisconsin, is an aggre-

gation of Socialists masquerading under another name is proved by examination of a collection presented to the Minnesota Historical society by Asher Howard, Minneapolis.

"It shows 'how the Socialist party changed its name, but not its leadership, in North Dakota.' Foremost in the collection is the letterhead of the Socialist party in North Dakota in 1914, the year before the Nonpartisan League was formed. It bears in large type these words. Organization Department, Socialist Party of North Dakota, and under the heading, State Organizer, appears the name of A. C. Townley, the founder of the Nonpartisan League.

"In the center of the letterhead is the party emblem in the form of a circle enclosing a globe and clasped hands, with the words, 'Socialist Party. Workers of the World Unite.' Arthur LeSueur was stated to be national committeeman.

"In the following year, when the Nonpartisan League had been organized, Mr. Townley signed as president and Mr. Le Sueur as executive secretary of it. A significant fact is that every man on the Socialist letterhead named as a district organizer soon was given a prominent position in the Nonpartisan League organization.

"One of them, Beecher Moore, was sent into Wisconsin. He signed himself, 'National Nonpartisan League, by Beecher Moore, State Secretary and Manager.' Others on the Socialist letterhead who became active in the League were A. E. Bowen, D. C. Dorman, Leon Durocher, G. H. Griffith and Ray L. Cooper.

"Further proof that these men advocated Socialism before they began to round up the farmers under another name is given in The Socialist Congressional Campaign Book for 1914, the same year when Mr. Townley and his colleagues were pushing the Socialist cause.

"This book was compiled by Carl D. Thompson, who was city clerk of Milwaukee under the first Socialist administration, a crony of Victor L. Berger and a member of the inner circle which dominated the affairs of the Socialist party in Wisconsin. Mr. Thompson is now one of the leading orators of the Nonpartisan League.

"From page 106 of this book, under the heading, What Socialism Will Do for the Farmer, this is taken:

" 'Just as the Socialist party proposes to restore the ownership of the factory and mill, the mines and the railroads, to those who work in them and who create wealth through their use, so it proposes to restore the lands and the machinery

to the men who produce the crops of this country; but this cannot be individual ownership in either case; so the Socialist party believes the time has come for the beginning of socially-operated farms; these farms would be sufficiently large to use the most inproved machinery; they would be officered and directed by the socially-trained graduates of our agricultural educational institutions, and their wealth would all go to those who produced it and worked upon the farms.'

"On the same page The Proposed Farmers' Program declares that 'actual use and occupancy shall be the title to land.'

"The Howard collection gives ample proof of the Socialistic antecedents of many men high in the league councils in North Dakota. The Socialist party in that state has ceased to exist in name, but is very much alive under the banner of the Nonpartisan League."

In a communication to the Public Ledger Co., June, 1920, Ex. Prest. Taft thus describes the Nonpartisan League:

"The league is Socialistic, unpatriotic, unAmerican, despotic, dishonest in its methods, and lives only because of the totally blind prejudice and ignorance of the great body of its supporters. It contains the seeds of its own destruction. The sooner the victory over it, the less the injury it can do."

In 1920, the United States Supreme Court decided that the North Dakota industrial program is constitutional. This decision sets no seal of approval on the plan. It rightly declares that the people of a sovereign state have a right to manage their own affairs, provided there be no conflict with the federal constitution.

Socialism is destroying the morals, the industries, and the credit of North Dakota. In December, 1920, the First National Bank of Medina, first national bank in the State to close, following closing of 22 State banks on account of depleted reserves, closed its doors. The federal reserve system extended loans to the bank but heavy withdrawals from outside forced its closing.

Charges that Minot, N. D., is a haven for thieves, escaped convicts, and highwaymen were made in St. Paul, December, 1920, by Charles W. Pipkins, Omaha, Neb., special investigator for 37 of the leading insurance companies of America.

Mr. Pipkins was in Minot ten days, and in that time recovered seven machines stolen from residents of Omaha. These machines, Mr. Pipkins asserts, were among those confiscated by federal prohibition agents in Minot.

"Bootleggers are rampant in Minot," he asserts. "Both city and county officials are fully aware of the situation there, but many of them are openly conniving in the illegal traffic.

"When I was in Minot, I watched the daily 'parade' across the border," Mr. Pipkins said. "I venture the statement that there are more than 200 stolen automobiles in Minot today, and every one of these is used for running booze across the border."

"Every Townley dream drew sight drafts on the Scandinavian-American Bank of Fargo. Every Townley dreamer who needed ready cash seemed to have the right to take what he needed and leave behind merely a personal promise to pay some time in the future. If Townley's chain of farmers' stores needed quick cash somebody went to the bank and was obliged. If Townley's propaganda organizations wanted more money with which to flood the Northwest with Socialistic doctrine, somebody drew a check on the Scandinavian-American. If Townley's string of country newspapers got hard up somebody was at the Fargo bank by the time the cashier had the safe open. When the roof ascended to the blue sky of North Dakota on the second of October, the amazed bank examiners of the State discovered that the liabilities amounted to $1,606,847.43."—Mr. Edwin C. Hill in N. Y. *Sun*, (1919.)

The demoralization of the finance and industries has been so great during the four years of Socialism in North Dakota that in February of 1921 some of the more conservative members of the Nonpartisan League, State officials, and bankers of North Dakota and Minnesota participated in a plan to rescue the State from the disorder and ruin into which the socialistic program drove it. All agree that the theories of Socialism in this experiment have failed. Evidence is accumulating that Socialism is not the remedy for the world's ills.

Having wrecked the finances of the State of North Dakota, the Nonpartisan League now seeks to borrow $5,000,000 from the American Federation of Labor, claiming a solidarity of economic aims with the aforesaid Federation.

Austria has tried Socialism with disastrous results. Its socialists boasted that they had a well developed Soviet organization. Dr. J. Jorda in an article communicated to the *Daily American Tribune* declares that the Social Democrats have failed to raise the morale of the people. All the evil instincts of the masses are given free reign.

"The Social Democrats have failed completely as educators of the people in this classic land of councils, and later

historians will see in this the chief reason for the inevitable desertion of this party by all truly national and democratically thinking Austrians, and the return by reason of repulsion at the deeds of the Socialists, to a genuine government by the people instead of class-autocracy, whether this change comes about peacefully or through force.

"All the disappointments and disillusionments brought about by the Social Democrats, and the opposition of the Christian party to their political methods, have made a deep impression on the people, whose morality has not yet been perverted. There is scarcely a day but brings to light a corruption scandal among the Socialist leaders. A member of the workers' council is brought into court for appropriating a printing press; there comes a new incident showing the incompetence of the Socialists in handling the wood problem in the north; the squandering of the public property has never before assumed such proportions nor such crass forms.

"Usury and defrauding of the people go merrily on, but the public conscience cannot continue to witness these things unmoved. It yearns for liberation from a political regime which has the 'Drang nach Osten' (the impulse eastward) and pursues that path with the passion and economic anarchy of the soviets. Socialism in Austria has demonstrated that it does not mean progress for a people of Western culture, but social degradation."

Mr. Renard, a French officer who escaped from a Bolshevik prison in Batum, declares that "every night scores of men and women, the latter crazed by the horror of it all, stand naked against the wall waiting for the shots to ring out from the firing squads." In the past six months, Mr. Renard declares that in Batum more than eight thousand have been put to death on summary judgments. He testifies that the prisons are full, banks are seized for prisons, men and women are herded together and deloused in violation of all principles of human shame.

Mr. Renard believes that Bolshevism is merely a passing excess which will give way to a normal life:

"Today Bolshevism is merely Czarism upside down. It is merely an oligarchy of adventurers who rule by the same means as the Czar ruled. . . . It is a regime of terror for the benefit of a few individuals rather than for the benefit of a few ideals."

Socialism was tried in Davenport, Ia. A news item of January 6, 1921, contains the following intelligence:

"Davenport, Ia.—Dr. C. L. Barewald, mayor of Davenport, elected on the socialist ticket a year ago, on Wednesday announced his resignation from the party. Purely local issues prompted his action, he said. The council consists of five socialists and three republican aldermen.

"The mayor said: 'My leaving the socialist party is the best thing I have ever done.

"I've been trying to get along with the radical aldermen in the council, but I have had no co-operation from them. They have permitted their radical ideas to interfere with the welfare of the city."

Ex uno disce omnes.

That Socialism in its practical working leads to despotism is proven by many examples. Robespierre, Danton, and Marat were the tyrants of the French Revolution; Lenin and Trotzky are the tyrants of Russia; Bela Kun was the tyrant of Hungary; Woodrow Wilson, who was elected by socialists, became the most absolute of all our rulers.

In the Socialist Convention at New York (1920), Morris Hillquit declared:

"Be it remembered, that in 1916, Woodrow Wilson ran as a radical.

"He promised Socialism through the short cut of the Democratic party, and thousands of radicals throughout the country voted for him rather than to throw away their votes on the hopeless candidates of the Socialist party.

"Woodrow Wilson was elected over Hughes by the vote of Socialists. In California alone the defection in the normal Socialist vote determined his victory.

"Wilson, the pacifist, drew us into the world's most frightful war. Wilson, the anti-militarist, imposed conscription upon the country in war and urged universal military training, a large standing army and a huge navy in peace. Wilson the Democrat, arrogated to himself autocratic power grossly inconsistent with a republican form of government. His administration suppressed radical publications, raided homes and meeting places of its political opponents, destroyed their property and assaulted their persons."

On April 23, 1920, in Boston, Mass., at a hearing of the Federal District Court, Mrs. Martha Moore Avery, who was formerly state secretary of the Socialist party, but who has renounced its principles, was under cross-examination by Morris Katzeff, counsel for the petitioners. Counsel read to the witness the sentences,"the trusts are our masters now," and,"I do not care how benevolent the master is going to be, I

refuse to live under a master," and asked if she regarded them as good Communist doctrines. "Very good Communist doctrines," she replied. Counsel then asked Mrs. Avery if she would be surprised to know that he was reading from "The New Freedom" written by Woodrow Wilson.

"I regard Woodrow Wilson as the author of the most idealistic literature from the socialistic point of view within my time," she said.

At this point, Judge George W. Anderson addressed the witness from the bench. "Then you mean that since you left the Socialist party, he is the best exponent of the Socialist doctrine that you know?"

"Yes, he uses fine language and writes from an international point of view the ideas I advocated years ago."

"You mean then that the ideas behind 'New Freedom,' 'Marxian Socialism' and 'Communism' are one and the same thing?"

Mrs. Avery answered in the affirmative.

Socialism is declining in Holland. From a special correspondence to the *Daily American Tribune* from one of the editors of the *Maasbode* of Holland we take the following:

"The Hague, August 12, 1920—Editor, 'D. A. T.': It is to be mentioned with pleasure, that the idea of solidarism to secure economical peace, that fine fruit of the cordial cooperation between the many Catholic Associations of employers and laborers, is gaining in extent and importance. While the best of religious and social workers are continually occupied with the consolidation of the working councils, in which the idea of solidarism is realized, the first results of the work are already apparent.

"A big strike was threatening in the furniture industry, and it was to be expected that the demands of the laborers would spread throughout the whole country and would cause a furious economical conflict. At the last moment, when the outburst of the strike seemed inevitable, the Roman Catholic working council took the lead in the negotiations, already broken off, and succeeded, in a few unions, in settling the dispute and had the pleasure and satisfaction of seeing its arrangement being adopted by the other parties.

"On the other hand, the Socialists had, thus far, not much pleasure from their cry for socialization. In their own ranks, an increased feeling of disappointment and dissatisfaction is noticeable. The socialistic laborer is realizing that the system of social action, championed by the Dutch socialistic political leaders, will truly mean another and still more com-

plicated form of state exploitation, in which the management of the laborers is not in the hands of the trade union of laborers, but in those of political machines.

"The political leaders dare not go as far as the leaders of the trade unions, knowing too well that they need the intellectual workers, to secure sufficient production. The general interest of the socialistic masses for socialization is not so intense as the political leaders had expected and desired. This is especially due to the partisan manner by which others educated them. Year by year, the interest of the socialistic masses consisted exclusively in the matter of higher wages and shorter labor time, so that they have not much interest for other things. And now that the principal demands of Socialism, such as the universal active and passive suffrage for men and women, the old age pension, as well as the eight-hour day, have been reached, it is very difficult to find another propagandistic device to keep a real live interest in Socialism, at home, in internal questions.

"The cry for socialisation does not sound attractive enough to the mind of the socialistic masses. A storm of indignation arose from our workers against the boycott of Hungaria by the international Delegation of Socialistic Trade Unions, whose secretary, Fimmen, is living at Amsterdam.

"The whole Dutch press, excepting the socialistic, is unanimous in disapproval of the boycott, by which the international socialistic trade unions place themselves above the European governments which is, for good reasons, qualified as an international danger. The press is condemning the boycott, not only as a matter of principle but is also asserting that the boycott is not justified. The reports about the 'White Terror in Hungaria,' which caused the boycott, were shown to be downright lies, invented by the Jewish Bolshevists who, after the downfall of the Bolshevist regime, took refuge in Vienna and there opened a very malicious campaign of calumy against the wretched Catholic Country.

