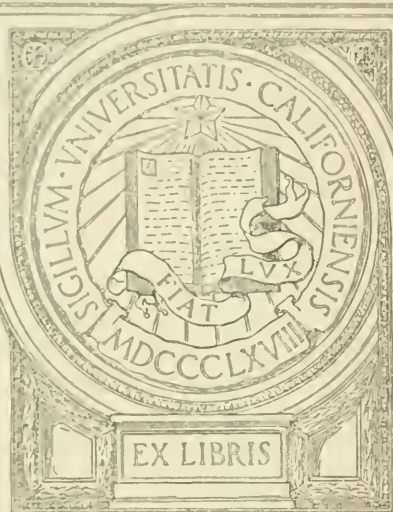


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AMERICANISM

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AMERICANISM

A WORLD MENACE

BY

W. T. COLYER

PREFACE BY

TOM MANN



1922

THE LABOUR PUBLISHING COMPANY, LTD.

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TO

THE DEAREST OF MY COMRADES

MY WIFE

WITHOUT WHOSE AID THE BOOK
WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN WRITTEN

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PREFACE

THE economic demoralisation that prevails throughout Europe is far more serious than anything of the kind in previous experience. To make the world safe for capitalism the World War was precipitated. The result has come nigh unto universal destruction. Those whose mental outlook enables them to see the forces cohering declare, with the author of this book, that the struggle from now on is, and must be, between the forces making for what America stands for on the one side and what Russia stands for on the other—between Industrial Serfdom and Communism.

Thirty years ago, when Socialist propaganda was in its infancy in this country, and the propagandists declared that the only cure for our industrial and social troubles would be found in Socialism, many workmen hesitated to accept this. They felt convinced that America was flourishing, and was likely to continue to flourish, not by changing the economic system of society, but by—as they thought—affording free scope for all, *minus* dukes, lords and kings.

The writer of this book has rendered an invaluable service to the workers of the Old World by his masterly description, explanation and exposure of American institutions up to date. As regards nearly all that is given in his pages I can personally declare; "I know it to be so."

At twenty-seven years of age, in 1883, when working as an engineer in London, nothing would satisfy me till I had sampled the New World for myself. So I gave up my work here and made for the United States :

To the West, to the West,
To the land of the free.

In this country I had never worked on Saturday afternoons ; in the United States, like the rest, I had to work every Saturday afternoon. Nothing very wonderful, perhaps, but significant of much.

More recently I have been through the States from Boston to San Francisco, and observed and noted conditions, and felt

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the necessity for some one doing what the author of this book has done.

I paid especial attention to the conditions prevailing in the steel industry. I knew that trade organisation was not good. It proved to be scarcely existent, and, to my astonishment, I found that a large percentage of the labourers in this industry worked regularly seven days a week for twelve hours a day! The town of Gary, named after the President of the Steel Trust, is run under conditions that are almost unbelievable by those without knowledge of the methods of this giant trust.

Successful capitalism brings about these unbearable conditions as a direct consequence of its success and as a condition of its development. The worker who is only too conscious of the terrible limitations to real freedom and well-being in England, and who seeks the supposed greater freedom of America, gets speedily disillusioned. There is no earthly hope for the cure of economic and social troubles by following in the wake of America. And yet—and herein is the great lesson of this book—if we refuse to travel towards Communism, the only alternative is to become Americanised, with all that this involves.

In 1913 I enjoyed the companionship of one who had been a fellow-member of the Amalgamated Engineers in this country, a well-read, well-balanced, clever workman and a capable organiser, Sam Scarlett by name, hailing originally from Glasgow. He organised a very successful meeting for me, under the auspices of the I.W.W., in Salt Lake City. Five years later, by deliberate falsification, pressure was put on the authorities to "round up" all who were, or had been, actively connected with the I.W.W. This was done, and those arrested were kept in jail, without even being charged, for many months. Among them were Sam Scarlett and a number of other Britishers. "Big Bill" Haywood, with the rest of the staff of the I.W.W., was arrested in his office in Chicago.

When the trial ultimately took place it proved to be utterly farcical. No notice was taken of rebutting evidence, and, in spite of overwhelming testimony, favourable to many of those in the dock, in a wholesale way they were sentenced: Bill Haywood and others to twenty years; Sam Scarlett, Charles Ashleigh (also an old friend and comrade and an ex-member of the I.L.P.) and others to ten years. Altogether the sentences of about ninety persons exceeded eight hundred years!

