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PUBLICITY BUREAU

STUPENDOUS ISSUES

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STUPENDOUS ISSUES

THE CASE STATED AND EVIDENCE PRESENTED

BY

THE PUBLICITY BUREAU

FOR THE

EXPOSURE OF POLITICAL ROMANISM

Part I.

National Headquarters

of the

PUBLICITY BUREAU

for the

EXPOSURE OF POLITICAL ROMANISM

Masonic Hall, New York City

To the People of the United States:

October 16, 1916.

We ask your co-operation in preserving free institutions in Mexico and in our own beloved land. In brief the facts are as follows:

1. In Mexico the Revolution of 1910, led by Francisco I. Madero was against despotism. Part of this despotism was caused by some of the Roman Catholic clergy. In proportion as the uprising by the Mexican people succeeded they expelled such of the priests as opposed them.

Here in the United States the leading members of the Roman Catholic clergy sided with the expelled priests. AND THIS SUPPORT OF THE EXPELLED CLERGY BY THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CLERGY IN THIS COUNTRY, COMBINED WITH TWO OTHER EVENTS, HAS RESULTED IN A HEAD-ON COLLISION IN OUR POLITICS. In other words, our National Government, consisting of a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress, has recognized the Mexican Revolutionist Government which, among various reforms, had expelled the Roman Catholic clergy, *and here in our own country the opposition political party, the Republican Organization, IS SUPPORTING THE CONTENTION OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CLERGY.* This is com-

elling those of us who believe in the justice of the People's cause in Mexico, and believe that the existing Democratic National Government here should be re-elected, *to state our case to you, the voters, OR BE DEFEATED.* In self-defense we are obliged to address you. We have no alternative except to permit the defeat of President Wilson and many of his colleagues by the Roman Catholic clergy and Big Business. In the accompany Part II. we present evidence which proves conclusively:

(1) THAT THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CARDINALS IN OUR MIDST ARE AGAINST WILSON'S POLICY IN MEXICO, AND, THEREFORE, AGAINST HIS RE-ELECTION;

(2) THAT THE REPUBLICAN ORGANIZATION IS STANDING IN WITH THEM AND WITH THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CLERGY WHO FORMERLY WERE IN MEXICO, AND AGAINST THE MEXICAN PEOPLE; AND

(3) THAT THE MEXICAN PEOPLE ARE ENTITLED TO GO FORWARD UNDER THE CARRANZA GOVERNMENT. Conquest of Mexico by a Republican National Government in this country is not the proper solution of the Mexican problem. This we demonstrate conclusively in the evidence we present.

2. The Mexican situation is paralled in the Philippines. In the uprising of the Philippine people in 1898 against the oppression of Spain and the Roman Catholic clergy *they expelled this clergy*. But here in our United States their colleagues induced President McKinley to stand for the taking over of the people of the Philippines by his Government, *which promptly RESTORED the Roman Catholic Hierarchy in the Philippines*. Fourteen years later, however, in 1912, the Republican Government and its ally, the Roman Catholic Hierarchy, under President Taft's leadership, *was defeated*, AND THE INCOMING GOVERNMENT GRANTED MORE AND MORE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT TO THE PEOPLE OF THE PHILIPPINES, AND HAS PROMISED THEM INDEPENDENCE — COMPLETE FREEDOM. This has been fought by the Roman Catholic Hierarchy in our midst; and it has been fought by Big Business, and by whatever else is reactionary, including the Republican Organization. We who believe in going forward and freeing the Philippine people and re-selecting Wilson and his colleagues are obliged to tell you these facts or run the risk of defeat.

3. In the War of Nations both sides in that awful conflict have for nearly a year been agreed that the outcome should be a system that shall result in *permanent peace*. And to aid in the attainment of that stupendous ideal President Wilson and his colleagues have declared for the joining of the United States with the other great Governments of earth at the close of this war in the formation of a WORLD LEAGUE TO PREVENT AGGRESSION; and Congress in its Naval Appropriation act has instructed the President that not later than the close of the war HE SHALL INVITE THE GREAT GOVERNMENTS TO JOIN IN A CONFERENCE, TO DEVISE METHODS FOR ATTAINING THE DESIRED END, TO INCLUDE THE TERMINATION OF COMPETITION IN ARMAMENTS; and our President is authorized TO CEASE LETTING CONTRACTS FOR BUILDING MORE WAR SHIPS AS SOON AS A PROPER INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT IS REACHED.

The Republican organization, however, controlled by the Reactionists in national convention assembled, *refused to pledge that their nominees if elected will go into any such LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE*. The

resolution committee brought in a declaration for a WORLD COURT, a wholly ineffectual remedy, as Mr. Hughes himself declares in his speech of acceptance.

Here is reason number three for refusing to vote to restore to power the Republican National Government.

4. Still another reason is that the Special Interests which would return to power are so greedy for Private Profits that the nation's preparedness against a foreign foe would be inadequate.

5. And yet another reason is that the program for mutual self-defense by the twenty-one American Republic against a foreign foe would be terminated.

6. In domestic affairs in general the existing National Government *has wrought stupendous reforms* AND WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO IF RE-ELECTED. In opposition is the Republican organization, and its colleagues the Roman Catholic Hierarchy and Big Business, and other forms of reactions, all of which are doing their utmost to defeat Wilson's re-election. Their slogan is, ANYTHING TO BEAT WILSON!

7. In this World Crisis you, fellow citizens, ARE IN DUTY BOUND TO RECOGNIZE THESE FACTS AND CONCEDE THAT THEY FAR OUTWEIGH WHAT YOU CONSIDER TO BE THE SHORT-COMINGS OF OUR PRESIDENT. Even here, however, bear in mind that the Roman Catholic Hierarchy is fiercely opposing him. HIS ONLY ROMAN CATHOLIC SUPPORT is FROM the INDEPENDENT AND PROGRESSIVE MEMBERS OF THAT ORDER. None of us can object to that. And his appointment of Roman Catholics to public office has been to minor positions, most of which have been the patronage of the Senators and Congressmen, and it is *they* who should be held responsible if they are putting into office more than a fair share of Roman Catholic appointees. *Yet even here we must be careful not to elect a Republican House, AS IT WOULD BLOCK THE REFORM MOVEMENT*. In other words, should the Republicans organize the next House then the Reactionists would control it, including Big Business and the Roman Hierarchy. Don't overlook this all-important point! Therefore take no chances. RE-ELECT EACH OF THE DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS AND THEY AS A WHOLE WILL GO FORWARD WITH THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT.

Continually bear in mind that Hughes and most of the other Republican nominees are being financed by Big Business and strongly supported by the Roman Hierarchy; while the progressive and independent Roman Catholics are bravely going forward and will vote as their conscience directs. WILL YOU DO AS WELL? Read again President Wilson's manly statement to Mr. O'Leary, president of the Roman Catholic "Truth Society" who sent to him an insulting telegram:

"I would feel deeply mortified to have you or anybody like you [that is, who acts as you do] vote for me. Since you have access to many disloyal Americans and I have not, I will ask you to convey this message to them."

Let all liberty-loving voters cast their ballots for the re-election of our President, who is being fought by the Roman Hierarchy and all of their reactionary subjects, as well as by Big Business and the rest of the Reactionists. Our own liberties are at stake, as well as the liberties of the people of Mexico and the Philippines, and the securing of World Peace. Never before have so many stupendous issues been before us.

Yours for Freedom and World Peace,
PUBLICITY BUREAU FOR THE
EXPOSURE OF POLITICAL ROMANISM,
C. BRADWAY, Manager,

Part II.

THE EVIDENCE

Chapter I.

ROMAN CATHOLIC PRELATES IN THE UNITED STATES ARE FIGHTING THE ADMINISTRATION, AIDED BY THE REPUBLICAN ORGANIZATION.

At Boston, Massachusetts, on November 15th, 1914, CARDINAL O'CONNELL in an address to the Federation of Roman Catholic Societies said:

"The Administration in this country has at last done something to insure the safety of our nuns and priests in Mexico from the brutal rapacity and barbarism of those savages who for more than a year past have conclusively proved their absolute unfitness to govern. But the good work is far from finished.