"The Socialistic press is bringing forth, day after day, reports of 'atrocities' the Hungarian officer's formation should be guilty of, by means of which they are trying to justify the boycott, but those reports are, time and time again, found absolutely unreliable and unfair. Hurzan, the former Hungarian prime minister, who a few days ago, was in Holland and who is now on his journey to America, was able to tell the truth about Hungaria.

"The truth is, that a lot of the Bolshevik and Socialistic leaders that, during their short but fatal period of govern-

mental power, made themselves guilty of the most shameful atrocities, have now been delivered to Justice and have been served right. The Socialistic press, which is now giving itself a lot of trouble to save those brigands from the rope, didn't find a word of protest when they killed their victims by hundreds. The left Dutch press cannot keep from contending that Fimmen is not Holland and Holland not Fimmen. Holland as a country, had no sentiment for the boycott of Hungary; on the contrary it condemns it and is going on by dispensing, as it should, its charities to the miserable Hungarian population, especially the laboring men, who are most sorely hit by the boycott. And our charities reached Hungary in spite of that mean boycott."

Bolshevism or any other form of Socialism can only succeed as a sequel of some great social injustice. The people must be robbed of their faith in the institutions of religion and organized society before they will accept the great imposture, Socialism. Religious faith, patience in well-doing, prosperity and contentment render society immune to the *bacillus Socialism*.

In 1920 the Right Reverend Bishop Nicolas on his way to Rome, preached in several cities of the United States. Bishop Nicolas is Vicar Apostolic of two hundred and fifty islands of the Fiji group.

"The Fijians," declared Bishop Nicolas recently, "are still living a communistic and socialistic life, a system which hinders the progress and advancement of the individual."

Advices from Mexico City indicate that the Socialist government of the state of Yucatan has brought about conditions bordering on anarchy. Disorder, poverty, and distress are general. Government employees and school teachers have not been paid for sometime and schools are beginning to close. Since its creation under the Carranza regime, the Yucatan government has floated a public debt of more than 1,000,000 pesos, but is now faced with bankruptcy.

Touching the failure of Socialism in Austria, we present the following extract from Dr. Friedrich Funder, Editor in Chief of the *Reichspost* (1920):

"Democratic Socialism sees itself in an uneasy position, because of its complete political and financial break-down. The finances of the state, owing to Socialistic mismanagement, are in a dreadful condition, and Socialistic administrations are falling from one distress into another.

"Nevertheless, the people would not hold Socialism responsible for this disillusionment. The tasks set to any leading

party are, of course, indescribably difficult in Austria just now; but what rouses the strong discontent against Socialism and is embittering and splitting the party is the knowledge that the waste of public property, graft, corruption, personal favoritism have, under socialistic leadership, reached a degree never dreamt of, and that Socialist leaders of Austria lack even the most elementary abilities for ruling the State. Socialistic election agitation bears the stamp of this general popular feeling. It is tiring itself out with used-up, shop-worn phrases and is warming up, for the ten-thousandth time, the tale that Christian Socialists have caused the World War.

"But the worst of Socialism is that—under the pressure of its failure—an enemy awoke in its own camp. Not only a Communistic, but also a Left-party has detached itself from them. These are splits which must be sensibly felt in any party. Social Democracy played with the fire all too long. Too prudent to leap into the Bolshevistic adventure, that instantly would have isolated Vienna and some industrial centers, Socialism was yet too weak to make front publicly against Bolshevism and to barricade its doors to Bolshevistic invasion. Thus it put on its banner different Bolshevistic catch-words, such as 'socialization of husbandry,' 'seizure and repartition of large properties' and it established a by-government of 'Arbeiterraete' (councils of workmen) and armed the workmen against the executive power of the government.

"The Left-radical Socialists are opponents of public Socialism as well as of Communism and denounce the politics of the 'Dictature of Proletariate' followed up by Communists to be 'an act of insanity, a crime, a murder committed on the Proletariate' and they say of Communistic leaders in the paper, *The Revolutionary Democratic Socialist*, that they are 'political bunglers', and that among the Communistic leaders there is not a single person to whose hands the fate of Austrian workmen might be safely placed, not even for a quarter of an hour. Between these two sections of Left-radicals and Communists, Socialism is wedged in. Once it was the representative of Marxism, held together by Dr. Victor Adler's discipline, and now, after two years of worst failure in their work for the State, our dear 'governing socialists' are in quite a helpless situation, out of which not even the greatest elective victory might offer the hope of being able to realize their promises. To be sure, the spirit of perseverance and discipline of Socialistic voters will still bring in a great number of votes for them, but it is evident that Austrian Socialism has passed its zenith. The formation of 'sects within the religion of party

discipline' from the inside, the faith in the omnipotent sanative power of socialism is strongly shaken among the masses, if not entirely gone.

"So the Austrian elections promise to become of an importance reaching far beyond our State, since each battle lost by Socialism is, today especially, a contribution to the cause of order in Europe, after very difficult and very sorrowful times. . . . .

"Socialism is Austria since the revolution in the year 1918, was able to live to the end. It became a bitter deception to the masses. The leaders of Proletarians have turned into fine gentlemen who now live in the style of the Princes of Old Austria. Socialistic leaders who, like President Leitz, in summer visit the residence of the former sovereigns; live at the watering-place of Gastein in the King's Villa; lead a life of luxury far beyond their income; who receive demonstrations of respect at parades, like crowned majesties,—are not made of the same materials as the leaders of bomb-throwers and assaulters of barricades.

"The Socialistic government of Vienna has cursed the nation with a system of taxes that is a sneer to the socialistic program, owing to its flagrant social injustice. The administration of the City of Vienna has been utterly ruined by the Socialistic leadership. The required sums for the administration of Vienna amount today to 25 milliards of crowns, of which only one milliard is covered by the receipts. Even the collecting of new taxes—which are so high that for instance an inn-keeping with a rent of 30,000 K must now pay a rent of 90,000 for it—cannot remove the deficit; half a milliard still remains uncovered. Protectorship is worse than ever; foolish adventures, such as the absolutely uncalled for boycott against Hungary, throw the country into new troubles.

"Daily the incapacity of Socialism to keep its promises, strikes the eyes of the population more and more. A year and a half ago, Bolshevism would have found some credit in Austria; today, after this moral bankruptcy of Socialism, its bloody friend, it has lost its credit in Austria."

In the Austrian elections of October, 1920, the Socialists lost their lead in the political life of the Nation.

In Germany, the traitorous Socialists, who betrayed Germany in the last war are revolutionary. The following is from Dr. Funder's correspondence to the *Daily American Tribune*, 1920:

"In a much remarked article of the Muenich 'Allgemeine Rundschau,' which summons the German nation to repulse

the Spartakists, the Catholic publicist, Dr. Hans Eisele, estimates the strength of these revolutionary forces in Germany at nearly half a million men; they are membered into seven revolutionary armies, to each of which a Russian Emissary is joined. 10,000 machine guns and hundreds of flame throwers (Flammenwerfer) belong to their equipment. Technologists, physicians, experienced officers are in their ranks, a numerous 'intelligent proletariat' by which the German Revolutionary distinguishes itself from that of Russia, as the German delegate, Stoecker boasted lately at the Congress of the Third International. The German middle class must be gagged and crushed, declared the Communist Eisenberger in Munich, at a public assembly, there can be no conciliation with the middle class."

In opposing Socialism, it is not our intention to arraign, prosecute, and ask for the conviction of every man or every group that may be classed under the name of Socialism. There may be socialists who are harmless dreamers; others who foolishly believe that real Socialism be a peaceful, lawful method of reform. To these we say that their species of Socialism is nonsense. It deals with an ideal man instead of the flesh and blood reality. It is unnatural, impractical: it wont work. It kills individual resource and personal initiative. It is contrary to the very intent and purpose for which man was sent into this probationary existence.

An anonymous writer in the *Democrat and Chronicle* (Rochester, N. Y., 1920), thus describes the Parlor Bolsheviki:

"These people are not all wrong; many, if not all of them are well-intentioned. Some of them are ready to make and often do make many sacrifices to put in effect their ideas for the public good. But they have lost sight of the fundamentals of government. They believe that humanity can govern itself; that the only difference between a good citizen and a bad citizen is one of environment, and that kindness is a remedy for evil tendencies; they would abolish the courts and have their policemen go unarmed. They still glory in the downfall of Porfirio Diaz, in spite of the bitter experience through which Mexico has passed and of her present almost hopeless situation. They still rejoice in the failure of the Russian Empire, notwithstanding the misery and suffering and starvation which have resulted from unstable government. They still refuse to profit by the practical experience of all mankind. In consequence of their sublime faith in a perfected humanity and the half-truths embodied in their theories they

are more dangerous to our government than its avowed and open enemies.

"To quote from Tennyson:

'A lie which is all a lie
May be met and fought outright;
But a lie which is half a truth
Is a harder matter to fight.'

"Revolutionary socialism is now an American institution. It is being taught in most of the five or six hundred colleges of the country and about 400,000 students are being turned out annually imbued with its doctrines."

This charge against college professors was made on May 26, 1920, by George Wheeler Hinman of Winnetka, former publisher of the *Inter Ocean* and still more recently president of Marietta college in Ohio. Mr. Hinman delivered an address before the Evanston council of the Knights of Columbus.

"It is not necessary to go to Bill Haywood and Eugene Debs for revolutionary doctrines," he said. "Look for the college professors. The most effective arguments for revolutionary socialism today are being written by the professors in some of our largest universities. Socialism is no longer a doctrine of the Russian and the Germans. Europe is no longer its cradle.

"It is being openly and deliberately taught to our young men and women. I have traveled extensively recently, and it is a sad thing to see such conditions exist in America and to hear such preachments permitted within our borders.

"Since the deportation of the Reds was stopped, the revolutionary Socialists have been allowed to plot openly, to defy the government, to preach their pernicious teachings from public platforms and in the lecture halls of our schools.

"I tell you frankly that things have come to such a pass that I would rather have my son sit at the feet of Debs than send him to some of the eastern theological seminaries. There, where men are being taught to mold our thought and guide our morals, the harm is greatest. The country is sleeping and so is congress."

"There is not an institution of higher learning in the country today where there are not professors who are teaching cleverly and insidiously, Socialism and Communism under the guise of 'economic determinism.'" So says Dr. William Bradley Otis, chairman of the executive committee of the National Security league, in a letter to *The Yale News*.

The same opinion is held by Dr. W. N. Guthrie, one of the leading authorities on the American government.

"Much harm is being done in American colleges through the teaching of the doctrine of so-called 'economic determination' as applied to the founding of the republic," says Dr. Otis. "As so applied the doctrine is essentially false.

"There is more real danger of the undermining of our constitutional form of government through the secret activities of our parlor Bolsheviki and the Communistic teachings in our high schools and colleges cleverly camouflaged as 'economic determinism' than in all other agencies combined. The great majority of teachers are loyally upholding the best American traditions and advocating necessary changes along constitutional lines. But the influence of the disloyal elements is out of all proportion to their number. In a recent trip over the country, I was astonished at the amount of Socialism and Communism that had crept into the faculties of American colleges and universities, especially in those of the far west. These men are teaching cleverly and insidiously, Marx and Lenin, rather than Washington and Lincoln. We need a thorough house-cleaning in American colleges."

Socialism is a violent rebellion against God and existing institutions of civilization. Communism is the logical effect of Socialism. Communistic Russia is the Socialistic State. Victor Berger declared in 1920 (*Milwaukee Leader*, December, 1920), that a vote for Socialism was a declaration for recognition of the first Workers-Republic of the world:

"Es ist eine Stimme für Frieden mit Soviet-Russland, eine Stimme für Anerkennung der ersten Arbeiter-Republik der Welt."

Socialism is inconsistent and dishonest in declaring its political principles. In the elections in Milwaukee, Socialism charges the old political parties with responsibility of the Eighteenth Amendment. They won many votes in 1919 by telling the people that the other parties deprived the workingman of his glass of beer. But in their 1920 national platform, they pass over in silence the aforesaid amendment. They use the tactics of all political parties to cater to the temper of the people, but they are more dishonest than the other parties in inflaming the passions of the people in one section by principles which they dare not advocate in their national platform.

The State

The State is a union of human individuals in a complete and self-sufficient community.

Nature requires that men generally live in society. Social life is impossible without a directive force, which we call authority. Even in tribal life among savages there exists a State, though small, and, in fact, it is universal in humanity, to find the essentially social nature of man attaining its ends through some kind of organized government exercising the principle of authority.

Every consideration of the rights and duties of man must start with the first principle, that God is the Creator and Ultimate End of all things. This results from the very definition of ethics, which is the science of human conduct as according with human reason, and as directed by reason towards man's final natural end. In this function Reason is not autonomous in creating its laws of conduct. The moral law does not spring from Reason; it comes from God through the natural law and the divine positive law. But Reason is the faculty by which man receives these laws as a free self-determining agent, and sets up an order in human life conformably thereto.