And these official outrages were going on concurrently with President Wilson posing as a heaven-sent adviser to stricken humanity. All this time that fine old battler, Eugene Debs, was in prison for merely making a moderately-phrased speech that went counter to the dominant capitalism. All this time also, Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings were, and are still, in prison. The essential facts of the Mooney case, and a number of other cases, are given in Chapter VIII. of this book.

As the author points out, the American workers are connected neither with the Amsterdam International nor the Red International. Surely ere long the at present small minority in the States who are declaring in favour of the Red International of Labour Unions will witness the results of their labours, and hosts of American workers, clearly visualising the true objective, will throw aside all obstacles and march forward to the goal of the emancipation of all workers from the capitalist system. That they have nothing to hope for from capitalism is plainly shown by this book.

TOM MANN.

LONDON,
August, 1922.

CONTENTS

CHAP.	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTORY	I
II. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF AMERICANISM	7
III. AMERICANISM AND DEMOCRACY	18
IV. AMERICANISM AND LIBERTY	35
V. AMERICANISM AND "LAW AND ORDER"	47
VI. AMERICANISM AND LABOUR	73
VII. AMERICANISM AND EDUCATION	108
VIII. AMERICANISM AND RELIGION	121
IX. AMERICANISM AND ETHICS	134
X. AMERICANISM AND THE ALIEN	144
XI. AMERICANISM AND WORLD DOMINION	152
XII. HOW TO RESIST THE ONRUSH OF AMERICANISM .	158
INDEX	164

AMERICANISM : A WORLD MENACE

I

INTRODUCTORY

FROM 1789 to 1871 the history of France, better than that of any other country, illustrated the fundamentals of modern civilisation. From 1871 to 1914 Germany was the most interesting exemplar of world tendencies. The World War has again shifted the centre of interest ; but, as the result of this change, we find two countries in the limelight at the same time. Soviet Russia, in the East, and the United States of America, in the West, challenge the attention of the rest of the world.

So far Russia's challenge has created much more of a sensation. The Bolshevik revolution of 1917 was a happening too dramatic, too drastic, to pass unnoticed, even if those responsible for it had desired concealment. As a matter of fact, however, the Russian Communists have consistently sought publicity as a means of converting the working class of the world to revolutionary Socialism ; and by way of counter-propaganda the enemies of Bolshevism have spared neither ingenuity nor money in spreading sensational falsehoods concerning Russian affairs. Inevitably, therefore, Russia's reaction to the social and industrial chaos created by the War has occupied a large place in the thoughts of the newspaper-reading public of Europe.

What has been going on in the United States in the meantime has attracted less notice. So long as Woodrow Wilson was known to Europe chiefly as the author of the "Fourteen Points," the eyes of most Liberals, and of not a few Radicals, were turned hopefully westward ; but when the proceedings at Versailles demonstrated to the world that note-writing was the only department of statesmanship for which the

American President had any aptitude, popular interest in what are called "American ideals" began to wane. It is as the great creditor nation that the people of the United States now loom large in the European imagination. The vast power that may be wielded by the United States Government, if it elects to play the part of an international Shylock, is generally recognised. What is less clearly seen is that already, in a hundred indirect ways, the economic power of America is being exerted to draw the world into universal Industrial Feudalism as an alternative to universal Communism.

It is the conviction of the writer of this book that the world stage is now being cleared for a decisive struggle between Americanism and Communism. The outcome of this struggle will determine whether the next stage in social evolution is to be a period of Industrial Feudalism, or whether a direct transition is possible from our present conditions to a co-operative commonwealth. The debacle of 1914-18 marked the end of an epoch, and people who still think that the choice lies between Conservatism and Radicalism are simply walking anachronisms. The coming struggle will not be over the question whether there shall be drastic social change, but as to the character of the changes that shall be made.

To many Europeans, Americanism's attitude towards the so-called "League of Nations," its reluctance to take any step to relieve the financial embarrassments of the Old World, seem the last word in Conservatism. There could be no greater mistake. Americanism has no more place than Communism in such an organisation as the League—and for the same reason. Both creeds, though they differ in all else, look to the future. They propose to let the dead past bury its dead, and neither of them can afford to tie itself to an undertaking concern like the League. Some apparent modifications in the present policy of the United States Government are not unlikely in the near future; but, whatever may happen, we may be sure that the interests of Americanism will be duly safeguarded. It is, indeed, possible that a "revised" League may be used by the Americanisers as a *camouflage* in the opening moves of their great campaign against Communism.