"And when the truth is known then all the world will realize that for the sake of our public honor as a nation WE MUST PUT AN END TO THE MASONIC CONSPIRACY which has for two years deluged Mexico with blood, drained the material resources of that country and spread atheism and anarchy over a land once happy and industrious."*

Later, in 1915, when seven of the Pan-American Governments, including our own Government, were about to recognize the Carranza Government, the following cablegram was published throughout the United States:

"ROME, October 9, 1915—POPE BENEDICT received in private audience yesterday the Most Rev. Francisco Orozoy Jiminez, Archbishop of Guadalajara, Mexico, to—

* For the history of the conflict between Liberal Societies and the Roman Catholic Hierarchy, consult *Political Romanism*, by Publicity Bureau for the Exposure of Political Romanism, C. Bradway, Manager. 400 pages. 75 cents in paper covers, \$1.00 in cloth. Masonic Hall, New York, N. Y.

gether with Monsignor Francis C. Kelley of Chicago, President of the Catholic Extension Society in the United States. The visitors presented an important plan in connection with THE CHURCH IN MEXICO.

"The Pope showed a thorough knowledge of the situation as regards the Mexican clergy, AND PRAISED THE GENEROSITY OF AMERICAN CATHOLICS [THE AMERICAN HIERARCHY] IN THE HELP THEY ARE GIVING THEIR CO-RELIGIONISTS [FELLOW PRIESTS] IN MEXICO."

A few months later the following statement by CARDINAL GIBBONS was published throughout the land:

"They will never cease fighting in Mexico under Carranza. I have no confidence in the man. The situation is a crime against civilization. We have tried in every way to get help to those suffering from the warring factions in Mexico, and even now have \$220,000 in hand to help them, but we cannot get it to them." (N. Y. Times, January 9, 1916).

On March 4th, 1916, the New York Times published excerpts from a Mexican pamphlet in which the Roman Catholic prelates in this country were charged with helping to finance a counter revolution in Mexico, to be conducted under General Diaz. The day following the publication of these charges an answer was made by CARDINAL FARLEY, of New York City. His letter was published in full in the New York Times. He said:

"I frankly admit that I am opposed to this [Carranza] Government which has established itself by appealing to the worst elements in the country, and securing its

power and ascendancy in the early stages of its growth by disregarding every principle of justice and morality. AND I AM CONFIDENT THAT THE DAY IS NOT FAR DISTANT WHEN THE GREAT MASS OF THE MEXICAN PEOPLE WILL BE RELEASED FROM THE TYRANNICAL YOKE IMPOSED UPON THEM!"

The counter revolution in Mexico under General Diaz was started as the pamphlet had predicted, but thus far it has failed. THE ISSUE IS NOW UP TO YOU, MR. VOTER. WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO?

Nearly a year ago several of the Roman Catholic papers referred this Mexican question to the voters. For example, in New Orleans the official organ of the Roman Catholic diocese, *The Morning Star*, said:

"Mr. Wilson's recognition of Carranza, the avowed enemy of the Catholic Church,

is an insult to the Catholics in this country. It is a direct challenge to them, and we hope that not only Catholics but every true lover of freedom WILL GIVE HIM SUCH AN OPEN ANSWER AT THE POLLS as will prove to him that no President of the United States can so flagrantly ignore the lawful and respectful request of 16,000,000 fellow citizens WITHOUT PAYING THE PENALTY." (Current Opinion, Jan. 1916, p. 45.)

THE FACTS ARE THAT THE ROMAN CATHOLIC PRELATES IN OUR UNITED STATES ARE OPPOSED TO PRESIDENT WILSON'S RE-ELECTION, AND THEREFORE ARE CO-OPERATING WITH THE REPUBLICAN ORGANIZATION AND WITH BIG BUSINESS AND INHERENTLY THEY ARE OPPOSED TO THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT. THUS, THE ISSUE IS SQUARELY DRAWN.

Chapter II.

THE REACTIONARY REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN IN INDIANA.

In the New York *World* of October 16th, the following telegraphic letter by Louis Seibold, from Indianapolis, Indiana, says:

"The Republican plan of campaign has been predicated on the theory that with the assistance of the voters of Teutonic origin AND THOSE OF THE CATHOLIC FAITH AND SYMPATHIES. and with the union of the regular and Progressive factions of their party, they are sure of victory in spite of the heavy handicaps imposed by Mr. Hughes and Colonel Roosevelt.

"It is assumed by the Republican leaders, who are openly courting the hyphenate AND CATHOLIC VOTERS, that the influence to which voters of those classes ordinarily respond will lead them to rebuke the Democratic President for his refusal to surrender to the dictation of either. . . .

Catholics and Mexico.

"The only interest displayed by voters in the relations of the Administration with Mexico has obviously been inspired by a propaganda inaugurated by professional Roman Catholic agitators. It is the view of unprejudiced observers that the leaders and spokesmen of the Catholic Church in Indiana are opposing the President BECAUSE OF HIS REFUSAL TO COMPLY WITH THEIR DEMANDS that he compel obedience by the Carranza regime to the ambitions of the church leaders, even if such insistence requires a resort to force and intervention.

"This movement, WHICH IS ASSUMING WIDESPREAD PROPORTIONS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY, particularly in the West, is being extensively exploited by the Republican managers in Indiana.

"An observer is informed that 'the church is opposed to Mr. Wilson'; that 'every priest in the country is secretly counselling his parishioners to vote for Mr. Hughes,' and 'that Cardinals Gib-

bons, Farley and O'Connell are fully aware of the undertaking and are in sympathy with it.'

"No word has come from any of the dignitaries of the church to instance their disapproval of the uses to which the professional agitators, who assume to speak for it, are making of its influences.

"Indiana is being flooded with literature intended to influence the minds of Catholic voters. A thick volume distributed by 'The Catholic Church Extension Society of the United States of America' contains some outrageous attacks on the President, questioning both his personal and official motives in dealing with the Mexican problem.

"It is entitled 'The Book of Red and Yellow,' and the authorship of it is credited to Francis Clement Kelley. It is published in Chicago and several Catholic clergymen are given as sponsors for it. The brochure has this sub-title: 'Being a Story of Blood and a Yellow Streak.'

"There is little question that this publication and others of a similar nature and purpose HAVE EXERCISED CONSIDERABLE INFLUENCE OVER THE MINDS OF A GREAT MANY VOTERS.

"Henry Lane Wilson, former Ambassador to Mexico, is the chief promoter of the Catholic propaganda against President Wilson. He has established himself here to direct it. Under his instruction literature, moving pictures and cart-tail oratory are being provided by the Republican campaign managers.

"The ex-Ambassador is confident that the majority of the Catholic clergy are antagonistic to the President. He told one of his callers to-day that TWENTY-THREE OUT OF THE THIRTY CATHOLIC CLERGYMEN OF INDIANAPOLIS WERE USING THEIR INFLUENCE AGAINST THE PRESIDENT AND IN THE INTEREST OF MR. HUGHES."

Chapter III.

THE LAW AND THE FACTS CONCERNING MEXICO.

Under International law our United States Government is in honor bound to respect the sovereignty of the Republic of Mexico—refrain from attacking her independence.

Also our Government is in honor bound to insist that such of our citizens as are in Mexico shall not be abused nor their property rights be unjustly treated. And inasmuch as the civil war in Mexico resulted in danger to the lives of our citizens who were among them, *principally because the Mexicans distrusted the good faith of our United States Government and of our people who were among them*, our Government ordered them to leave and come home. *Whatever personal rights and property rights have been infringed by the Mexicans or are being infringed by them, should be reported to our Department of State, AND THE MEXICAN STATE-WHENEVER A STABLE GOVERNMENT SHALL BE FULLY ESTABLISHED, WILL BE OBLIGED TO DO ITS FULL DUTY AS GAUGED BY AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL LAW.*

Our troops were ordered into Mexico from the north for our own self-protection. Two or more of these punitive expeditions crossed into Mexico because there were no military forces there that could protect our border. The question of just what arrangement had best be made for our continued protection along the border, and for the withdrawal of the punitive expedition still in Mexico, is being peaceably settled between the two Governments by a joint commission.