As God enters into the definition of man's ethics, we must virtually or explicitly consider God in every right and duty. Consequently in our consideration of the State the idea of God as the Creator and final Cause must enter.

"All rights and duties come ultimately from God through the Divine Law, either natural or positive. The character of our natural rights and duties is determined by the purpose to which the Creator shaped the nature of man, and natural knowledge of them is acquired by human reason from the aptitudes, tendencies, and needs of (human) nature. Duties and rights descending from positive Divine Law are determined by some additional purpose of God, over and above the exigencies of human nature, and are to be learned only from Divine Revelation, either in its explicit declaration or its rational content. Man has one ultimate purpose of existence, eternal happiness in a future state, but a twofold proximate purpose, one to earn his title to eternal happiness, the other

to attain to a measure of temporal happiness consistent with the prior proximate purpose. The State is a natural institution, whose powers, therefore, come from the natural law and are determined by the character of the natural purpose of the State plus whatever limitations God has, because of qualifications in the last End of man, ordained in the Divine Positive Law." (Reverend Charles Macksey in Cath. Encyclop., Art., "State and Church.")

The goal of the State is to preserve for man order, and to maintain the peaceful exercise of man's rights. In its first intention the State does not occupy itself with man's Eternal End: the State aims primarily at temporal ends. The State aims to secure to man the proper exercise of his rights and the proper development of his being.

The need of the State does not arise from the evil tendencies of man. Repression of those evil tendencies is one of its functions, but its competence is still greater. Many entities can not act harmoniously and work together to produce just effects without a directive principle. This directive principle must have the power to guide and govern, it must have authority. That principle in human society we call the State. The true concept of the State is thus expressed by Pope Leo XIII ("Immortale Dei," November 1, 1885):

"Man's natural instinct moves him to live in civil society, for he cannot, if dwelling apart, provide himself with the necessary requirements of life, nor procure the means of developing his mental and moral faculties. Hence it is divinely ordained that he should lead his life—be it family, social, or civil—with his fellow-men, amongst whom alone his several wants can be adequately supplied. But as no society can hold together unless some one be over all, directing all to strive earnestly for the common good, every civilized community must have a ruling authority, and this authority no less than Society itself, has its source in nature, and has, consequently, God for its author. Hence it follows that all public power must proceed from God: for God alone is the true and supreme Lord of the world. Everything, without exception, must be subject to Him, and must serve Him, so that whosoever holds the right to govern, holds it from one sole and single source, namely God, the Sovereign Ruler of all. *There is no power but from God.* (Rom. xiii. 1.)

"The right to rule is not necessarily, however, bound up with any special mode of government. It may take this or that form, provided only that it be of a nature to insure the general welfare. But whatever be the nature of the govern-

ment, rulers must ever bear in mind that God is the paramount Ruler of the world, and must set Him before themselves as their exemplar and law in the administration of the State. For, in things visible, God has fashioned secondary causes, in which His divine action can in some wise be discerned, leading up to the end to which the course of the world is ever tending. In like manner in civil society, God has always willed that there should be a ruling authority, and that they who are invested with it should reflect the divine power and providence in some measure over the human race.

"They, therefore, who rule should rule with even-handed justice, not as masters, but rather as fathers, for the rule of God over man is most just, and is tempered always with a father's kindness. Government should moreover be administered for the well-being of the citizens, because they who govern others possess authority solely for the welfare of the State. Furthermore, the civil power must not be subservient to the advantage of any one individual, or of some few persons; inasmuch as it was established for the common good of all. But if those who are in authority rule unjustly, if they govern overbearingly or arrogantly, and if their measures prove hurtful to the people, they must remember that the Almighty will one day bring them to account, the more strictly in proportion to the sacredness of their office and pre-eminence of their dignity."

The same truth is thus enunciated by Suarez (Defensio Fidei, III, II):

"By the mere fact of men being gathered together into the body of one State or commonwealth, civil authority results in that community without the intervention of any creative will, and that with so great necessity that the result cannot be hindered by any human will—which is a clear proof that the authority is immediately of God (since all things that follow immediately upon human nature are immediately of God, the Author of that nature). But evidently this authority is not in one person, nor in any special company of persons, because by the nature of the thing it is only in the commonwealth, because by dint of natural reasoning no reason can be devised why this authority should be determined to one person, or to a fixed number of persons short of the whole community, rather than to any other person or to any other number; therefore, in virtue of nature's grant it is immediately in the commonwealth."

Therefore the sovereign power comes from God to the community, enabling the community to dispose itself in a manner necessary for its social order and well being.

In attributing sovereignty under God to the people we need to use the Socratic caution, "Nothing too much." The authority of government comes from God: the form of government may be the choice of the people. That form of government may be a Monarchy, absolute or limited, an Aristocracy, pure or representative, a Democracy, pure or representative, a Monarchy with Aristocracy, or a Monarchy with Democracy.

The fact that determines the form of government may be a certain ancestral convention or agreement.

In the Encyclical, "Diuturnum illud," (June 29, 1881) Pope Leo XIII condemns the error, "That all power resides in the people; for which cause they who exercise it in the State, exercise it not as their authority, but as the mandate of the people, revocable at the people's will, by whom it is conferred on those who rule."

The Supreme Pontiff charges that this doctrine conflicts with the sovereign dominion of God. With clear precision Pope Leo XIII proclaims the Catholic doctrine: "The Church rightly teaches that civil power is derived from God." (Ibidem) Pope Leo also well distinguishes between the people's right to determine who shall rule, and the conferring of the power upon the instrument who puts into effect God's sovereignty in the State.

"It is well here to bear in mind that it is in no way opposed to the Catholic doctrine. that they who rule the State should in certain cases be chosen by the will and judgment of the people. By this choice (of the people) the ruler is designated, but the right of sovereignty is not conferred; neither is the mandate of power given but it is established by whom power shall be exercised. There is no question here of the form of governments. There is no reason why the Church should not approve a form of government exercised by one person or by many persons, provided the government be lawful and intent upon the common good. Wherefore it is within the people's just rights to choose that form of government most fitted to their character, traditions, and customs." (Ibidem.)

In support of the Catholic teaching, that "all power is from God," in addition to the passage from Romans already quoted, Pope Leo quotes the following passages:

"By me kings reign,
"And princes decree justice." (Proverbs VIII, 15, 16.)
"Give ear, ye that have dominion over much people,
"And make your boast in multitudes of nations.
"Because your dominion was given you from the Lord,

"And your sovereignty from the Most High:
"He shall search out your works,
"And shall make inquisition of your counsels:
"Because being officers of His Kingdom ye did not judge aright,
"Neither kept ye law nor walked after the counsel of God.
"Awfully and swiftly shall he come upon you;
"Because a stern judgment befalleth them that be in high place;
"For the man of low estate may be pardoned in mercy,
"But mighty men shall be put to the test mightily.
"For the Sovereign Lord of all will not refrain himself for any man's person,
"Neither will he reverence greatness;
"Because it is he that has made both small and great,
"And alike he taketh thought for all;
"But strict is the scrutiny that cometh upon the powerful." (Wisdom, VI, 2-8.)
"Over every nation he appointed a ruler,
"And Israel is the Lord's portion."

(Ecclesiasticus, XVII, 14, 15.)

It was in recognition of this principle of the divine sovereignty that Christ said to Pilate:

"Thou shouldest have no power against me, except it were given thee from above." (John XIX, 11.)

Men are not free to change their form of government whenever they choose. Stability of government and peace are necessary for the welfare of mankind. Edmund Burke says well that the spirit of freedom should be restrained by reason and should act "as if in the presence of canonized forefathers." Every properly constituted government is in a certain sense a Theocracy. The law in all States comes from God through human instruments. Hence the thought of God and of our duty to Him pervades the obedience that in conscience we owe to the civil government. "Let every soul be in subjection to the higher powers; for there is no power but of God; and the powers that be are ordained of God. Therefore, he that resisteth the power, withstandeth the ordinance of God; and they that withstand shall receive to themselves judgment. . . . Wherefore ye must needs be in subjection, not only because of the wrath, but also for conscience' sake. For this cause ye pay tribute also; for they are ministers of God's service, attending continually upon this very thing. Render to all their dues; tribute to

whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear; honor to whom honor." (Rom. XIII, 1-7.)

Advocates of the divine right of Kings are right in asserting that a king lawfully reigning represents an authority which comes from God and is exercised by the king. They are right also in their belief that where the hereditary succession of rulers is in possession, it is recognized by God, and must not be lightly overthrown. No ruler has an absolute sovereignty; God alone is the absolute Sovereign. The source and origin of the authority exercised by the civil ruler does not reside in the people, hence it is inaccurate to term the people of a State the "Sovereign people." The power of government comes *through* the people but not *from* the people. Their act may justly constitute a ruler but God gives him his high commission. The ruler thus set up may not believe in God, but yet he exercises God's power, and, providing that his rule be not subversive of the ends of civil government, he rules by divine authority.

This is illustrated in the life of Christ. The Romans were in power in Judea; their rule was tyrannical but it was the only possible government for the time. Christ, therefore, bade the Jews "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's." The Roman government was the established government. Within its competence it had the sanction of God to govern. God and the State work together for the purposes for which man was created.

Even though the State fail in its principles and attack the rights of God, it does not cease to be the legitimate government. Changes of government should be held down to a minimum. But in such cases the subjects of the State are released by the law of conscience from obedience to laws which contravene the ethical law. Thus St. Paul, who counciled obedience to the laws of imperial Rome refused to obey those laws when they commanded him to worship the false gods of the State religion. God leaves much to the free acts of men in the governments of the world. Where traditional usages and customs have operated to determine the ruler, God recognizes such mode of determination. The form of government will depend on the genius of the people; the authority which God wishes to order and control human society may be exercised in any form of government. The source and origin of authority and power are in God, but the right to determine the form of government rests with the people, with this reservation: that an existing lawful government properly functioning may not be overthrown without

adequate cause. God abhors anarchy. God enjoins obedience to the civil rulers as a grave duty. This promulgation of man's duty presupposes a stability of government, and a reverence for authority.

In a government such as ours the people are called sovereign. This sovereignty may justly be explained to indicate that, antecedently to the people's determination of the rulers, that are to maintain a system of law and order, there was no hereditary right in one man more than in another to exercise power in the State. This sovereignty does not conflict with the supreme sovereignty of God. In the great documents that constitute the charter of our Statehood the sovereignty of God is explicitly recognized.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government.—("Declaration of Independence.")

The signers of the Declaration of Independence acknowledge that the rights of Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness are the endowment of God. They declare that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men. It is plain to infer that the aptitude to form these governments and the authority with which such governments, when determined by the people, are clothed spring from the same source whence are derived the unalienable rights, namely from God.

The great document declares that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. In due measure this declaration is true; in an exaggerated sense it is false. At the time when our Republic was born the opinions of Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) exercised great power on the minds of men. This mean, unprincipled, licentious, vagabond expressed his political views in his "Contrat Social" (1762) and in "Emile" in the same year. Rousseau is a political socialist. His character is in keeping with his socialistic principles. His own confessions reveal the baseness of the man. Born in the Calvinistic heresy, he pretends conversion to the Catholic faith. He abuses the truth reposed in him by the good Catholic priest, and repays the hospitality of his hostess and benefactress, Madame Warens at Annecy, by seducing her and becoming her paramour for about nine years. He seduced a shopkeeper's wife who had given him employment till her husband kicked him out of doors. He next lived in an illicit union with the vulgar, illiterate, stupid servant, Therese le Vasseur, who bore him five illegitimate children, all of whom he consigned to the hospital for foundlings. The morose self-consciousness, vanity, and misanthropy of his character increased with age. His last years were embittered by poverty, the misconduct of Therese, and by his suspicious hatred of humanity. His death was so sudden and mysterious that it furnishes probable evidence of suicide.

That the opinions of such a vagrant should sway the opinions of men is a strong indictment of the moral decadence of the age. The same is true in our own day. It is the Godlessness of our civilization that makes Socialism a possibility. Socialism is a dreadful disease, but it developed out of a body already sick near unto death. Society corrupted by pride, unbelief, sensuality, and the love of riches reacts on the same low plane of unbelief and sensuality into the black abyss of atheism and anarchy.

The context of our justly revered Declaration of Independence clearly indicates that it is the mind of the framers of that immortal declaration that governments derive their just powers from God, and the designation of the rulers who shall exercise these powers is the act of the people to be governed. This does not mean that every individual, or any group of individuals, or the whole people at any time is free to change the form of government.

Of course, in governments which periodically provide for an elective administration, this lawful process lawfully carried

out is the people's right. This does not overthrow the government or change its form. The political parties come and go, but the Republic still lives.

The fact that determines who shall be God's representative in the government of the people differs in the different forms of government. In some governments the head of the government is determined by lawful succession in the line of blood of a reigning house, while other coefficients of government are elective; in republics most of the persons who compose the government are elective; a few are appointive. The people acting in a lawful manner may lawfully change any civil government. And also it may be truly said that any form of government may be wisely selected according to the character of the people.

"Those old fanatics of arbitrary power dogmatized as if hereditary monarchy were the only lawful government in the world, just as our new fanatics of popular arbitrary power maintain that a popular election is the only lawful source of authority." (Burke, "Reflections on the French Revolution.")