"A thing is what it does," said the American philosopher, William James, and, in so saying, expressed a typically American thought. Applied to things mechanical, the statement affords an excellent standard of judgment: outside the sphere of mechanics its inadequacy is obvious. In the United

States, however, there is hardly a department of life that is not now pretty thoroughly standardised and machine-controlled. The same tendency is, of course, apparent in other countries, but nowhere else has the process been carried so far, and nowhere else are the results hailed with such unmitigated satisfaction. Indeed, the first great characteristic of Americanism is its standardisation of human beings. The means by which this standardisation is achieved and the ends which it serves will be described under various heads in the pages which follow.

In the early days of man's development as a tool-making animal his progress doubtless depended mainly on discoveries made by accident. Even to-day happy accident is a factor which cannot be ignored in the field of invention, but, as a general proposition, patient research and scientific organisation count for more than all things else. Hence, in the history of modern achievement, we find that the introduction and perfection of new devices for giving effect to any purpose—mechanical, chemical, industrial, or political—are usually preceded or accompanied by a mass of theoretical literature, discussing from every angle the problems presented and the significance of the expected results. The theory of Prussianism is no less interesting than the story of its fifty years of accomplishment in industry and international politics. Communism, too, has its literature, its masterpieces of social analysis, as well as its marvels of practical organisation in Russia amid the chaos inherited from Tsardom. In this respect Americanism differs profoundly, not only from Prussianism and Communism, but from all other modern "isms." It has no literature worthy the name, but if its practical achievement were as contemptible as the efforts of its advocates to provide it with an intellectual basis fit for publication, there would be no justification for the writing of this book.

Americanism was originally nothing more than the provincialism natural to settlers pre-occupied with the material exploitation of a virgin country and separated by thousands of miles of ocean from any other civilised people. It was a mixture of youthful extravagance, arrogance and adaptability, which staid Europe found sometimes exasperating and sometimes stimulating. After the Civil War, in the Eastern States at any rate, it began to look as though the young country would settle down into a stodgy respectability painfully reminiscent of old England. Polished Liberalism of the most approved European type became fashionable—keenly

enthusiastic for liberty as an abstract idea: mildly interested in movements of practical liberation at a distance: definitely hostile to "licence," by which term comfortably placed Liberals are accustomed to designate all inconvenient demands for increased liberty for their less fortunate fellows close at home. In other words, the crudity of adolescence seemed to be giving place to the conventional attributes of national maturity.

That promise, such as it was, has not been fulfilled. The development of large-scale industrial production affected the main currents of life even more profoundly in America than in Western Europe. Whether or not some industrial Bismarck, understanding the trend of events, ever sat down and deliberately laid plans for making the United States the first stronghold of the new industrial and financial tyranny, as they had been the last stronghold of the old chattel slavery, we do not know. If so, the world has not yet been taken into his confidence. What is more probable is that various groups of capitalist politicians, each pursuing his individual gain, discovered independently the most effective methods of securing and maintaining material and spiritual domination in the particular territories in which they operated. Then, when the time was ripe, it was a comparatively simple matter to unite the local organisations of control into the great central machine which to-day, under the forms of political democracy and universal education, has reduced the people of the United States to a condition of besotted ignorance and spiritual degradation unique among civilised nations.

We now have before us the two chief counts in the indictment of Americanism as a way of doing things, viz., (1) that it standardises human beings, (2) that its standards are markedly below the levels attained by average civilised humanity elsewhere. The proving of these allegations will not, however, by itself justify the description of Americanism as a world menace, except in the very limited sense in which any localised evil may be said to be inimical to the welfare of mankind as a whole. Evidence must also be presented to show that Americanism has the disposition or tendency to impose itself upon the Old World, upon Central and South America, or upon European colonies in the New World. The presentation of such evidence will, for the most part, be incidental to the general treatment of the subject.

The real danger from Americanism lies much less, of course, in any policies which its exponents may try to force upon

unwilling victims than in its indirect, unrecognised influence. So much was true of Prussianism. Yet the enemies of Prussia have not failed to point out how, again and again, they were able to score points against her in consequence of the ill-judged outspokenness of her representatives. The power of Great Britain was built up quite as much upon the skill of her agents in "fixing" things favourably to her interests as upon the strength of the British Navy. Bearing in mind the vast and increasing material wealth and financial power of the United States, and not forgetting that their mediocre navy is perforce divided between two distant oceans, while their army is distinguished chiefly for its potential size, we might safely predict, even in the absence of positive evidence, that the influence of Americanism would make itself felt primarily in those indirect ways in which the financiers of America have gained so much experience through their dealings with the legislative bodies, courts and public officials of their own country.