This peaceful settlement is the outcome of the application of the doctrine of brotherliness between nations. It is the progressive attitude, as compared with the reactionary attitude, this latter position being founded on short-sighted selfishness which expresses itself as conquest—the robbing of a whole nation and in so doing killing such of its citizens as have the patriotism to fight for their God-given rights, and killing many of our own soldiers, necessarily.

In the light of these principles and the splendid attitude of the Wilson Government, let the people of this country weigh the following declaration by the Republican National Convention of 1916 as to the policy its nominees will pursue in Mexico if elected to office next November:

THE REPUBLICAN PROGRAM TOWARD MEXICO.

"We pledge our aid in restoring order

and maintaining peace in Mexico. We promise to our citizens on or near our border, and to those in Mexico, wherever they may be found, adequate and absolute protection in their lives, liberty and property."

"Absolute protection" to the life and property of our citizens in Mexico is promised, *which means that the United States Government by force of arms would step into Mexico and become the sovereign power.* The going in is not to be contingent upon our being invited in. This is emphatically stated in the opening sentence, *"We pledge our aid in restoring order and maintaining peace in Mexico."* THE ACTUAL ENTRY OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT INTO MEXICAN AFFAIRS IS PLEDGED. In the words of former Speaker Joseph Cannon on the floor of the House, June 28, 1916: "If I had supreme power I would go into Mexico."*

Another way of expressing this policy is to say that conquest is proposed. Conquest "is the act of conquering." And to conquer is to overcome by force. Thus force as distinguished from consent is the essence of conquest, *and it is planned for by the Republican organization for the solution of the Mexican situation. The liberty-loving Mexicans are to be shot and killed.* And this would be no easy job. In the words of Lincoln Steffens, "In Mexico the people all go to war—men, women and children; and they are not afraid to die. In the many instances where they have been stood up against a wall and shot, they never flinched, not one. Therefore a war of subjugation in Mexico would have to be a war of extermination. They have tasted of liberty and will die rather than surrender it."

Because of these qualities in the Mexicans the military experts in our Government reported to President Taft four years ago that the conquest of Mexico would require the services of 250,000 of our fellow citizens in the field with death-dealing instruments for four years. And what for? THE ANSWER IS THAT OUR ENTRY INTO MEXICO FOR PURPOSES OF CONQUEST WOULD BE AS IGNOBLE AS WAS THE CONQUEST OF BELGIUM.

PAN AMERICAN PROGRAM TOWARDS MEXICO.

On the other hand, the idea of the Governments of the American Republics other than Mexico is that Mexican sovereignty

make a treaty with it as we have done with Cuba—that if Mexico does not preserve law and order the United States shall do so." (Page 12451.) The probable cost in American lives and taxes will presently be stated.

* Congressional Record, p. 11680. Again, July 11, 1916, Mr. Cannon in the Congressional Record says: "We can take possession of Mexico and restore law and order and protect the lives and property of our citizens, and when a stable government is organized the United States can

shall be respected. Therefore in case the existing Mexican Government shall be unable to restore order and maintain peace then the necessary aid will be given by the united help of all the other American Republics.

Much discussion has taken place, necessarily, as to just how the Pan American

forces would be used should a time come when, in the judgment of a majority of the Pan American Governments, they should march into MEXICO. BUT AS YET THERE IS NO IDEA AMONG THESE GOVERNMENTS THAT THE PEOPLE OF MEXICO NEED THIS KIND OF OUTSIDE ASSISTANCE. Here in brief are the facts in the case.

THE FACTS ABOUT MEXICO.

On August 5, 1915, the representatives of seven of the Progressive Pan American states met together in Washington to consider the Mexican situation. A few days later they addressed an appeal to the factional leaders in Mexico proposing that they meet in a conference with the Pan American representatives and agree upon a provisional government. General Carranza refused; that plan had been tried and it had failed.

On September 18, the Pan American representatives met in New York. After deliberating and conferring for three weeks, some of the time with a representative of the Carranza Government, they unanimously agreed to recommend to their respective governments that this Carranza Government be recognized. *The unanimous judgment was that this de facto Government possessed more of "the material and moral capacity necessary to protect the lives and property of natives and foreigners," than did any other faction.* At that time the Carranza Government occupied 75 per cent. of Mexico's area.

Before, however, the Pan American representatives granted this recognition they received from First Chief Carranza a promise:

(1) THAT THE LIVES AND PROPERTY OF FOREIGNERS AND NATIVES IN MEXICO WILL BE PROTECTED;

(2) THAT RELIGIOUS FREEDOM WILL BE MAINTAINED;

(3) THAT THE MEMBERS OF RELIGIOUS ORDERS WILL BE PERMITTED TO RETURN AND BE SECURE IN LIFE AND PROPERTY ON CONDITION THAT THEY WILL NOT ENTER POLITICS;

(4) THAT GENERAL AMNESTY BE GRANTED TO MEXICANS, EXCEPTING THE REAL LEADERS OF THE OPPOSING FACTIONS;

(5) THAT THE DE FACTO GOVERNMENT WOULD TAKE STEPS TO RESTORE LAW AND ORDER, PROVIDE FOR GENERAL ELECTIONS AND THE RESTORATION OF THE CONSTITUTIONALIST GOVERNMENT IN MEXICO. (International Year Book, 1915, title Mexico.)

The several Pan American Governments approved the action of their representatives. Carranza agreed to send representatives to each of these countries. Then Nicaragua and Columbia joined with the other seven nations and the United States Government ordered an embargo

upon all shipment of arms from this country into Mexico *except to the Carranza Government.*

THIS CARRANZA GOVERNMENT AT ONCE MADE SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS IN THE SUBJUGATION OF THE OTHER FACTIONS. The larger part of two of the factions quickly surrendered. The leader of a third was killed. Villa, however, refused to yield, but most of his adherents did so. (International Year Book, 1915, title Mexico.)

Great Britain and several of the other European powers recognized the Carranza Government.

While these favorable developments were taking place, former President Huerta returned from Spain to the United States and was permitted to land upon condition that he would not attempt to enter Mexico or Cuba. Later he was discovered in New Mexico in company with another reactionist Mexican General. Both were arrested. The charges against them were that they were planning to start a new revolt. They were released on bail and the general escaped into Mexico where he afterwards was killed. Huerta was reimprisoned.

Also General Diaz was supplied with funds from some source and he started a revolution.

THE TROUBLE HAS BEEN AND IS THAT SOME OF THE RICH PROPERTY-OWNERS, OF MEXICO—RESIDENTS AND NON-RESIDENTS, AND POSSIBLY SOME OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC HIERARCHY (see page 3, above), ARE USING PART OF THEIR WEALTH TO FINANCE UPRISING, AIMING TO PREVENT THE MEXICAN PEOPLE FROM RESTORING THEIR LIBERTIES. In the words of President Wilson after the raid by Villa and his bandits on Columbus, New Mexico, which caused the sending forth of the punitive expedition into Mexico:

"THERE WERE PERSONS ALONG THE BORDER ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN CREATING FRICTION BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE DE FACTO GOVERNMENT OF MEXICO FOR THE PURPOSE OF BRINGING ABOUT INTERVENTION IN THE INTEREST OF CERTAIN OWNERS OF MEXICAN PROPERTIES."

Among the property owners in Mexico is the Roman Catholic Hierarchy. The motive of those who caused the invasion of our border was to bring about intervention.

In that Columbus raid 11 of our civilians were killed and 3 United States sol-

diers; and also 27 of the invading force. Previous to this time the number of our people on this side of the border who had been killed by Mexican bandits or mere thieves who had crossed over into our territory, had been 20 civilians and 16 soldiers. In Mexico the number of our people who had been killed during the three years preceding the Columbus raid was 76, as compared with the death of 47 of our people in Mexico during the three preceding years. (Secretary Lansing in a memorandum to the Senate.)