"Government is of God antecedently to and irrespectively of any determination of popular will." (Rickaby: "Moral Philosophy.") But the form of government is dependent on the people; and this power of the people may be called determinative sovereignty. God commands that there shall be government; the natural law in man fits him for government, and moves him to form the same; but the form of the government is left to men to determine. The divine right of a king is, therefore, simply a determining fact out of the past, designating him as ruler in virtue of his lawful succession in the line of heredity according to the accepted polity of a nation.

Against the exaggerated notion of the divine right of kings the Catholic Church teaches that no man in himself and by his own inherent right possesses sovereignty. A legitimate line of kings originated in some fact by which either immediately or mediately, by means of the common consent of the Community, God, the sole author of sovereignty, conferred upon a man the right to rule. Saul and David were elected by the immediate action of God. The unbelief of Saul attainted his house so that the sovereignty passed to David. In virtue of that fact David's line were lawful sovereigns.

Other dynasties arose from some designation of the popular will, or in some cases out of conquest, by which a chief seizes upon power and sets up a de facto government. The origin of a government may be cruel and unjust, but if a stable

government be established, and there be no present hope that a better government be possible, such a ruler may be invested by God with sovereign power. A minute discussion of all the circumstances here involved is not possible here. The principle which forms the purpose of our discussion is that God confers sovereignty upon a man designated by some human fact. Such human fact may involve hereditary right of a dynasty to rule, or it may limit its effect to a specified term of office.

The expression of the people's will that created a king is an ancestral fact and confers the right of succession. This form of government, if it rightly fulfils the duties of civilized government should not be overthrown without a sufficient reason.

If there could be found a king perfect in wisdom and justice, a monarchy under such a king would be the best form of government. Aristotle declared that a monarchy with Pericles as king was the best form of government, but "for most cities and for most men, apart from exceptional circumstances, or a condition of ideal perfection, but having regard to what is ordinarily possible" a representative elective polity is the best.

The defects of men will appear in all forms of government. The evils of concentrating sovereign power in a monarch moved Hooker ("Ecclesiastical Polity") to declare: "To live by one man's will became the cause of all men's misery. In such a form of government there is nothing to counteract the ruler's tyranny and his vices. Unworthy sycophants will be preferred, extortionate taxes may be exacted, and a state of oppression may ensue. History presents many examples of such tyrants; humanity taught by experience tends ever towards forms of government in which the people's influence limits the ruler's power. But even in a Republic such as ours, whose Constitution has rightly been called the nearest approach to perfect political wisdom, a certain skilful manipulation of public opinion, a venal unprincipled Press, a war frenzy aroused in "sixth grade" minds, a congress largely made up of office seekers, and an ambitious, self-opinioned, demagogue chief executive may set up a most unjust and oppressive tyranny, and commit the country to an unjust and ruinous policy. Such has been our history in the World War. Our entrance into the World War is unjustifiable. There was no national end at which we aimed that avails to justify our war policy. Many causes conspired to inflict on us that terrible disgrace and national loss. In

the person of Woodrow Wilson we were led by a self-willed theorist. Many of his theories were socialistic. The idea of the super-state to be realized through the League of Nations is akin to the internationalism of Socialism. Many of his appointees are strongly socialistic.

By ties of blood and by culture he is of England and for England. We have no intent to pass judgment on the President's conscience. God alone is the judge in the internal forum. Conscience may be subjectively right and objectively wrong. Paul persecuted the Christians for conscience' sake.

Another cause which plunged us into the war was the Press. The Press of the United States is English not only in language but in financial interest and sympathy. England directed her energies to control our Press and she accomplished it. The policy of our Press is, and for a long time has been, like to the national policy of England, without conscience. The Press suppressed facts, and manufactured falsehoods to a degree that amazes the world in the retrospect. The Press was helped by many other agencies. Many pulpits perverted the deeper sentiments of the people to hate the German nation. Schools, colleges, universities, lodges, theaters, and the homes of the people were filled with the false propaganda, and mobilized as instruments of war. The liberties of the people were suppressed. The President asked for dictatorial powers and received them. A reign of terror surrounded the war spirit. Any man who differed from the mob was punished by social ostracism, unjust seizure of property, bodily injury, imprisonment, and sometimes by death.

The money-power of the United States is closely allied with the money-power of England. The depreciation of the monies of the other countries affect Wall St. but little, but let the pound sterling of England begin a downward course and there is consternation in Wall St. The money-power, therefore, desired war first to engorge still more of Mammon's hoard, and secondly, to save its ally. The war multiplied our millionaires. It opened up profitable careers for a vast army of parasites who enriched themselves by dishonest contracts and bribes. The millions of the late A. C. Frick were nearly doubled by the war.

Wilson surrounded himself with a vast group of men who catered to his vanity and profited by his favoritism. Incompetence, wastefulness, and dishonesty preyed on the nation's immense resources. And lest the people should be freed from their war-madness, every artifice of lying, every resource of hypocrisy, was continually employed. The war

became a religious cult. Sacrifices made for the war were held in value equal to those made for the Redeemer's cause. False reports of German atrocities were circulated and kept in circulation. Truth, justice, and human liberty were gagged and manacled by English conscienceless cunning and American superficial stupidity. We were controlled by England. It is quite probable that the wiser spirits of England entertained for us contempt, even while they used us. On many occasions England has failed to disguise this contempt. England controlled our commerce, and violated our important international rights. She engaged in what our own Administration declared to be an "illegal and indefensible" blockade of our ships. England ignored our protests and treated us as an inferior nation. Our cable messages to the countries of Europe were subjected to British censorship. Our citizens were taken off from ships and held prisoners; our ships were compelled to put into an English port and leave their mail-bags for British inspection. And our Anglophile Administration bore it all, yea more, drew us into an unholy alliance in a war in which we had no national interest and no true moral motive. In the pre-war days we violated international law by sending to England submarines and other war material in violation of our neutrality, while merciful men were prevented by our Government from sending milk-powder to the starving babies of Austria and Germany.

The crime of the Lusitania was not the crime of the German submarine: it was the crime of those traffickers in human blood both in England and in America who sent that ship to certain destruction in order to draw the United States into the war. England and France had failed on the field of battle before the superiority of German officers and soldiers. Hence England resorted to lying to keep up courage at home. She systematically lied about naval battles and land battles. To lying she added bribery and coercion. By bribery she obtained the alliance of Italy, that jackal of the nations; by coercion she drew to her side Roumania. But the grand object was the United States. She was receiving aid from the United States from the beginning; but she must now have the entire financial, naval, and military forces. By a deed as iniquitous as the purchase of Benedict Arnold she drew us into the contest and used our vast resources to win the mastery of one-third of the land area of the globe and one-third of the earth's population.

Her propaganda was not one of reason. The Germans tried that and failed. The people were not in a reasoning

mood. England appealed to sentiment and love of money. "Periit judicium cum res transiit in affectum." Public opinion was formed by the coalition of Money, the Press, the Anglicized Universities, the Anglicized Pulpit, the Anglicized Lecture Bureau, the Anglicized Public School. The agencies of English propaganda firmly entrenched in our Country may be judged from the following news items. The New York State Methodist Conference, in session, April, 1920, at Kingston, Canada, unanimously adopted the following resolution of Chancellor James R. Day of Syracuse, N. Y., and requested that a copy be sent to the Secretary of State with a request that it be called to the attention of Congress:

"We sincerely hope and pray that in the remaking of the world's map and the construction of boundaries of State and adjusting them politically and commercially, nothing may be done to disturb the bonds of peace and good fellowship with the Allied nations of Europe which we have enjoyed for so many years.

"This is especially our hope concerning Great Britain. We have a common language. Her Magna Charta furnished us with the fundamentals of our Constitution. She sent us a more perfect illustration and emphasis of the faith of our fathers from her Wesleyan revival and reformation. The colors of her flag blend with those of our 'Old Glory.' Side by side they must wave in the world's progress of freedom and righteousness.

"We deprecate and are disturbed that our country should recently have been placed in a position of interference and meddling with the domestic affairs of Great Britain.

"Ireland is a part of her dominions as much as the Philippines and the Hawaiian Islands are of ours.

"For us to receive into our greatest cities the pretended President of the Republic of Ireland, and contribute millions of dollars to his so-called Republic, is, to speak mildly, a great breach of propriety, if not of direct unfriendliness.

"And when we add to this the startling act of the Congress we are chargeable with more than impropriety. We are doing what we would not permit in any part of our possessions under any excuse or pretense whatever. It might mean war if the meddling were not redressed.

"But Great Britain is showing us her magnificent self-control and patience. Our Government, through her State Department, should send at once an unqualified repudiation and apology for these unfriendly meddlings with her domestic affairs."

Bishop Wilson severely criticized New York City for extending the freedom of the city to Mr. De Valera. "It was a disgrace," he said, "that the greatest city in the world gave the freedom of the city to one who was practically the enemy of a country with whom we are on friendly terms."

A conference of the Methodist-Episcopal church at Baltimore on in 1921 adopted a resolution, urging Congress to take no action on the Mason bill, providing for a Minister and Consular agents to Ireland.

The influence of the Protestant churches is always exercised in favor of England. The power of these churches is not in their doctrinal strength: doctrine and authoritative teaching, have no place in them. Their power is in their social organization; they are simply centers of social alignment. They are using their vast power to impose on the world a counterfeit thing in the name of the religion of Christ. The sophism and falsehood of these preachers are glaring. Ireland is not a part of England by any pact, covenant, or fact that can stand in justice. The Act of Union by which Ireland lost her separate nationality, but not her right thereto, was obtained by fraud and bribery, and even in the judgment of one of England's greatest statesmen, Mr. Gladstone, it was one of the most shameful acts of bribery and dishonesty ever perpetrated. And, moreover, by her misgovernment of Ireland, England has lost her right to hold the Irish nation in subjection against their will.

Another anchorage for England in our Country is the so-called American Legion. Their views on self-determination for which we were said to have entered the war may be judged from the following:

Montgomery, Ala.—Resolutions, adopted by Birmingham Post, American Legion, requesting that he publicly proclaim Eamonn De Valera, "provisional president of the Irish republic," to be persona non grata in the state of Alabama, were presented to Governor Kilby Monday night.

Governor Kilby replied that, while it was not within his official province to issue such a proclamation, he was of the personal opinion that the "privilege of De Valera and his Sinn Fein propaganda should have long ago received the attention of the state department."

"Were I directing official of that department," Governor Kilby added, "I would unhesitatingly order the deportation of De Valera without delay."

Were this an isolated case, we should ascribe it to Southern bigotry. But it is in keeping with the whole policy of the

organization. It is our agent of British propaganda. This British propaganda is very profitable for England.

The Sydney (Australia) *Catholic Press* has compiled the following table showing England's gains:

	Area in Square Miles
Egypt, formerly under Turkish suzerainty, becomes part of the British Empire	350,000
Cyprus, ditto	3,584
German S. W. Africa, mandate to be held by the Union of South Africa	32,450
German East Africa, mandate to be held by Great Britain	384,180
Togoland and Cameroons, to be divided between Great Britain and France. Total area 224,830 (say half)	112,615
Samoa, mandate to be held by Australia	1,050
German New Guinea and Islands south of equator, mandate to be held by Australia	90,000
Syria and Palestine, yet to be decided	11,000
Mesopotamia, yet to be decided	143,250
Grand total	1,417,929

Our entry into the war was heralded through the world as a great move for the emancipation of humanity. The hypocrisy of this pretense was apparent to many from the beginning, but the suppression of free speech prevented people from expressing their honest convictions. They knew then and they know now, that the war was an unholy alliance between the capitalists of America and the capitalists of England. The very man who forced us into the war declared, openly and repeatedly, that the war was a commercial and industrial war. But pressure was brought to bear on him by Wall St. and by a bought Press. Unfortunately a great part of the American people think and act as the Press dictates. Making use of the inflamed state of public opinion which an Anglicized Press had created, the President plunged us into the war. Lest the public conscience might awaken, a campaign of falsehood was conducted never equalled in history.

In the tribunals there was "vindictive illegality"; among the people, "raving lunacy." Our government became a tyranny. The finest sentiments of our people were corrupted and directed to perverse ends. Our people did not reason: they were led by blind passion. The war spirit was fed by

hate. A hateful Chauvinism characterized our whole national life. But, through it all, there were men who saw the wrong of our attitude, but kept their counsel, because the popular frenzy was too strong-fixed to yield to reason. Then came the finale and the shame of Versailles.

It is an old saying that, when thieves fall out, honest men come into their own. The English Treaty of hate caused a disruption in the war-crowd. The high priest of the League of Nations stands today discredited before the world. Our soldiers have died in vain; our crushing public debt has been incurred to increase England's power.

Our statesmen endeavor to explain to France that Wilson is not the United States.

ARGUMENT IS IRRITATING

This argument is very irritating to the French.

Stephane Lausanne, editor of the "Matin," answers it, remarking that, if this argument were true, it certainly is not the fault of France that the United States had a president who did not represent the country, and neither was it the role of France to choose the American peace delegates.