Nearly all of the troubles of our people in Mexico have been caused by the Mexican people's distrust of us, as they have firmly believed that we as a nation are planning to capture their Government and rule their country—rule it in the interest of the Few, as did President Diaz. That has been and is a leading cause of the enmity against our citizens in Mexico. We are looked upon as would-be robbers. AMONG THE MEXICAN PEOPLE THEMSELVES THE WAR IS PRACTICALLY OVER. The number of armed men in the field against the Carranza Government about September first, this year, was down to 12,000, in the thinly-settled areas. (Joseph de Courey, in N. Y. Times, September 10, 1916). If the Mexican people believed that they could trust us we could go back into Mexico and go to work.

ALREADY THERE ARE TWENTY TIMES MORE SCHOOLS IN MEXICO THAN EXISTED UNDER THE LONG-ESTABLISHED DIAZ GOVERNMENT.

This vast change has come about from the restoration of local self-government, along with home rule in the States and the establishment of Progressive State Governments, in co-operation with the Carranza National Government.

In State affairs many reforms in the land laws have been enacted. The lands in common which were taken from the public by the Diaz Reactionary Government are being restored. The immense agricultural estates are being broken up, as in New Zealand. Progressive labor laws are being enacted. In some parts of Mexico the farmers and the wage-earners are each organized to some extent and are a balance of power in these Progressive Mexican Governments, the same as in our own United States Government, and the other progressive governments throughout the world.

In the State of Yucatan, for example, where only a few foreign investors exist to complicate the situation, the revolutionary fighting was finished two years ago and the new order is far along. The people in place of being real slaves tied to their masters, and without education, are now free and there are 2,400 public schools, part of which are continued at night for the benefit of the adults. The lands which formerly were held in common and then were taken from the people, have been returned to them and 40,000 of the 50,000 families have each purchased

forty acres of land agreeing to pay gold, backed by the guarantee of Yucatan. Child labor under thirteen years is abolished; up-to-date factory regulations are in operation, together with compulsory arbitration of disputes between employers and employees. All of this is being accomplished by the native population, principally, descendants of those whom the Spaniards conquered and who previously had had a wonderful civilization, as the ancient ruins demonstrate. (N. Y. Times, October 1, 1916.)

Laws restricting the use of intoxicating liquor have been enacted, with excellent results, the same as among us.

The army is being reorganized and in such a manner as to be less readily used for political rivalries and tyrannies.

First Chief Carranza is honest and he is not a dictator. AND HE AND HIS COLLEAGUES ARE CUTTING OUT PRIVATE MONOPOLIES AS FAR AS POSSIBLE.

These qualities in the existing Mexican National Government are testified to from various sources. We have the following from Lincoln Steffens, the "true-blue" American of whom all of us have at least heard:

LINCOLN STEFFENS' TESTIMONY.

"One day in Mexico City a big American concessionaire was damning Carranza," says Steffen. "I remarked," continues Steffen, "that he didn't put dishonesty into the catalogue of his faults." "Oh, no," he answered, "he's honest. We know that." And with a laugh, he added: "We know it, because we tried him."

"But," says Steffen, "there is dishonesty in the Carranza party; lots of it. When you break down, as this Mexican earthquake has done, the big, orderly system of regular 'honest' graft, then a vast amount of petty graft takes its place. . . . Mexico is having just now her Tweed days.

"Carranza is not a dictator. Only the foreigners want another 'strong man.' The First Chief is building his power slowly but steadily, AND HE IS TRYING TO BUILD IT DEMOCRATICALLY. He is going all over Mexico to meet his people, get their confidence and by and by get their votes. It's like an American political campaign. Only Carranza does not make many speeches, and those he does make are short, plain, not exciting. He is no demagogue. . . .

"The First Chief and his inner circle need the power of the people to awe and check the power of the outer circle of second chiefs, and third, and fourth, and his enemies and Mexico's enemies. He is the head now of an oligarchy; his power is military; it is made up of the powers contributed by the uncertain loyalties of generals and chiefs. . . . EVERYBODY IS WITH HIM NOW, OR PRETENDS TO BE. MILITARY

POWER BROOKS NO FREE SPEECH."—(*Everybody's Magazine*, June, 1916.)

THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT.

This Military Government is dominant in civil affairs and is expressing itself by means of orders. In this way it has recognized the several reformed State Governments and the reformed local governments, and has temporarily settled the National issues. For example, the State Governments have no jurisdiction over the public domain, the power being vested in the National Government. THE ELECTION OF DELEGATES TO A NATIONAL CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION HAS BEEN ORDERED, TO BE FOLLOWED BY THE ELECTION OF MEMBERS OF A CONGRESS AND A PRESIDENT. In the meantime by acts of the State Governments approved by the National Military Government there is being restored to the people the lands which were taken from them unconstitutionally, and the industrial system is being recast. From time to time, however, some law is enacted or is proposed which our Secretary of State believes to be in violation of American International law and he so states to Mexico's representative.

The serious trouble has principally come from the wealthy few and the Roman Catholics priests. But the danger has been successfully overcome *owing to support for the Carranza National Government* BY THE PAN-AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS AND BY THE EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS, as we have shown. *The present danger is that the voters in our own United States may be deceived by Big Business and the other Reactionists, RESULTING IN THE RESTORATION TO POWER OF THE REPUBLICAN ORGANIZATION IN THIS COUNTRY, PLEDGED TO GO INTO MEXICO AND BECOME ITS OWNER.*

We have yet to present President Wilson's statement in his own defense. Preceding it is an outline of Mexican political history.

MEXICAN HISTORY, 1810-1916.

In 1821 most of the people to the south of the United States, in Central and South America, after eleven years of warfare won their independence from Spain. In Mexico there was first an Empire and then a Progressive Republic. After fourteen years of this new order a Reactionary Dictatorship was established. This occurred in 1835. Later, the people won back their freedom. Again they lost it. Then during the years 1855 to 1861 was successfully fought *The War of Reform*. AT ONCE THE MEXICAN REACTIONISTS SUCCEEDED IN ENLISTING SOME OF THE EUROPEAN REACTIONISTS TO COME OVER AND HELP THEM. Taking as a pretext the failure of the Liberal Mexican Government to pay the interest on the public debt, *the governments of France, Spain and Great*

Britain sent troops into Mexico. Shortly thereafter Great Britain and Spain withdrew their troops. THE FRENCH AND THE MEXICAN REACTIONISTS MANAGED TO RE-ESTABLISH AN EMPIRE, PLACING ON THE THRONE MAXIMILLIAN, AN AUSTRIAN AND A ROMAN CATHOLIC.

Toward the close of our Civil War our Government notified the French Roman Catholic Government that it must withdraw its forces from this continent. This was completed in 1867, and then *the Liberal Mexican forces under President Juarez recaptured the Mexican Government*.

This Liberal Mexican Government continued for five years until the death of Juarez, 1872. This Government established Free Institutions. Upon the death of President Juarez his successor was a Liberal and the Progressive Government continued in power for four years, until overthrown by a Reactionist Revolution under the leadership of General Porfiro Diaz. Diaz thus became President, and at the head of the Reactionists he ruled from 1876 to 1910, a period of 34 years, at which time under the leadership of Francisco I. Madero, a highly educated gentleman and a patriot, he was unseated. Diaz fled to Europe.

Under the Presidency of Diaz, Mexico had been opened up to Big Business. At first the concessions granted were reasonably fair. *But during the years following 1876, at a time when all of the progressive countries of the world went backward into reactionism, MEXICO DID LIKEWISE.* A system of peonage was gradually re-introduced. The lands held in common for the use of all the people were sold. And as Mexico grew rich the Mexican people grew poor. Madero raised the standard of revolt in 1910 and won.

Again Reaction got in its work. Madero's own leading general, Huerta, tricked him, and then while Huerta held Madero as prisoner he caused him to be murdered. Huerta then wired the Taft Government at Washington, "I have overthrown the Government, and henceforth peace and order will reign."

President Taft refused to recognize Huerta, as he had a perfect right to do. It is only *armed intervention* that is prohibited by international law. President Taft continued his policy of leaving the Mexican people to settle for themselves the question of who should become the ruling power. On February 26, 1912, just before President Taft retired from office, he said:

PRESIDENT TAFT'S ATTITUDE.

"WE MUST AVOID IN EVERY WAY WHAT IS CALLED INTERVENTION AND USE ALL PATIENCE POSSIBLE, with the prayer that some power may arise there to bring about peace to that troubled country. . . . *But*

I have no sympathy—none at all, and the charge of cowardice does not frighten me—WITH THAT WHICH PROMPTS US FOR PURPOSE OF EXPLOITATION AND GAIN TO INVAD^e ANOTHER COUNTRY AND INVOLVE OURSELVES IN A WAR, THE EXTENT OF WHICH WE COULD NOT REALIZE, AND THE SACRIFICE OF THOUSANDS OF LIVES AND OF MILLIONS OF TREASURES.”

Here is a Republican precedent for President Wilson's Mexican policy.

And there is still another precedent, that of President Lincoln at the time when the European Roman Catholics were claiming that the welfare of humanity demanded that they step in and take charge in Mexico. This they afterward did temporarily, as we have described, owing to our Government being engaged in civil war. Near the beginning of the European talk of intervention in Mexico, President Lincoln, through his Secretary of State, wrote as follows to the Mexican Secretary of State:

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S ATTITUDE.

“For a few years past the condition of Mexico has been so unsettled as to raise the question on both sides of the Atlantic whether the time has not come when some foreign power ought, in the interest of society generally, to intervene—to establish a protectorate or some form of government in that country and guarantee its continuance there. YOU WILL NOT FAIL TO ASSURE THE GOVERNMENT OF MEXICO THAT THE PRESIDENT NEITHER HAS, NOR CAN EVER HAVE, ANY SYMPATHY WITH SUCH DESIGNS, IN WHATEVER QUARTER THEY MAY ARISE OR WHATEVER CHARACTER THEY MAY TAKE ON. The President never for a moment doubts that the Republican system is to pass safely through all ordeals and prove a permanent success in our own country, and so be recommended for adoption by all the other nations. *But he thinks also that the system everywhere has to make its way painfully through difficulties and embarrassments WHICH RESULT FROM THE ACTION OF ANTAGONISTIC ELEMENTS WHICH ARE A LEGACY OF FORMER TIMES AND VERY DIFFERENT INSTITUTIONS.* The President is hopeful of the ultimate triumph of this system over all obstacles as well in regard to Mexico as in regard to every other American State; BUT HE FEELS THAT THOSE STATES ARE NEVERTHELESS JUSTLY ENTITLED TO A GREATER FORBEARANCE AND MORE GENEROUS SYMPATHIES FROM THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES THAN THEY ARE LIKELY TO RECEIVE IN ANY OTHER QUARTER.”

President Lincoln's hopes for Mexico were realized.

And equally so, undoubtedly, will be the hopes and the faith of President Taft and President Wilson. Following is what President Wilson said in his annual message of December, 1915:

PRESIDENT WILSON'S ATTITUDE.

“FROM THE FIRST WE HAVE MADE COMMON CAUSE WITH ALL PARTISANS OF LIBERTY ON THIS SIDE THE SEA, and have deemed it as important that our neighbors should be free from all outside domination as that we ourselves should be; this continent as a whole having been set aside for independent nations and politically free men.”

In a preceding portion of his message President Wilson said:

“All the Governments of America stand, as far as we are concerned, upon a footing of genuine equality and unquestioned independence.

“WE HAVE BEEN PUT TO THE TEST IN THE CASE OF MEXICO, AND WE HAVE STOOD THE TEST. Whether we have benefited Mexico by the course we have pursued remains to be seen. HER FORTUNES ARE IN HER OWN HANDS. But we have at least proved that we will not take advantage of her in her distress and undertake to impose upon her an order and government of our own choosing. Liberty is often a fierce and intractable thing, to which no bounds can be set, and to which no bounds of a few men's choosing ought ever to be set. Every American who has drunk at the true fountain of principle and tradition must subscribe without reservation to the high doctrine of the Virginia Bill of Rights, which in the great days in which our Government was set up was everywhere among us accepted as the creed of free men.

“That doctrine is, ‘that government is, or ought to be, instituted for the common benefit, protection, and security of the people, nation, or community’; that ‘of all the various modes and forms of government, that is the best which is capable of producing the greatest degree of happiness and safety, and is most effectually secured against the danger of maladministration; and that when any government shall be found inadequate or contrary to these purposes, a majority of the community hath an indubitable, inalienable, and indefeasible right to reform, alter, or abolish it, in such manner as shall be judged most conducive to the public weal.’ WE HAVE UNHESITATINGLY APPLIED THAT HEROIC PRINCIPLE TO THE CASE IN MEXICO AND NOW HOPEFULLY AWAIT THE RE-BIRTH OF THE TROUBLED REPUBLIC, WHICH HAD SO MUCH OF WHICH TO PURGE ITSELF AND SO LITTLE SYMPATHY FROM ANY OUTSIDE QUARTER IN THE RADICAL BUT NECESSARY PROCESS. We will aid and befriend Mexico, BUT WE WILL NOT COERCE HER, and our course with regard to her ought to be sufficient proof to all America that we seek no political suzerainty or selfish control.”

Early in 1916 as the time for selecting a Republican Presidential nominee drew near several of the aspirants demanded

intervention in Mexico, and in reply the following editorial appeared in the *New York Times* of January 16:

NEW YORK TIMES' EDITORIAL.

"In view of the recognition of Carranza as the defacto ruler of Mexico NO OTHER COURSE BUT TO PERMIT HIM TO SUBDUDE THE CRIMINAL ELEMENT IN THE MEXICAN POPULATION WOULD BE CONSISTENT. To depart from it could endanger our friendly relations with the other Latin-American countries, end all hope of the pacification of Mexico by Mexicans under Constitutional direction, and would tend to unite all factions in that country against us."

ATTITUDE OF REPUBLICAN POLITICIANS.

One month later, February, 1916, at the New York State Republican convention, the chairman was former Senator Elihu Root, and *he urged armed intervention in Mexico.*

The next day on the floor of Congress he was answered by Senator Lewis, of Illinois, who pointed out that while there were serious disorders in Mexico during President Taft's administration, still Mr. Root did not urge armed intervention; but that now, when he believes that his party can gain an advantage by urging it, he is pressing the demand. Senator Lewis added:

"What is the meaning of this strange hypocrisy of statesmanship?" (Congressional Record, Feb. 19, 1916.)

In the present campaign former Senator Beveridge, of Indiana, in a widely distributed speech, said:

"There are only two sane courses to take in Mexico—to go in and restore order to the anarchy-maddened creatures of that country, or to keep out and leave them to their mutual destruction."

The truth is, that for some months the Carranza Government has been in unmolested control of nearly the entire area throughout Mexico. September first, 1916, 12,000 of the 13,000 miles of Mexican railroads were being operated under the jurisdiction of the Carranza Government. Exports from the United States to Mexico for the year ending June, 1916, were almost as large as the year before the Revolution began; and on September first, this year, our imports from Mexico during 1916 were thirty-five per cent. greater than for 1906. During August, 1916, the earnings of the Government railroads in Mexico were nearly forty times larger than 18 months before. (*Literary Digest*, Sept. 30, 1916. In the words of John Barrett, Director-General of the Pan-American Union, in an address in New York City, April 10, 1916: "THERE IS NOW NO REVOLUTION IN MEXICO, BUT AN EVOLUTION." And he added:

DIRECTOR-GENERAL BARRETT'S STATEMENT.

"I want you to realize that from 1861 to 1865 we had a greater revolution than

was ever known in Mexico, and that during the ten years following it some parts of our country were in chaos."