Editor Lausanne published a letter he received from Elmer T. Peterson, editor of the "Wichita Beacon."

Mr. Peterson says: "The truth is that President Wilson has never, neither during the war, nor after the war, represented America. That is what France and Europe should have understood, when Mr. Wilson was so categorically disavowed by his country at the elections of 1918.

GAVE SOLEMN NOTICE

"These elections gave eloquent notice, and solemn notice to the allies of Europe, not to take seriously the rhetoric and vanity of Mr. Wilson.

"He never had a mandate from the American people to speak in their name, and he never has faithfully represented their thought.

"America has never been in favor of the covenant. She has always regarded it as a cheap formula of a sort of obligatory co-operation without soul, and without value.

"America will always be a friend of France, but not through the intermediary of Mr. Wilson."

Since the war, our country has kept alive an unjust hatred against a conquered Nation. There is nothing magnanimous in our present attitude towards the Central Empires. An organization, calling itself the American Legion, is allowed

to perpetrate acts as lawless as were the acts of the Ku Klux Clan.

We must defend civilization against Socialism, for Socialism is impossible, unjust, and anti-Christian, but the acts of our Government and of our people in the war and since the war will prove a strong difficulty to all who defend the institutions of our country.

How different it could have been? The just peace which Wilson failed to obtain, after our terrible sacrifice in lives and treasure could have been obtained by a strong man before our entry into the war. All through the struggle the United States held the key to the situation. The United States could have compelled peace, if its diplomacy were honest and unbiased at the time when Pope Benedict outlined a plan for peace. But no, the profiteers in Wall St., the profiteers in steel, in munitions, in shipping, in food, in army supplies, wanted war. England wanted our entry, and with amazing cunning and far-seeing diplomacy she accomplished it. Our Press became English, our non-Catholic pulpits became English, our Government formed a close alliance with the greatest enemy the United States ever had. English ideals are now gradually permeating our whole life. And the great motive power of it all is wealth, money, profits.

Another thing that disgusts many of our citizens is the numberless fads which have developed in our civilization. One of the worst of these fads is prohibition, and the way it is see-sawed back and forth from Congress to courts and from State legislatures to Congress brings our institutions into contempt. The methods of floating our war loans, which were little better than blackhand methods, have left a deep feeling of resentment in the minds of those who suffered the oppression. The people are now harassed by one drive after another, nearly all of them an outcome of the war or the war spirit, so that the people are weary of drives.

We are not here pleading for the war party of Germany. All the nations have sinned. The unbelief and materialism of the world have enthroned the spirit of the world, the implacable enemy of the Gospel of Christ.

The bankruptcy of materialism is thus declared by a recent writer:

"With the rise of the age of a harsh and savage materialism, that was neither to bind nor to hold, there came strange things to pass. Some of them are doubtless in your mind. Science made wonderful discoveries; and in the trail of the sane laborious scientists there thronged all the mountebanks

of thought—the Huxleys and Haeckels, who beat the drum in front of the booths of science. Came, too, the harlequins of a dirty and materialistic literature, from Zola (whose appropriate death was that he should be drowned in the vomit of his dogs) to that bad and sneering old man, Anatole France. Morality was kicked out of philosophy, as idealism was thrown out of literature. The world's thought became at once mean and dirty. (In poor old England the most conspicuous 'intellectual' was the dreadful Bernard Shaw; one nation fared no better than another.)

"Now it was in trade, manufacture and commerce that materialism expressed itself in the most grotesque and irresponsible way; until, as a final illustration, you had the colossal Kultur of Germany—an iron monster splashed with blood."—("Drink," by Vance Thompson, pp. 191, 192.)

We could not be indifferent to the interests of humanity, but those interests did not justify our alliance with the most iniquitous of all the belligerents. There is no nation in history whose national policy is so Godless as is that of England. She has been and is the foe of human liberty in all lands save England. Her policy is motivated by utility alone, never by conscience. All the horrors of all the nations of the civilized world combined equal not the foulness of her history. False as Judas Iscariot when he kissed Christ in Gethsemane, she comes pleading for us to help her save the liberties of the nations, even while the consciousness of the infamous Pact of London haunts her as Judas was haunted by the thirty pieces of silver. Here is the Pact of London:

The pact of London, made when Italy entered the war, and kept secret all during the conflict, was first given to the public when it was published by the Bolshevists in Russia. They found a number of state papers left by the czar's regime, and among them was this secret treaty. It gives to Italy much more than many people considered just.

The text follows:

The Italian ambassador in London, Marchese Imperiali, on instructions from his government, has the honor to communicate to the secretary of state for foreign affairs, Sir Edward Grey; to the French ambassador, M. Cambon, and to the Russian ambassador, Count Benckendorff, the following memorandum:

I. The great powers of France, Great Britain, Russia, and Italy shall, without delay, draw up a military convention by which are to be determined the minimum of military forces which Russia will be bound to place against Austria-Hungary

in the event of the latter throwing all her forces against Italy. This military convention will also regulate the problems relating to a possible armistice, insofar as these do not by their very nature fall within the competence of the supreme command.

II. Italy on her part undertakes to conduct the war with all means at her disposal in agreement with France, Great Britain, and Russia, and against the states which are at war with them.

III. The naval forces of France and Great Britain will lend Italy their active co-operation until such time as the Austrian fleet shall be destroyed, or till the conclusion of peace. France, Great Britain, and Italy shall in this connection conclude without delay a naval convention.

IV. By the future treaty of peace Italy shall receive the Trentino, the whole of Southern Tyrol, as far as its natural and geographical frontier, the Brenner; the city of Trieste and its surroundings, the county of Goriza and Gradisca, the whole of Istria as far as the Quarnero, including Volosca and the Istrian Islands, Cherso and Lussin, as also the lesser islands of Plavnik, Unia, Canidoli, Palazzuola, S. Pietro, Nerovio, Asinello and Gruica, with neighboring islets.

DALMATIA TO BE ITALIAN

V. In the same way Italy shall receive the province of Dalmatia in its present extent, including further to the north Lissarika and Trebenje (i. e., two small places in Southwestern Croatia), and to the south all places as far as a line starting from the sea close to Cape Planka (between Trau and Sebenico) and following the watershed eastward in such a way as to place in Italian hands all the valleys whose rivers enter the sea near Sebenico—namely, the Gikola, Krka, and Bustisnjica, with their tributaries. To Italy also will belong all the islands north and west of the Dalmatian coast, beginning with Premuda, Selve, Ubo, Skerda, Maon, Pago and Puntadura, and further north and reaching to Melada southward, with the addition of the islands of S. Andrea, Busi, Lissa, Lesina, Tercola, Curzola, Cazza and Lagosta, and all the surrounding islets and rocks, and hence Pelagosa also, but without the islands of Grande and Piccola Zirona, Buje, Solta, and Brazza.

The port of Durazzo can be assigned to the independent Mohammedan State of Albania.

VI. Italy shall obtain in full ownership Valona, the island of Saseno and territory of sufficient extent to assure her

against dangers of a military kind—approximately between the River Vojussa to the north and east, and the district of Shimar to the south.

VII. Having obtained Trentino, and Istria by Article IV, Dalmatia and the Adriatic Islands by Article V, and also the Gulf of Valona, Italy undertakes, in the event of a small autonomous and neutralized state being formed in Albania, not to oppose the possible desire of France, Great Britain, and Russia to partition the northern and southern districts of Albania between Montenegro, Serbia, and Greece. The southern coast of Albania, from the frontier of the Italian territory of Valona to Cape Stilos, is to be neutralized.

VIII. Italy shall obtain full possession of all the islands of the Dodecannese, at present occupied by her.

IX. France, Great Britain, and Russia recognize as an axiom the fact that Italy is interested in maintaining the political balance of power in the Mediterranean. and her right to take over, when Turkey is broken up, a portion equal to theirs in the Mediterranean—namely, in that part which borders on the province of Adalia, where Italy had already acquired special rights and interests, laid down in the Italo-British convention.

X. In Libya, Italy obtains recognition of all those rights and prerogatives hitherto reserved to the Sultan by the treaty of Lausanne.

XI. Italy shall receive a military contribution corresponding to her strength and sacrifices.

XII. Italy associates herself with the declaration made by France, Great Britain and Russia, by which the Mohammedan holy places are to be left in the possession of an independent Mohammedan state.

XIII. In the event of an extension of the French and British colonial possessions in Africa at the expense of Germany, France and Great Britain recognize to Italy in principle the right of demanding for herself certain compensations in the form of an extension of her possessions in Eritrea, Somaliland, Libya, and the colonial districts bordering on French and British colonies.

XIV. Great Britain undertakes to facilitate for Italy without delay and on favorable conditions the conclusion of a loan in the London market, amounting to not less than 50,000,000 lbs.

XV. France, Great Britain, and Russia undertake to support Italy insofar as she does not permit the representatives of the Holy See to take diplomatic action with regard

to the conclusion of peace and the regulation of questions connected with the war.

XVI. The present treaty is to be kept secret. As regards Italy's adherence to the declaration of Sept. 5, 1914, this shall only be published after the declaration of war by and upon Italy.

The representatives of France, Great Britain and Russia, having taken cognizance of this memorandum, and being furnished with powers for this purpose, agreed as follows with the representative of Italy, who was also authorized by his government for this purpose.

France, Great Britain and Russia declare their full agreement with the present memorandum presented to them by the Italian government. With regard to Points I, II, and III (relating to the co-ordination of the military and naval operations of all four powers), Italy declares that she will enter the war actively as soon as possible, and in any case not later than one month after the signature of the present document on behalf of the contracting parties.

(Signed in four copies, April 26, 1915.)

EDWARD GREY,
JULES CAMBON,
IMPERIALI,
BENCKENDORFF.

It may be reasonably inferred that President Wilson was ignorant of this infamous bargain when he led us into the war. The Methodist preachers of England and the United States may have deceived him as they deceived many.

The following dialogue that took place in the conference of Senators at the White House in 1920 is conclusive proof in this respect:

Senator McCumber: "Would our moral conviction of the unrighteousness of the German war have brought us into this war if Germany had not committed any acts against us, without the League of Nations, as we had no League of Nations at that time?"

The President: "I hope it would eventually, Senator, as things developed."

Senator McCumber: "Do you think that if Germany had committed no act of war or no act of injustice against our citizens that we would have gotten into this war?"

The President: "I do think so."

Senator McCumber: "You think we would have gotten in anyway?"

The President: "I do."

The President's fatal error in leadership and our fatal error in following is to trust England. No nation ever yet trusted perfidious Albion and won thereby. That distrust born of England's terrible history was a chief cause of prolonging a war which has bankrupted the world.

The disgrace of the war is increased by the unjust Treaty of Versailles and the abortive League of Nations.

The Central Empires laid down their arms on terms specified in President Wilson's declarations. They trusted the United States, and the United States, led by a creature under English influence, broke its pledge, and imposed a peace not in conformity with the stipulations known as the "Fourteen Points." This is so evident that none will deny it. The "Fourteen Points" have become a source of jest and ridicule in the whole world.

It is not an exculpation of President Wilson to say that he could not sway the other signatories of the treaty to his view. In that event, in honor he should have withdrawn from the "Council of Belial." On the contrary he tries to impose on us the monstrous League of Nations to perpetuate our shame.

Had the League of Nations been foisted on the Country immediately after the sinking of the Lusitania, it would have stampeded the nation. Luckily we had time to reflect while it was being drawn up. The preachers, the minions of England in our Universities, our versatile Mr. Taft, who is sound on labor questions and unsound on many national issues, our women's clubs, much of our Press, and a majority of our "sixth grade" intellect clamored for the ratification of the League of Nations. But our Senate stood firm against threats, vilification, and White House Pressure, and wrote a glorious page in our national history by repudiating the "Crime of Versailles." Not to all the members of our Senate is this glory due. Wilson had his hirelings there, who were subservient to his will, but Senator Lodge and his brave colleagues saved the day.

In the Senate and the Supreme Court we find today the best elements of our Government. Had the Senate been allowed to enact its industrial legislation we should be delivered from our countless strikes; labor would be protected from its own mad folly; and the resources of our laborers would not be dissipated in feeing I. W. W. agitators, walking delegates, trade-union officials, and in supporting those thrown out of employment by the strikes.

The deceit, hypocrisy, hate, and greed that inspired the Allies in the war are unmasked in the Treaty of Versailles.

The suspicions which Lord Haldane pointed out as causes of the war are increased now. The Allies are actuated by the old base motives; there can be no League of Nations until the nations are regenerated by a spirit of justice and truth. That day has not come. Mr. Wilson has done much to delay its coming.