Continuing, he said: "THE SOVEREIGNTY OF A NATION IS ITS GREATEST POSSESSION. So without making any observations regarding our Mexican policy, I invite you to remember, *that there are two sides in every story.* I BELIEVE THAT MEXICO WILL STRAIGHTEN OUT AND BE A PEACEFUL AND POWERFUL NATION IN THE PAN-AMERICAN UNION. We all want to see peace in Mexico, *but we want to see peace with respect for national sovereignty.*" *New York Times*, April 11, 1916.)

Summary and Conclusion—The Issues Joined.

Isn't it clear that the people of Mexico should be left free to work out their own reforms? The principal difficulty for some time has been that Big Business has been using a portion of its wealth to stir up strife; and there, as in our own country, there has been strife between some of the Germans and the Government, and Clericalism is a live issue. But recall the words of Director-General Barrett of the Pan-American Union: "There is now no revolution in Mexico, but evolution." IF AT ANY TIME OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE IS NEEDED THE PAN-AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS WHICH OFFICIALLY RECOGNIZED THE CARRANZA GOVERNMENT, CAN AGAIN ACT JOINTLY, SIMILARLY TO THE WAY THE LEADING GOVERNMENTS OF EARTH ACTED AT THE TIME OF THE BOXER UPRISING IN CHINA.

The underlying connection between President Wilson and his Mexican policy is his sympathy for the Mexican people. In his own words in his recent speech of acceptance: "The people of Mexico are striving for the rights that are fundamental to life and happiness—15,000,000 oppressed men, overburdened women, and pitiful children in virtual bondage in their own home of fertile lands and inexhaustible treasure! Some of the leaders of the revolution may often have been mistaken and violent and selfish, BUT THE REVOLUTION ITSELF WAS INEVITABLE AND IS RIGHT."

On the other hand there are the strong and selfish interests that are doing their utmost to terminate the Mexican Progressive Governments. *Will these Reactionists succeed? WILL YOU AID THEM BY YOUR VOTE?*

Tremendously more is involved than the welfare of the Mexican people: *The liberties of our own 100,000,000 people are at stake! If the Republican Organization is voted back into power in our National Government it will not only send our soldier boys into Mexico to be shot and killed by the thousands, BUT AMONG OURSELVES THERE WILL BE A RESTORATION OF THE SPECIAL INTERESTS! WE OURSELVES, WOULD*

GO BACK INTO BONDAGE. Don't overlook that fact.

In the words of the Commission on Peace and Arbitration of the Protestant Churches of Christ in America:

"War with Mexico will set back all the gains of the peace movement a generation, discouraging the Churches and even prohibit our leading in forming Leagues for Peace, World Courts or doing any constructive work, AND WILL TEND TO FASTEN MILITARISM UPON OUR OWN COUNTRY."

Also the people in the other Latin-American Republics will realize that they have to deal with buccaneers. All of which would interfere frightfully with our trade with them—all for the short-sighted selfishness of the Reactionists.

The fact is that the Republican National

Convention deliberately planned for a return to the old-time over-lordship by the United States throughout Latin-America if the Reactionists are returned to power on November 7th. The platform declaration concerning Latin-America expressly says:

"We favor the continuance of *Republican policies* [as distinguished from the New Pan Americanism]."

History plainly tells what the Republican policies toward Latin-America have been—policies described by James G. Blaine and others, setting forth how the Latin-Americans were used in such a manner by Reactionist United States Governments that they became more and more unfriendly toward us, culminating in our conquest of Porto Rico, the Philippines and Panama.

Chapter IV.

ROMAN CATHOLIC PRELATES IN THE UNITED STATES ARE FIGHTING AGAINST FREEDOM FOR THE PHILIPPINE PEOPLE, AIDED BY BIG BUSINESS AND THE REPUBLICAN ORGANIZATION.

An outline of Philippine history is set forth in our opening statement. The undisputed evidence shows that the Roman Catholic prelates in the United States are fighting against freedom for the Philippine people, aided by Big Business and the Republican Organization. The Republican platform is as follows:

RENEWAL OF CONQUEST IN THE PHILIPPINES.

"We renew our allegiance to the Philippine policy inaugurated by McKinley, approved by [a Republican] Congress, and consistently carried out by Roosevelt and Taft."

Here is a flat-footed declaration for the policy of Conquest and the holding of Subjects, the exact opposite of Republicanism and Democracy. The existing Democratic National Government has promised independence to the people of the Philippines, and more and more of their citizens are being placed in charge of their own government. On July 7, 1916, the Associated Press stated that "some of the biggest shifts in the personnel of the Government of the Philippines in recent years are now occurring. (N. Y. *Evening Post*, Aug. 5, 1916.)

The difference between aiding the people of the Philippine Islands to become free—self-governing as rapidly as they are able, under a promise of thus aiding them, and the opposite policy of conquest—the taking possession of a people as political slaves and continuing to hold

them as such, is of transcendent importance. *Only the reactionists or the misinformed have insisted that the promise of freedom be withheld.* AND THE REACTIONISTS IN THIS COUNTRY ARE THE ONES WHO, THROUGH THE ILLEGITIMATE USE OF MONEY AND THE AID OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC HIERARCHY, HAVE FOR TWENTY YEARS OR MORE DOMINATED THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTIONS AND THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS. ONE OF THE RESULTS WAS THE BUILDING UP OF THE VAST PRIVATE MONOPOLIES IN THIS COUNTRY, THE TRUSTS, THEREBY ROBBING OUR OWN PEOPLE. But in 1910 these few lost control of the National House, and two years later, 1912, lost control of the Senate and the White House. That year the People made a clean sweep. Some of the changes in legislation that have since come about are described in this pamphlet.

This year is the first Presidential election since the Reactionists were turned out of power and THE SUBJECT MATTER OF THIS YEAR'S REPUBLICAN NATIONAL PLATFORM COMPLETELY DEMONSTRATES THE FACT THAT THESE FEW DOMINATED THE CONVENTION WHICH PUT IT FORTH. One portion of this evidence is the declaration for there-establishment of conquest in the Philippines; another portion of the evidence is the statement "We favor [towards Latin America] a continuance of Republican policies"—policies decidedly different from the New Pan Americanism; and a third section of the evidence is the declaration for the conquest of Mexico. We now present a fourth reactionary plank in the Republican platform.

Chapter V.

WORLD-PEACE PROGRAMS COMPARED.

The reactionary Republican plank referred to is as follows:

"We believe in the pacific settlement of international disputes and favor the establishment of a *World Court* for that purpose."

The establishment of a World Court would still leave the United States free to enter upon a buccaneering policy. THE PLATFORM COMMITTEE OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION REFUSED TO ADOPT THE PLAN FOR A LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE. Therefore if the Republicans are voted into office by you, the American people, our country will be pledged only to help establish a World Court, and will be opposed to our entering into a World Federation to Prevent Aggression; WHEREAS THE EXISTING DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL GOVERNMENT HAS OFFERED TO DO SO. Should a Republican Government be established it would refuse on the grounds that it would be wrong to enter into such an organization—that it would become an entangling foreign alliance.

Thus one of the issues to be voted upon in November is:

SHALL THE UNITED STATES WITHDRAW ITS OFFER TO ENTER A WORLD LEAGUE TO PREVENT AGGRESSION?

Do you say Yes or No?

Furthermore, the existing Democratic National Government in its Naval Appropriation act of some months ago instructs the President "to invite, at an appropriate time, not later than the close of the war in Europe, ALL THE GREAT GOVERNMENTS OF THE WORLD TO SEND REPRESENTATIVES TO A CONFERENCE WHICH SHALL BE CHARGED WITH THE DUTY OF FORMULATING A PLAN FOR A COURT OF ARBITRATION OR OTHER TRIBUNAL, to which disputed questions between nations shall be referred for adjudication and peaceful settlement, AND TO CONSIDER THE QUESTION OF DISARMAMENT AND SUBMIT THEIR RECOMMENDATION TO THEIR RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS FOR APPROVAL." The President is further authorized "to appoint nine citizens of the United States, who, in his judgment, shall be qualified for the mission by eminence in the law and by devotion to the cause of peace, to be representatives of the United States in such a conference." Two hundred thousand dollars is appropriated for expenses. And this law further provides that whenever international organization "shall render unnecessary the maintenance of competitive armaments, then, and in that case such naval expenditures as may be inconsistent with the engagements made in the establishment of such tribunal or tribunals may be suspended, when so ordered by the President of the United States."

This is ideal! It is the largest and grandest political program the world has ever witnessed. The progressive United States Government is offering to join the nations of Europe, Asia, Africa and America in establishing permanent peace and gradual disarmament on the basis of equal national rights.

This and the whole general policy of the existing DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL GOVERNMENT is in the People's behalf and may be described as *Preparedness Plus*.

In opposition is the REPUBLICAN NATIONAL ORGANIZATION, the mouth-piece for the Roman Catholic Hierarchy, Big Business, and other Reactionists, and this Republican Organization pledges in this year's platform that if restored to power in our National Government it will stand for *Preparedness and Aggression*—AGGRESSION BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD. That is, the few men who during the existence of the recent Republican National Government constituted the Special Interests—the Trusts, are trying to return to power; also the Roman Catholic clergy is trying to again become a balance of power in this country. Should these reactionary elements succeed they manifestly would re-establish the policy of aggression at home—the robbing of the people through the restoration of monopoly prices, combined with various other forms of domestic aggression; and the Republican national platform expressly declares for foreign aggression, as we have demonstrated.

Clearly, then, the Republican National Organization has proposed an immoral program—a proposal for unlawful and murderous attack upon the men, women and children of Mexico; also conquest in the Philippines—together with a refusal to aid in the attainment of World Peace—a straight-out reactionary program! How can a true American vote for it?

The Republican National Convention spoke plainly. Its platform committee, headed by Senator Lodge, stated in unmistakable language a series of declarations for the restoration of the policies which had been in operation under the Republican National Government of 1898 to March 4, 1913. And if a Republican Congress shall be elected in November the dominant element will be the same immoral interests that ruled within the Republican National Convention. THESE INTERESTS ARE SUPPLYING A MAMMOTH CAMPAIGN FUND AND IF THEY SUCCEED IN COUNTING IN THEIR MEN THEY WILL CONTROL THEIR ACTIONS. WILL YOU VOTE THEIR TICKET? THE ROMAN CATHOLIC PRELATES ARE SUPPORTING THE REPUBLICAN NOMINEES. [Pages 3-4, above.]

THE CALL FOR HELP FROM EUROPE.

Bear in mind that in Europe both sides in the present war are asserting that permanent world peace should be planned for, and we know that our stupendous United States of America, the Colossus of the West, is a balance of power. Therefore, if we will enter into the undertaking at the close of the war THE PLAN WILL SUCCEED, AND WITHOUT US IT WILL FAIL. THEREFORE AS THE VOTE IS CAST IN THE FORTHCOMING ELECTION, SO WILL THE DECISION BE FOR OR AGAINST WORLD PEACE. In the words of Lord Bryce, former Ambassador to this country from Great Britain:

"The creation of some international alliance embracing all peace-loving nations

could hardly succeed without the co-operation of the greatest of all the neutral nations, the United States of America. With that co-operation, difficult as the efforts to construct such a scheme will be, there is at least a REAL HOPE OF SUCCESS. Largely in vain will this war have been fought and all these sufferings endured if the peoples of the world are to fall back into a state of permanent alarm and suspicion, and each would be weighted down by the frightful burden of armaments." (Manchester Guardian, cabled to N. Y. Times, Oct. 3, 1916.)

THE IMPORTANCE, THEREFORE, OF A RIGHT DECISION IN THIS COUNTRY ON ELECTION DAY CANNOT BE OVER ESTIMATED.

Part III.

GENERAL SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

Reviewing as a whole the issues set forth in the preceding chapters, we see that there exist among our people the forces of Progress and the forces of Reaction. The forces of progress are operating through the existing National Government plus the Progressives and the Progressive Republicans in Congress, removing legal privileges at home and extending a brotherly hand abroad. Peace treaties have been entered into with such nations of the world as would accept them. Joinder of the American Republics for self-defense and for the interchange of trade has been brought about except that Mexico is still in the throes of civil discord and the reactionary element both in Mexico and the United States is seeking to bring about intervention and ownership by our government.

Opposed to the re-election of the men who constitute our Progressive National Government ARE THE FORCES OF REACTION, AIMING TO RESTORE THE LEGAL PRIVILEGES RECENTLY WRUNG FROM THEM, BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD. The men who, under the Taft regime, were the Special Interests are trying to creep back into power. Call their names and you will find that each one of them is a Reactionary Republican. THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM GOES SO FAR AS TO ADMIT THAT NO LONGER ARE THERE ANY SPECIAL INTERESTS IN EXISTENCE NATIONALLY IN THIS COUNTRY. The wording of the platform is that the existing National Government is "persecuting" big business; while as to foreign affairs the declaration is, "We renew our allegiance to the Philippine policy inaugu-

rated by McKinley." And it pledges further that if restored to power next November it will conquer Mexico, violate its sovereignty and hold the Mexicans as subjects—political slaves. Therefore the Republican platform refuses to declare for the new Pan Americanism, as that would necessitate the application of brotherhood and a strict observance of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Latin-American Republics. The wording of the platform is "We favor [towards Latin America] the continuance of Republican policies." Thus the ideals of Blaine, Garfield and Harrison and other Progressive Republicans are openly spat upon!

Consistent with these reactionary schemes is the further statement that "for the pacific settlement of international disputes" we "favor the establishment of a World Court, well knowing that this of itself would be ineffectual. The plan for a World Court must be coupled with an international agreement to prevent conquest and enforce the peaceful settlement of all international disputes.

Under such a Republican program an increase of military and naval preparedness if placed in charge of a Republican Congress would be USED FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE RESTORED SPECIAL INTERESTS, BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD. IT WOULD BE PREPAREDNESS PLUS AGGRESSION, BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD.

On the other hand if the voters of the United States shall next November continue in office the men who have wrought in this country the national reforms of the past four years, there will be a continu-

ance of the NEW FREEDOM, both at home and abroad. The men who are conducting Big Business will be obliged to deal more and more justly with the public. The needed reforms will continue to be wrought while continuing to guard the reforms already achieved. Abroad there will be a continuance of fair dealing and cooperation, tremendously profitable to all of our legitimate interests. There will be a continuance of the New Pan Americanism, added to which will be the farther developments now under way. *The sovereignty of Mexico will not be infringed nor a foot of her territory be taken, BECAUSE A STABLE GOVERNMENT CAN, IF NECESSARY, BE INAUGURATED UNDER PAN-AMERICAN AUSPICES.* Our prevention of bandit raids upon the United States will not, under the existing National Government, result in the loss of Mexico's sovereignty. Of transcendent importance will be the fact that we, the people of the United States a nation 100,000,000 strong, will actively take a hand in helping to establish World Peace.

These are the two sides in the existing campaign—the Progressive and the Reactionary sides. *The existing National Government is NOT the representative of the men who formerly were the Special Interests, THEREFORE YOU, MR. AMERICAN CITIZEN, HAVE A TRUE GUIDE FOR DETERMINING IN WHICH OF THE TWO OPPOSING CAMPS YOU BELONG.*

Do not permit the Opposition leaders in this country to deceive you. THEY ARE TRYING TO GET BACK INTO POWER. Their personal future is wrapped up in it; whereas you who are mere voters have no such self-interest. YOUR SELF-INTEREST IS FOR THE AVOIDANCE OF CONQUEST IN MEXICO AND THE MAINTENANCE OF PREPAREDNESS UNTIL SUCH TIME AS COMPETITION IN ARMAMENT IS TERMINATED. ALSO YOUR SELF-INTEREST IS FOR THE CONTINUANCE OF THE INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL REFORMS ALREADY ACHIEVED, AND THE GOING FORWARD WITH ADDITIONAL REFORMS. *Elect the Opposition and we as a nation will go in the opposite direction.* Do you want that? Certainly not. Then the only thing to do if you are a Republican is to "scratch" your ticket and vote to continue in office the existing National Government. That is as plain as that two and two are four. Either we go forward or backward. And you do

not have to leave your party to vote right—merely scratch your ticket.