In *The Nation* (No. 2876) Mr. J. A. Dobson analyzes a defense of President Wilson set up by W. E. Dodd ("Woodrow Wilson and His Work"). Mr. Dodd asserts that Wilson insisted that all war-punishments be mild. Mr. Dobson answers:

"Does Mr. Dodd really count ten or twenty years' imprisonment for the utterances of sincere convictions a mild punishment? Secondly, the record shows Mr. Wilson up to 1917 essentially a pacifist, and assailed as such. There is nothing in the external evidence to explain his swift plunge into militarism. His 'too proud to fight' maxim was repeated after the Lusitania incident. There is no evidence that the people who had elected him in the previous fall because he had 'kept us out,' wanted to go in until Mr. Wilson made them want. Why did he? What was the rapid conversion which it is commonly supposed Mr. Wilson underwent in the winter of 1916-1917? No light is here thrown upon Mr. Wilson's abandonment of the sound principle, 'only a peace between equals,' now so amply justified by the disastrous sequel of a victorious peace. Thirdly, Mr. Wilson posed as champion of democracy, and only fought to make the world safe for it. Over and over again he insisted that 'we are not the enemies of the German people'—'they did not originate or desire this hideous war.' Yet he set his hand to a peace which is fatal both to safety and democracy, which treated the German people as permanent enemies, and which violated all the essentials of his Fourteen Points."

"Mr. Dodd appears more conscious of the failure of Mr. Wilson at Paris than his hero himself. But he contends that this failure was a yielding to *force majeure* and, therefore, inevitable and innocent. Here is the precise issue. The authority of conscience, of accepted ideals, recognizes no *force majeure*. We are shown Mr. Wilson yielding first on 'Open Covenants,' next on 'Freedom of the Seas,' and then on other points of principle, until he puts his pen to a document which has made a scrap of paper of his Fourteen Points. How could he do it? Over this crucial issue Mr. Dodd commits a grave error of omission. He does, indeed, make a passing allusion to the violation of the terms of the armistice in the terms of the peace. But he fails to bring out the cen-

tral fact of the great perfidy, a fact which not one in a hundred of the people of England or America appears to know, that the Fourteen Points of Mr. Wilson were formally adopted by the Allies and offered to Germany as an inducement to surrender, and that this inducement succeeded in its object. How then could Mr. Wilson bring himself to a betrayal so peculiarly his? It was perhaps not to be expected that his biographer should grapple closely with this moral issue. But with a curious felicity he does set forth the course of conduct which a staunch idealist would have taken. 'Wilson had at that time three sources of influence: he could refuse, as President of the United States, to accept the treaty when finished; he could cease approving the grants of hundreds of millions of credit to European governments; and he could announce that, in his opinion, the moral forces of the world should not approve the proposed settlement.' Mr. Dodd appears to regard these three courses as alternatives, and affects to show how impossible each was.

"But if our idealist had taken all three courses, the practical force of his position might have shaken even Paris and brought the greedy gamblers to their knees. Had it failed for the moment, it could hardly have worsened the terms of peace; and it would have enabled Mr. Wilson to make that appeal to 'the moral forces of the world' which he can never make again. Our author sees Mr. Wilson as a man who has made a great sacrifice for the internationalism of a League of Nations. But by insisting on the incorporation of the covenant in the peace terms, Mr. Wilson poisoned his offspring at its birth with the war spirit which animates the structure and the functions of this partial League of European Foreign Offices. Had Mr. Wilson had the honesty and courage to recognize that he was beaten at Paris, he would have withdrawn intact his idealist forces and lived to fight another day. Instead of which he has made the very name of idealism a term of derision."

A very correct judgment of Wilson is given us in the following interview:

Paris, Oct. 10, 1920—(By Universal Cable.)—Take Jonescu, Roumanian premier and creator of the little Entente —Roumania, Czecho-Slovakia and Jugo-Slavia—today sent Universal Service the following message:

"President Wilson's attitude throughout the peace conference was that of a god. When he stated his conditions it was always a statement of lofty generalities. Therefore,

Roumania did not take seriously any of his lavish promises, knowing them to be the vaporizations of a dreamer.

"Personally, I have no knowledge of President Wilson's words as quoted by Senator Spencer, but Roumania in any event would know better than to rely on the specious pledges of the Western idealist who throughout the armistice never really comprehended Europe's problems."

Thus far we have no means of knowing whether Wilson had any struggle with his conscience at Versailles as Pontius Pilate had before he rendered a wicked judgment and condemned to death an innocent man. It matters but little since, either with or without a struggle, he surrendered the principles of honor, truth, and justice to the greed of England and the hate of France. Though we may not expect from a man of his character an acknowledgement of his error, his bitter denunciation of the spirit that now rules his Allies is a clear indication that his former estimate of them was wrong. It is comforting also to see that some of the Press are returning to sanity.

THE MAIN FACT ABOUT THE TREATY

"Out of the confusion of the treaty situation, and the tiresome incidents of strategic or tactical controversy, and the conflict of honest opinion as to what reservations are sufficient to safeguard American independence of alien super-government, one fact—and perhaps only one—stands at this moment clearly forth:

"American independence of foreign super-government has now been safeguarded. It is safe.

"Consider what would have happened if the Senate's resistance of the President's arrogant demand had been less resolute; if the so-called irreconcilables, Republican and Democratic, had been less determined; if Senator Lodge had been less patient and resourceful in dealing with the various factors and factions involved in this legislative struggle unparalleled in our history; if American common sense throughout the country had been more sluggish in its perception of what Mr. Wilson's proposal really meant.

"But today this republic, thank heaven and the United States Senate, is yet under no treaty obligation to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country than its own by the employment of its military or naval or economic forces, or to interfere in any way in controversies between nations. In aloofness from foreign entanglements, in freedom from permanently hampering alliances, in independence of decision and action, it stands where Wash-

ington put it, where Monroe kept it and where it was when Wilson assailed it with his self-conceived and self-determined scheme of international merger.

"President Wilson may keep on till doomsday writing 'This is unacceptable to me!' across reservations preserving the country from that submersion and subordination which he had planned for it. The more important fact, the main fact, is that the government of the United States and the people of the United States have written across his proposed covenant, 'This is unacceptable to us!' in characters that are indelible."—New York Sun.

The treaty aims of our Allies are no worse than their war aims. The magnitude of our mistake cannot be realized at once. Three hundred thousand of our young manhood have been killed or crippled; fifty billions of our national resources have been wasted; a national debt has been contracted that oppresses every class of our people; and what is the result? An augmentation of the land and naval power of England, the most unscrupulous, hypocritical, false, and tyrannical of all the countries of Europe .

Though I do not approve the socialistic tendencies of the able journalist, Mr. Philip Francis, I can not refrain from the following quotation from "The Poison in America's Cup":

"The Encyclopedia Britannica is a British work, edited and written from the British standpoint, the most subtle and powerful of all the agencies of British propaganda. It always conceals, omits, minimizes or palliates the wrongs or crimes committed by British policy and British Governments. It always exaggerates, puts in a false light or deliberately misstates and misrepresents the motives and actions of any people who have resisted British wrongs or British tyranny.

"Yet even the Encyclopedia Brittanica says this of Ireland in its eleventh edition:

" 'Irish political history has largely affected the conditions of agriculture (the occupation upon which the unhappy people chiefly depend). Confiscation and settlements, prohibitive laws—such as those which ruined the woolen industry, penal enactments against Roman Catholics, absentee landlordism, the creation for political purposes of 40s., free-holders, and other factors have contributed to form a story which makes painful reading from whatever point of view, social or political, it be regarded.'

"The Encyclopedia Britannica might truthfully have explained that the 'other factors' so mildly referred to were wholesale massacre, individual murder, famine, fire, torture,

rape, house-burning, imprisonment, deportation, hanging, shooting, and every excess of oppression and cruelty that the savage soldiery of a pitiless alien governing class could invent to practice upon the helpless and tormented. Yet it is something that even this professional British apologist and propagandist should be afraid, for mere shame's sake, to palliate entirely the tyrannies and brutalities of English misrule in poor Ireland.

"We Americans have been too apt to dismiss the narratives of English cruelties and oppressions in Ireland as things of the long past. That has been due to our almost universal ignorance of European politics and governmental practices.

"There was a time when American ignorance of European affairs was perhaps excusable, but now that we all know what an unconscionable set of liars these fine-talking European diplomatists and rulers were and are, and have all had time enough to learn the character and motives of European politics and propaganda, it is a shame to be ignorant of the true conditions in Ireland and of the true character and conduct of the English rule in Ireland.

"That oppressive rule is not a thing of the past. It is a thing of the present. It is just as oppressive, just as ugly, just as hypocritical as it has ever been.

"Two years ago the British Minister, Balfour, stood on the steps of the City Hall here in New York and unctuously declaimed the lofty and unselfish purposes of England and her Allies. They were at war, he said, for no secret objects, but for the rights of oppressed peoples, great or small, for the spread of democracy and self-rule to every corner of the world, for civilization, for righteousness, for the liberties of the world. He said that—did Mr. Balfour. And all around him official and financial magnates and excited common folks cheered and cheered till they were hoarse.

"And yet that very man, standing there and so speaking, was the same man who, a few years ago, earned the title of 'Bloody Balfour' by the ruthlessness with which he crushed the poor peasantry of Ireland, struggling against the atrocious tyranny of English bureaucrats and English absentee landlords—the same man who had drowned democracy and liberty and the yearning for self-determination in Ireland in the blood of an oppressed 'little people.'

"And even while this suave and unctuous hypocrite, with his tongue in his cheek and a sneer in his heart, gulled our Government at Washington and our people here in New York and elsewhere with his solemn assertions that England

and her Allies had no secret selfish purpose of conquest and spoils, the secret treaties providing for the conquest and division of lands and helpless peoples in Asia, Africa, Europe and the islands of the seas had been drawn up, signed, sealed and were *at that very time lying hid in the archives of England.*

"No wonder Mr. Arthur Balfour went away from America with triumph in his air and contempt in his soul!

"A proven liar in the outcome, a known tyrant and oppressor, a fervent upholder of aristocracy and class rule, an unscrupulous graduate of the European school of fight-and-grab, a hater of independence and freedom for little peoples—himself the very Foreign Secretary who once proposed to Germany that she attack France by a sudden armed rush through neutral Belgium, and let it be known that England would not recognize any treaty obligation to interfere with such an invasion of Belgium's neutrality—how Balfour must have sneered in his heart when he found our Government and people such easy gulls—taking him trustingly at his word, throwing money into his hat by the billion, the President receiving him with all confidence and respect, the Secretary of State pleased to fetch and carry for him, the newspapers reporting his sayings, and the whole country hailing him as the champion of democracy, the rescuer of oppressed little peoples, the unselfish defender of the rights and liberties of mankind! Surely, Balfour was entitled to laugh.

"I am wrong to call Balfour a hypocrite. He came over with a stock of the same diplomatic lies and fine phrases which have always been used in European State utterances and which nobody is supposed to believe, and he was probably the most astonished man on earth when he found that not only common folks, but even our Government officials and our educated classes were all simpletons enough to believe him.

"There is no reason why we Americans should be greatly ashamed of having been so egregiously gulled *once* by Balfour and other British propagandists. By and large, we are a pretty straight-forward people and are apt to believe a man when he solemnly gives his word for a statement. And before this war there were only a few of us who really understood the political methods of European Governments or thoroughly realized what unblushing liars and greedy grabbers they were and are. So it is no disgrace either to our Government or to us ordinary citizens that we were so taken in by accomplished persons sent—as the famous definition of an ambassador's duty puts it—'to lie abroad for their country's advantage.' To buy a gold brick *once* may happen to any sensible people.

"But not *twice*!

"The man who goes back to a confidence operator to be done over again is a fool who deserves no sympathy. And if we Americans now let the British monarchy and its swarm of paid and unpaid propaganda agents fool us a second time about Ireland and use us to rivet the shackles tighter upon the Irish people, to crush Ireland's struggle for self-determination, to make a mock of our own professions that we went to war to make the little peoples free and to rid them of their tyrants—then we shall deserve the jeers of the world and the scorn of the ages."

In April, 1920, Senator France of Maryland, delivered a speech in the United States Senate from which the following excerpts are taken:

"The stupid policies of blind and reactionary Bourbonism have prevailed when there arose the question of the preservation during war of the inherent natural rights and personal liberties of the sovereign people of the Republic.

"Bourbonism is not Americanism, and all of the foolish efforts of the reactionaries to create the new American crime of radicalism are bound to fail.

"The Democratic party has created the most powerful despot in all the world. The Republican party has connived at the setting up of this autocracy."

"We resolve to resist to the uttermost the recent enormous growth of executive power.

"We hold it to be an elemental and self-evident truth, that there can be no free government without practical and absolute freedom of speech, an un-influenced and unfettered press, and the unabridged right of the people to assemble to petition for a redress of their grievances. We demand the immediate restoration of these rights, the repeal of the unconstitutional and tyrannical Espionage act, and a recommendation of amnesty for all political prisoners held under this federal statute only for political opinions or for words spoken or written, as distinguished from direct incitement to violence, acts of violence, or overt acts against the government. You have condemned Bolshevism for its confiscation of real and personal property. But that is a worse form of Bolshevism which confiscates real and personal rights. Confiscation of real and personal property affects the few. The confiscation of real and personal rights impoverishes all.

"There is but one test of loyalty: Is a man loyal to this Constitution and does he feel a whole-hearted love and devotion for the institutions of liberty which it creates and

insures? Judged by this test, I fear that in federal prisons today there may languish true patriots and that there may be sitting in legislative halls men with disloyal and traitorous hearts.