As you have observed, doubtless, the Opposition's plan of campaign is to attempt to please the pro-German and the pro-Allies, also the Roman Catholic prelates, and the Patriotic vote. This may attract unthinking people; WILL IT DECEIVE YOU? Will both the pro-Allies and the pro-Germans, and the Roman prelates and the devotees of Free Institutions be brought to vote for the Opposition—the Reactionists?

Also notice that the forces that are actually back of the Opposition—the Reactionists—include all of the evil interests. FOR EXAMPLE, THE MEN WHO DURING THE EXISTENCE OF THE REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT POSSESSED SPECIAL PRIVILEGES AND ARE NOW TRYING TO GET THEM BACK. The mere possibility of Republican success in November as indicated by the Maine election has sent the railroad stocks soaring. *meaning that rate regulations would be relaxed*—THAT THE PEOPLE WOULD BE ROBBED, ACCOMPANIED BY A HUNDRED-AND-ONE OTHER EVILS. Can't you realize what would come about should the reactionists be returned to power? One thing would be real militarism, coupled with a refusal to aid in the formation of the Federation of the World and the securing of World Peace.

The real self-interest of the German-Americans and of all other citizens is for the brotherhood plan—the formation of the United States of the World, to which the existing Democratic Government is committed and which has provided for the calling of the necessary Conference of Nations. That is the road to permanent peace and ultimate disarmament on the basis of equal national rights. Who in his right mind can vote against it? *The Republican leaders, however, are staking their hope of success upon capturing the German-American Democrats, AND THE LINCOLN (NEB.) Freie Presse BOASTS THAT "OUT OF 28 DAILY AND 238 WEEKLY GERMAN DEMOCRATIC NEWSPAPERS THAT ARE PUBLISHED IN THIS COUNTRY, NOT ONE SUPPORTS MR. WILSON'S CANDIDACY."*

Also the Republican leaders are being supported by SUCH OF THE ROMAN CATHOLICS AS WILL FOLLOW THEIR CHURCH LEADERS.

And the Republican leaders are planning to secure the vote of the Patriotic

Societies because Secretary Tumulty is a Catholic; and secure the vote of a big percentage of the pro-Allies among those who were Progressives in 1912; and at the same time hold most of their own Republican members who are pro-Ally. BUT SURELY NO WIDE-AWAKE PRO-ALLY WILL CO-OPERATE WITH THE PRO-GERMANS TO TURN OUT OF OFFICE THE EXISTING NATIONAL GOVERNMENT; NOR WILL A REALLY TRUE AMERICAN VOTE TO RESTORE THE ROMAN CATHOLIC priests in Mexico, and make Roman Catholic priests a balance of power in our Government. The fact is that in this World Crisis a new alignment is being made and we should look to the big issues—the establishment of a World League to Prevent Aggression; also the maintenance of the existing Brotherhood of the American Republics, especially for mutual defense against a foreign foe; the maintenance of Mexican Independence—especially as it will also result in our own freedom; the going forward with Adequate Preparedness until competition in armament is ended; the continued development of Foreign Trade and that Home Industries shall be sufficiently protected, as they now are, subject to revision from time to time by the forthcoming Non-Partisan Tariff Commission; the continued expansion of Industrial Freedom—death to the Trusts; and that the splendid beginnings in Social Justice shall go forward.

These constitute Progress—the Democratic Highway. The opposition party, the Republican Organization, financed by would-be Monopolists and other sinister interests, and aided by the Roman Catholic prelates, is making frantic efforts to re-capture the National Government. Reaction is being worked for. READER, WILL THEY GET YOUR VOTE? Forewarned is forearmed! VOTE FOR YOUR OWN INTERESTS AND THE WELFARE OF THE WORLD! In the words of Thomas A. Edison: "The times are too serious to talk or think in terms of Republicanism or Democracy. Real Americans must drop parties and get down to big fundamental principles." *Reader, we invite you to a careful self-examination of yourself!*

*To-day at the Pope's court there are representatives of each of the great civil powers that are in the War except France. (International Year Book, 1915, title Ro-

In this connection bear in mind that the following issues are overshadowing all others:

1. Shall the American people permit an American President to be driven from office by a foreign element BECAUSE HE HAS DARED TO MAINTAIN OUR AMERICAN RIGHTS—dared to compel the German Government to live up to International law? Also—

2. Shall the American people permit a Progressive President to be driven from office THROUGH THE UNITED EFFORTS OF REACTIONARY ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIESTS?

The answer is that our own self-respect and our own self-interest COMPEL US AMERICANS TO SUPPORT OUR PRESIDENT. We cannot consent that our Government shall become subordinated to the Prussian Kaiser and the Pope at Rome, the latter being an absolute monarch exercising civil power* and who is opposed to human liberty.** The raising of these issues in this year's campaign by the Germans and the Political Romanists compel the rest of us to vote together. No other solution is practicable. In the words of an editorial in the *New York Tribune* of June 14th, 1916, concerning this German issue "Many months ago this newspaper said: 'it would be better for the Republican Party to endorse Woodrow Wilson in 1916 than to permit the principle to be established that TO DEFEND AMERICAN INTERESTS IS TO COMMIT POLITICAL SUICIDE.'" We as Americans simply cannot permit it. Nor can we permit the Political Romanists to triumph. It would restore them to power in Mexico, and they would again become a balance of power in our midst. Therefore every patriot—every lover of the Stars and Stripes and all that they stand for, will vote to continue in office the existing National Government! A change will mean Reaction—the triumph of Germany in this country, with far-reaching effects upon the War of Nations; also it would be not only a triumph for Political Romanism, but it might result in victory for Reaction in the War of Nations! Choose ye this day whom ye will serve!

man Catholic.) In International law to-day the Pope and his representatives possess a civil status, which is not the case with the Protestant Churches. For details

consult *Political Romanism*, described at page 3, above.

**Pope Leo XIII, in an encyclical letter of June 20, 1888, says:

"Therefore, the nature of Human Liberty, however it be considered, whether in individual or in society, . . . is no other than the authority of God, commanding good and forbidding evil. . . . Thus the powerful influence of the Church has ever been manifested IN THE CUSTODY AND PROTECTION OF THE CIVIL AND POLITICAL LIBERTY OF THE PEOPLE. But

many there are who follow in the footsteps of Lucifer, and adopt his rebellious cry: 'I will not serve,' and consequently substitute for liberty what is sheer and most foolish license. Such, for instance, are the men, who belonging to that widely-spread and powerful organization, who, usurping the name of liberty, style themselves LIBERALS. What *Naturalists* or *Rationalists* aim at in philosophy, that the supporters of LIBERALISM, carrying out the principles laid down by Naturalism, are attempting in the domain of morality and politics. . . . Once ascribe to hu-

man reason the only authority to decide what is true and what is good, and the real distinction between good and evil is destroyed. . . . With reference also to public affairs: authority is severed from the true and natural principle whence it derives all its efficacy for the common good, and the law determining what is right to do and avoid doing IS AT THE MERCY OF THE MAJORITY. Now this is simply a road leading straight to tyranny. . . . We must now consider briefly *Liberty of Speech*, and *Liberty of the Press*. It is hardly necessary to say that there can be no such right. . . .

"Another liberty is widely advocated, namely, *Liberty of Conscience*. If by this is meant that every one may, as he chooses, worship God or not, it is sufficiently refuted by the arguments already advanced." (The Great Encyclical Letters of Pope Leo XIII, published by Benziger Brothers, Printers to the Holy Apostolic See. *Nihil Obstat*, Remigius Lafort, S.T.L.; Censor Liborium. *Imprimatur*, Jno. F. Farley, Archbishop. 1903.)

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