"We demand an end to the taxing of the people for the payment of swarms of federal spies, agents and special officers, who may become parasites, blackmailers, sappers of political morality and a menace to liberty.

"We urge the repeal of the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution (Prohibition) and a reconsideration by the people of the great question involved in it under conditions which will insure an unimpassioned consideration, unclouded by the temporary conditions of war and unaffected by the hysteria and prejudice which were incident to its submission at a time when full and free discussion were impossible.

"We believe that the iniquitous Treaty of Versailles is largely responsible for the present confusion and chaos in Europe and that we can restore order and sanity to the world only by approaching the whole problem of peace in a new and different spirit from that in which this vindictive and impossible document was drawn.

"We urge the immediate re-establishment of peace on the general principles enunciated in the fourteen points . . . We urge the principle of self-determination for the nations of Europe, particularly Russia and Ireland.

"We express our gratification that one of the great political parties of England—the party which we hope will shortly come into power—has taken a definite stand in favor of the principle that it is incumbent on all countries having colonies to meet the responsibility of fitting the subject peoples for self-government and for ultimate admission into the society of nations.

"We denounce the League of Nations (as proposed) as a scheme worked out in secret by imperialistic interests for a new armed coalition designed to preserve the old international order with its intolerable system of colonial expansion and human exploitation. We urge the calling of an international conference to consider an international arrangement for a concert of nations for the elevation, education, liberation and ultimate self-determination of the backward peoples of the earth.

"Let us go back to the principles of the Republic, back to liberty.

"By our next national election we shall determine whether we shall rush recklessly on upon our present course to the

unknown and uncomputed perils of a continued disregard of principles, of the Constitution and of law . . . . or whether we shall turn with loathing from these political husks, fit only for the swine, and go back to our home, back to the faith of the fathers, back to the reacceptance and reaffirmation of the great principles of liberty.

"The unavoidable issue now is liberty . . . . the liberty that we were told in this war we fought for, but which we forfeited . . . . the liberty which we have known, loved, and lost: political liberty, personal liberty, liberty of opinion, liberty of action, liberty of self-expression, self-responsibility and self-determination."

The writing on the wall has appeared. We must undo as much as we can of the wrongs which an unsound and dishonest idealism coupled with an insane lust of aristocratic power has wrought. We should forever disapprove the placing in high office autocrats of the schoolroom.

But is Socialism justified by these enormous evils in our government and in our economic system? Sound reason must answer in the negative. In the first place, these evils are not a result of our form of government, but are the result of defects in human nature. Socialism cannot change human nature. Neither can human nature redeem itself. The only force that can reform human nature must come from the Divinity. Socialism would remove humanity still further from God. It strikes out the enacting clause in the great constitution by which the world sets up a system of civilization with God as Supreme Lawgiver and Executive. The form of our Government is good; in fact, for our people, and in view of existing conditions, it is the best possible. Our constitution is good; it is the model of most of the free peoples of the world.

As we have before stated, God endowed men with the capacity for government, implanted in them a propensity for government, and imposed on them the obligation to govern themselves. Out of this there is born a noble sentiment which we call love of Country. That sentiment is in honor among all men. That sentiment has inspired some of the noblest deeds of history. That love of Country includes the natural features and resources of a Country, also its customs, traditions, language, industries, arts, culture; but above all, if it be free, its Government as the expression of its nationality and of its civil authority.

The noble sentiment of love of country is powerfully illustrated by an incident in the life of the late Jacob Riis,

who came to Our Country a poor immigrant, and here rose to fame and wealth. Some years ago while visiting Denmark he fell ill. While lying in bed in view of the harbor he saw a ship flying the American flag. Thus he describes his feelings:

"All at once there sailed past, close in-shore, a ship flying at the top the flag of freedom, blown out on the breeze until every star in it shone bright and clear. That moment I knew. Gone were illness, discouragement and gloom; forgotten, weakness and suffering, the caution of doctors and nurse. I sat up in the bed and shouted, laughed and cried in turn, waving my handkerchief to the flag out there. They thought I had lost my head, but I told them, No, thank God; I had found it, and my heart, too, at last. I knew then that it was my flag; that my children's home was mine, indeed; that I also had become an American in truth."

No reasonable man expects that his State or any State shall be perfect. Things managed by man cannot be perfect. The principles that authorize the State and that found the right of authority in the State are perfect. In the instrumental putting into effect of these principles there will be defects, but these defects have never, and can never render generally inoperative the principle of civil government. Civil government, notwithstanding its defects in practice, is ordained by God and is indispensable to man. It is the duty of men to correct the defects which have place by both mental and moral human fallibility, and to endeavor to recall the practice of the State to the perfect high principles of wisdom, truth, justice, and religion.

In a government such as ours, in which the form of government itself establishes fixed times and just free methods by which the Government may be changed or amended according to the untrammeled will of the people, it seems impossible to conceive a state of things which would morally justify a rebellion.

To justify a rebellion against a lawful government the following conditions must be verified:

"Resistance is lawful:

"1. When a government has become substantially and habitually tyrannical, and that is when it has lost sight of the common good, and pursues its own selfish objects to the manifest detriment of its subjects, especially where their religious interests are concerned.

"2. When all legal and pacific means have been tried in vain to recall the ruler to a sense of his duty.

"3. When there is a reasonable probability that resistance may be successful, and not entail greater evils than it seeks to remove.

"4. When the judgment formed as to the badness of the government, and the prudence of resistance thereto is not the opinion only of private persons or of a mere party; but is that of the larger and better portion of the people, so that it may morally be considered as the judgment of the community as a whole."—("Dublin Review," April, 1865.)

One man, or a small number of men, may inaugurate a movement against a manifest unjust tyranny. They may organize public opinion, which in its unorganized state cannot operate, but the moral judgment of the community as a whole must adhere to the insurrection before it is lawful to attempt to supplant the existing authority. "It would be dangerous to the people and to government if any individuals on their own initiative were to attempt the death of rulers, even when tyrannical."—(St. Thomas, *De Reg. Princip. I*, 6).

The great theologian, Bannez (*De Jure et Justitia*) thus expounds St. Thomas' teaching:

"What can a nation lawfully do when it is tyrannically oppressed by its legitimate king? It can and ought to have recourse to a higher power—e. g., to the Pope or emperor—to correct and prevent such a ruler from governing tyrannically. But if this remedy is not possible or effective, or if there is danger in delay, then there is in the nation itself power to judge the ruler. And if after admonition he will not be corrected, it can eject him from the kingdom, and if necessary slay him. The reason of this is evident. By natural law the king is ordained for the good of the community and not conversely, since the nation conferred authority on the king for the good government of itself. Therefore, in case the king governs tyrannically, there is in the nation power to depose the ruler and even to slay him in defence of the nation. . . . . Nevertheless there will often be circumstances on account of which it will be a lesser evil to bear with the tyrannical government than to remove the ruler with greater calamity for the nation."

Suarez expresses a similar view:

"If a legitimate king governs tyrannically and the kingdom has no other remedy for defending itself except to expel and depose the king, the whole nation can, by a public general council of towns and leaders, depose the king. This follows not only from the natural law that force can be repelled by force, but also because this case so necessary for the conserva-

tion of the nation must always be understood to be excepted in that first compact whereby the nation transferred its power to the king." (—*Defensio Fidei*, VI, 4, 15.)

While Catholic teaching is unanimous on the great fundamental principles of the origin, mode of determining, and the durability of sovereignty, there are conflicting opinions touching the right of the people to rise against an unjust tyranny. Bossuet, Taparelli ("Dritto Naturale," Vol. II, pp. 10-40), and many others deny the right of the people to rebel in any case. They counsel the evils of such a government to be like the other ills of mortal life to be recommended to God in prayer, and to be borne patiently in this life as a discipline preparing us for a better life in Heaven.

Lehmkuhl (Theol. Moral. Vol. I, Art. 797) declares thus: "The subjects are forbidden to arouse a rebellion or revolution against a lawful government; this is forbidden by the natural law and by the Christian law, *even though the sovereign abuses his power tyrannically.*" Though he subsequently tempers the statement by allowing resistance to unjust laws, he does not seem to extend this beyond a mere resistance to those particular laws, and not to the overthrow of the tyranny.

Recognizing the divine origin of all authority, the Catholic Church has always abhorred rebellion and revolution. Many of the revolutions against governments have been inspired by the spirit of unbelief. This detestation of the spirit of rebellion may have moved some to excessive conservatism. This conservatism defeated its own purpose, for men, maddened by the deeds of tyrants threw off their obedience to the Church, which they considered hopelessly reactionary. At first sight Pope Leo XIII might seem to be reactionary. In his Encyclical ("Quod Apostolici Muneris," Dec. 28, 1878), he says:

"Should it, however, happen, at any time, that in the public exercise of authority Rulers act rashly and arbitrarily, the teaching of the Catholic Church does not allow subjects to rise against them by private authority (*proprio Marte*) lest peace and order become more and more disturbed, and Society run the risk of greater detriment. And when things have come to such a pass as to hold out no further hope, she teaches that a remedy is to be sought in the virtue of Christian patience and in urgent prayer to God. But should it please legislators and Rulers to enjoin or sanction anything repugnant to the divine and natural law, the dignity and duty of the name of Christian and the Apostolic injunction proclaim that one *ought to obey God rather than men.*"

It is a delicate question, and Catholic theologians have always proceeded cautiously in dealing with it. The presumption is in favor of the existing authority. It is not allowed to every individual subject to condition his obedience to the State by his own private judgment of whether the law be just or not. The right of resistance does not reside in the private individuals. The right to reason of the justice of the State is theirs; the right of peaceful assembly, and of discussion is theirs. When the sovereign exercises unjust violence to an extent that the ends of government are lost, then the right of resistance resides in the body of the nation. This is not rebellion against lawful authority, for the sovereign by his unjust excess has ceased to represent lawful authority. This is the explicit declaration of Pope Leo XIII ("Diuturnum illud," 29, June, 1881):

"Men have one just reason for refusing to obey, viz., if a thing be demanded of them which clearly conflicts with the natural or the divine law. For whatever violates the law of nature or of God, it is neither lawful to command or to do. If it should come to pass therefore that a man be forced to choose between disobedience of God's commands or those of the State, he should obey Christ, who commands: *Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's*, and according to the example of the Apostles he should boldly answer: *We must obey God rather than men.* Nor can those who thus act be said to have cast aside obedience; for if the will of the sovereign he contrary to God's will and laws, the sovereign has exceeded his power; he has perverted justice. His authority, therefore, is no longer valid, for there is no authority where there is no justice."

This is the basic principle of the right of the people to resist unjust violence. There is no absolute sovereign save God. The sovereign receives his power from God by some determinative act of the people. He loses that authority and power when his tyranny is intolerable. Evils should be borne which are in practice inseparable from human governments. If a reasonable probability do not exist that resistance shall be successful, then the tyranny should be endured, lest greater evils come upon the nation.

If this condition were fulfilled the Mexican people would be justified to rise against the unjust tyranny of their rulers. Ireland is surely justified in her peaceful agitation, though not justified in the lawless acts of violence which recently have disgraced her glorious cause. We believe that our own beloved Republic engaged in a lawful Revolution, which gave birth

to our freedom. Constantine the Great lawfully rose against the tyrant, Maxentius, and overthrew him. The Jewish nation under Judas Maccabaeus and his brave kindred overthrew by force the tyranny of the Seleucidae. David delivered Israel from the tyranny of the dynasty of Saul.

The right of resistance to tyranny follows naturally from the right of self-defense. It stands up against all power. The sacred authority of the parent over the child ceases when it becomes to that degree unjust and tyrannical that the ends for which it is ordained of God are lost. We do not wish "to license mutiny, rebellion, treason, revolution, anarchy." A government validly established may not lawfully be overturned simply because the people have a mind to try some other form of government. There is a sanctity natural and divine which hedges round the power of the State. Government exists for the good of the governed, and not for the private interest of those governing. When, therefore, justice and religion fail in the civil power, authority ceases also, for the end of government is destroyed. But this state of things must be grave enough to justify the judgment of the whole people, or at least the better part of them, judging conscientiously that the ends of government are not being attained by the existing government, before an uprising would be justifiable. Resistance to the reigning power is an extreme measure, and extremes should only be employed in extremes. We should ordinarily love and cherish the State. It is a beneficent institution procuring for man benefits of a very high order. The disruption of a State is a dire calamity; it is like the wreck of a great family. But out of the abuse of civil authority there may arise a state of things that compels resistance to the State as a last resort. The sovereign should remember that his authority is "not an estate but a ministration"; his public office is a public trust and he, though the instrument of God to wield power, is yet the servant of the people.

It is well said, "That there is a minimum of civil authority which the maturely developed State may never forego; and there is a maximum which the same State may never exceed, it being the fulness of power which any State may ever carry." ("Political and Moral Essays," Rickaby, S. J.)

"Government may be severe, unreasonably severe, without exceeding its powers. Subjects may remonstrate in that case, but in the last resort they ought to obey. When government grows oppressive in excess of its constitutional powers, we are to consider whether these unconstitutional acts are

isolated and exceptional, or whether they are so frequent as to amount to a permanent aggression upon the liberties and rights of the people. A government whose aggression is permanent, and whose excesses of power are flagrant and continual, puts itself in the position of a usurper and becomes equated to anarchy. Still, attempts to subvert even a usurping government are wrong, when ill-concerted and unlikely to succeed. Such ineffectual risings only add fuel to the fire." (Rickaby, Op. Cit., pp. 37, 48.)

"There is no governing on sufferance. There can be no constitutional right of chronic revolution. Every government must hold its head some little height at least, above the daily good pleasure of the governed. We cannot base civil authority simply and solely upon the consent of the governed, nor again upon need to be governed meeting with capacity for governing. Civil authority, historically considered, arises in many ways. Once established, and dwelling within the compass of its proper limits, it must in all conscience be obeyed; for human nature is political and abhors anarchy." (Ibid. p. 49).

Civil authority must be convicted by a competent judgment of having so perverted the ends of government that it no longer represents the divine idea of government before the extraordinary means of popular uprising would be justified. Hence the Syllabus of Pius IX (63) condemns the proposition. "It is lawful to refuse obedience to lawful rulers, and even to rebel against them."

A ruler against whom it is lawful to rebel must by abuse of power have ceased to be a lawful ruler.

In the right principles of government there is no lawful place for Socialism, least of all in our form of government. Our government is what our people wish it to be. An administration may break away from the principles of American institutions and direct the course of the Ship of State in a false direction. Sinister powers may temporarily, especially in a war state of mind, invade the people's rights and liberties. waste the Nation's lives and resources, and enter into evil alliances. This will happen in any form of government possible to man. It is an inevitable resultant of sinful human nature. No remedy will ever be found utterly to eradicate it. The most efficient means is to make men better, to bring them closer to the great Exemplar, Christ.

In our government relief is found in the suffrage. If we exercise this power rightly, we may have the best in the nation to govern us. The form of our government and the spirit of our institutions give to man as high a degree of freedom as is

compatible with law and order and public tranquility. If our people are incapable of securing the proper end of government under the existing form, they would be equally incapable under Socialism. Our nature is not changed by the form of government. Socialists had a just right to protest against the recent war, but they have no right to deny to a nation the right of national defense.

There is no authoritative definition of the extent of the State's rights over its subjects, but it seems to be accepted by sound political economists that the State has lawful authority to do the following:

(1) To impose just taxes.

(2) To exact service for the administration of justice, as juror, witness, etc.

(3) To punish offences against the law by condign penalties, even the death penalty.

(4) To conscript soldiers in case of emergency of which the State is judge. This conscription must be just, necessary and constitutional.

(5) To regulate the exercise of human rights and acts, so that no man suffer injustice.

(6) To control contracts touching things of material value in order to enforce justice. In the contract of marriage the State, however, lawfully has only power over the civil effects; the further power now exercised by States is a usurpation.

(7) To exercise the right of high dominion in the property of the subjects when the nation's necessity or proportionate good demands it, providing a man be compensated for the seizure of his lawful property.

(8) To enact and execute just laws to "establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty" to the people.

When an Administration exceeds its power and misgoverns the people, its doom is sealed. The time of its functioning in our form of government is so short that there is no need of a revolution with its attendant horrors to effect that which the people may effect peaceably and lawfully by the ballot.

The socialists were not alone in opposing our entrance into the war. There is no defense of our war record, as far as it concerns those who moved it and controlled it. The soldiers did their sublime duty. They were right, although the cause for which they fought was unjust. But the war is not the United States. It is the crime of an administration

which is headed for oblivion. The Socialists suffered for their opinions. Thus did also non-socialists. Unfortunately much of the juridical indictment of Socialism is for its war record. This is regrettable. No socialist abhors our part in that war more than I, but I abhor Socialism still more. The political indictment of Socialism is not that it opposed that war, but that it opposes all government, and all rights.

The revolutionary aims of Socialism are thus set forth in the "Communist Manifesto" of Marx and Engels:

"In short the Communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things.

"In all these movements they bring to the front, as the leading question in each, the property question, no matter what its degree of development at the time.

"Finally, they labor everywhere for the union and agreement of the democratic parties of all countries.

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

"Working men of all countries, unite!"

. . . .

"Political power, properly so called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another. If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organize itself as a class, if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms, and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class."

. . . . .

"The Communists are further reproached with desiring to abolish countries and nationalities.

"The working men have no country. We cannot take from them what they have not got. Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself the nation, it is, so far, itself national, though not in the bourgeois sense of the world."

No one will consider the Secretary of Labor in Wilson's Cabinet unduly conservative. Recently the aforesaid Secretary, the Hon. W. B. Wilson, rendered the following opinion:

OPINION OF SECRETARY OF LABOR WITH REGARD TO MEMBERSHIP IN COMMUNIST PARTY

"The deportation of one Englebrert Preis, an Austrian, alleged to be a member of the Communist Party of America and liable to deportation under the act of October 16, 1918, having arisen, the Secretary of Labor, Hon. W. B. Wilson, rendered the following opinion approving the recommendation of the Commissioner General of Immigration that Preis be sent back to his native country:

In re Englebrert Preis

"Age, 31; native of Austria; entered the United States at Port Huron, Mich., on November 13, 1915, having arrived in Quebec by S. S. *Scotan*, June 14, 1914. This is a case arising under the provisions of the act of October 16, 1918.

"It is alleged that the alien is a member of the Communist Party of America, which is affiliated with the Communist International. The alien admits membership in the Communist Party of America, and that it is affiliated with the Communist International. The sole question, therefore, to be determined by the Secretary of Labor is: Is the Communist Party of America such an organization as is described in the act of October 16, 1918, membership in which makes an alien liable to deportation. The language of the act applicable to this particular case is as follows:

"Section 1. . . . aliens who are members of or affiliated with any organization that entertains a belief in, teaches, or advocates the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States. . . .

"Sec. 2. . . . shall, upon the warrant of the Secretary of Labor, be taken into custody and deported in the manner provided in the immigration act of February 5, 1917.

"It will be observed that belief in, teaching, or advocating the overthrow of the Government of the United States is not alone sufficient to bring any organization within the scope of the act. There must in addition be a belief in, teaching, or advocacy of force or violence to accomplish the purpose. Bearing that in mind we may proceed to an examination of the facts.

"The manifesto and program and constitution of the Communist Party of America and the manifesto of the Communist International are submitted in evidence and their authenticity

admitted. The constitution of the Communist Party (see p. 19 of the manifesto) requires that—

"Sec. 2. Applicants for membership shall sign an application card reading as follows:

" 'The undersigned after having read the constitution and program of the Communist Party, declares his adherence to the principles and tactics of the party and the Communist International; agrees to submit to the discipline of the party as stated in its constitution and pledges himself to engage actively in its work'.

"An examination of the documents submitted clearly demonstrates the fact that it is the purpose of the Communist Party to overthrow the Government of the United States. There are many statements that might be quoted showing that purpose. The two following are typical. On page 9 of the manifesto and program the statement is made:

"Communism does not propose to 'capture' the bourgeoise parliamentary State, but to conquer and destroy it.

"And again on the same page:

" 'The proletarian class struggle is essentially a political struggle. . . . The objective is the conquest by the proletariat of the power of the State.'

"Many other statements of similar purport are to be found in the same document. After having found that it is the purpose of the Communist Party to conquer and destroy the Government of the United States the next point of inquiry is as to how the conquest is to take place.

"It is apparent that the Communist Party does not seek to attain its objective through the parliamentary machinery of this Government, established by, and operated under, the Constitution. That is made sufficiently clear by the following excerpt from page 15 of the manifesto reefrred to:

" '(b) Participation in parliamentary campaigns, which in the general struggle of the proletariat is of secondary importance, is for the purpose of revolutionary propaganda only.'

"And again from pages 9 and 10 of the same document:

" 'In those countries where the conditions for a workers' revolution are not yet ripe, the same process will go on. The use of parliamentarism, however, is only of secondary importance.'

"And further on page 10:

" 'The parliamentarism of the Communist Party performs a service in mobilizing the proletariat against capitalism, emphasizing the political character of the class struggle.'

COMMUNIST PARTY'S ATTITUDE TOWARD STRIKES

"The parliamentary processes established by our Government are to be discarded or used for propaganda purposes only, and other means adopted for overthrowing the Government of the United States. These means are stated at considerable length and frequently reiterated, seemingly for purposes of emphasis. The conquest of the power of the State is to be accomplished by the mass power of the proletariat.

"Strikes are to be broadened and deepened, making them general and militant, and efforts made to develop their revolutionary implications. The strike is to be used not simply as a means to secure redress of economic wrongs, but as a means through which the Government may be conquered and destroyed. A few excerpts from the Communist Party and Communist International manifestos will make these statements evident.

"Thus on page 10 of the manifesto and program of the Communist Party of America is the following:

" 'The conquest of the power of the State is accomplished by the mass power of the proletariat. Political mass strikes are a vital factor in developing this mass power, preparing the working class for the conquest of capitalism. The power of the proletariat lies fundamentally in its control of the industrial process. The mobilizing of this control against capitalism means the initial form of a revolutionary mass action that will conquer the power of the State.'

"And again, on page 11 of the same document:

" 'Mass action is industrial in its origin, but it acquires political character as it develops fuller forms. Mass action, in the form of general political strikes and demonstrations, unites the energy and forces of the proletariat, brings proletarian mass pressure upon the bourgeois State. The more general and conscious mass action becomes, the more it antagonizes the bourgeois State, the more it becomes political mass action. Mass action is responsive to life itself, the form of aggressive proletarian struggle under imperialism. Out of this struggle develops revolutionary mass action, the means for the proletarian conquest of power.'

"And further, on page 12 of the same document:

" 'Strikes of protest develop into general political strikes and then into revolutionary mass action for the conquest of the power of the State. Mass action becomes political in purpose while extra-parliamentary in form; it is equally a process of revolution and the revolution itself in operation.'

"Then on page 16:

" 'The Communist Party shall participate in mass strikes, not only to achieve the immediate purposes of the strike, but to develop the revolutionary implications of the mass strike.'

"And then making the purpose still more clear, we have the following from page 30 of the manifesto of the Communist International, with which the Communist Party of America is affiliated, and whose manifesto is accepted as part of the policy of the party:

" 'The revolutionary era compels the proletariat to make use of the means of battle which will concentrate its entire energies, namely, mass action, with its logical resultant, direct conflict with the governmental machinery in open combat. All other methods, such as revolutionary use of bourgeois parliamentarism, will be of only secondary significance.'

"From these quotations and numerous other statements in the manifesto, not here quoted, it is apparent that the Communist Party of America is not merely a political party seeking the control of affairs of State, but a revolutionary party seeking to conquer and destroy the State in open combat. And the only conclusion is that the Communist Party of America is an organization that believes in, teaches, and advocates the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States."

On Aug. 20, 1921, positive evidence came into possession of the United States Government that Bolshevists and Anarchists of the most dangerous type are making alarming headway in the United States and Canada, with the avowed intention of overthrowing this government and reducing it to the present condition of Russia.

The New York Daily News has secured copies of some of the inflammatory circulars which are being circulated secretly, chiefly in the congested districts of the larger cities and among foreigners who are out of employment.

It is said the agitators are securing a firm foothold in those localities. Here are excerpts from some of these circulars:

"Let us organize to build a Soviet government in America.

"The freedom of working class freedom lies through revolution in America.

"Get ready for the proletarian revolution in America.

"The Communist party of America calls; arms against arms; force against force. Workers of the world, unite!

"We American workers will no more stand the tyranny of the bosses and of their government, we must overthrow it and put in its place a workers' government. We must uphold the

Workers' government with a strong army, to crush the bosses and all who support them!

"We must prepare for the revolution—there is no other way.

"Let us prepare for the revolution!

"It will not be long before we will arise in mighty revolt and rid ourselves forever of capital and its institutions. We can then begin the construction of a new society based on freedom, equality and fraternity, the anarchist commune society!"

Information in the hands of the government shows there are eleven thousand paid and carefully chosen Bolshevists now working among the laboring classes in this country with the avowed intention of destroying the American Government. These are divided into 667 groups in the United States and four in Canada.

Special efforts are to be made to incite the negroes to join the revolution. Every time there is a lynching or race riot the Bolshevist agitators hasten among the negroes, North and South, and seek to inflame them to revenge.

It is known that for the last six months large shipments of gold have been made from Russia to reorganize the communists.

The Communist Party of America is a part and in fact the most active part of the Socialist Party. The recent referendum of the Socialist Party affiliating themselves with the Third International shows that the drift of the party is towards radicalism.

The very fundamental tenet of Socialism is in conflict with the right conception of a State.

We have seen that the nature of man demands a State and that therefore the State has its origin in God's providence. On the contrary, all socialists place the origin of the State in the economic supremacy of the ruling classes. Therefore, they contemplate to eliminate the State by removing the property rights, which, as they say, gave it being.

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