Social and political tendencies (*e.g.*, Prussianism and Americanism) are frequently named after the countries in which they are first or most clearly observed. From the viewpoint of convenience there is a good deal to be said for this method of nomenclature, but its disadvantages must not be overlooked. The fabric of modern civilisation is such that no single nation can develop a culture, a system of administration, or anything on a large scale, that finds no counterpart among its fellow-nations. In essentials the greater part of Europe had been Prussianised long before the other nations discovered that "Prussianism" was a European menace. It would, however, be flattering a masterful people beyond all reason to attribute this historical development solely to the example and influence of the Prussians. All that can be said with truth is that the Prussians after 1870, like the English in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, found themselves peculiarly well circumstanced to exploit the new methods which the progress of science was introducing into the conduct of human life generally.

Americanism is no exception to the rule. After making full allowance for all special conditions, we cannot escape the conclusion that the forces which have crystallised into Americanism are at work in the Old World, too. To some extent, of course, like all other powerful movements, it is assisting its own growth by stimulating conscious imitation, but, quite apart from this, we shall find similar conditions spontaneously

giving rise to similar phenomena. To explain Americanism from this point of view it will constantly be necessary to compare, connect or contrast it with currents of thought and policy of which the ordinary American knows nothing. The interpretations of events given in the book will undoubtedly shock any "100 per cent. American" into whose hands it may fall; he will cry aloud that it is an outrage, a misrepresentation of all that he and his fellow-countrymen ever thought or meant. The book, however, does not pretend to investigate or appraise the motives and intentions of individuals, but to state facts and indicate general tendencies. The conclusions reached may be erroneous. If so, they can be shaken either by adducing evidence that the facts are not as stated, or by showing that the inferences drawn from the facts are unwarranted. Appeals to sentiment or citation of instances of agreeable personality in Americans are simply irrelevant.

II

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF AMERICANISM

As soon as we begin seriously to think about the history of the United States, we realise that its circumstances did not permit of anything like the partial successes or mitigated failures with which we are familiar in other fields. It had to be a record either of prodigious material achievement or of utter, hopeless, failure. The country was extraordinarily rich in natural resources of every kind; the climate was mainly temperate; the mountain barriers were not formidable, nor were there any extensive tracts of desert, except in the distant West. If, in such circumstances, the early settlers, and the new arrivals by whom the ranks of the pioneers were constantly replenished, had been content to eke out a more or less dependent existence along the sea coast, thinking always of the Europe they had left behind, rather than of the new country which invited their advance, there would have been no occasion for Bret Harte, or any one else to put the question, "Is the Caucasian played out?" A race which could deliberately reject the opportunities offered by the North American continent would have demonstrated its "played-out" condition so unmistakably as to be a subject for pity, not jest.

Complete failure, such as this, could have occurred only as a result of general decadence among the peoples of Northern and Western Europe. In the absence of such decadence it must be conceded that the phenomenally rapid development of the United States was inevitable. To admit this is not to deny or disparage the sterling qualities of multitudes of the pioneers: nor is it to make light of the innumerable hardships and casualties suffered in the struggle to bring untamed Nature under the control of man. All that is involved in the admission is a recognition of the fact that—taking a broad view, and thinking in decades rather than years—a given expenditure of energy usually brought much larger returns in the United States than in the European countries. Blunders and wastages, which in the Eastern Hemisphere would have spelt ruin, did not necessarily spell anything of the kind in the Western. The

recklessness which has resulted in the burning of millions of tons of coal underground in Pennsylvania : the wilful disregard of all the principles of forestry in the exploitation of the vast timber wealth of the north-west ; the mad individualism which led to the construction of competing railroads side by side : these are but instances of short-sightedness and greed which would have been followed by swift and stern retribution in older countries, but which, as yet, have made little impression upon the people of the United States.

It is important to bear these truths in mind if we would read American history aright. In the schools and colleges of the United States, however, the remarkable accomplishment of the last century and a half is usually attributed to the excellence of American character, American intellect, American institutions—to anything but the play of natural forces. Thus, on the basis of achievements to which "foreigners" made an immense contribution, is built up a superstition of native superiority which is an essential ingredient in Americanism.

Upon a somewhat similar misinterpretation of history is based another very important part of Americanism—its veneration for the dollar as an absolute standard by which all other values may be tested. This naive dollar-worship should not be confounded with the passion for wealth, which, though very manifest in American life, is by no means peculiar to it. The idea that money and merit go hand in hand is taught everywhere in the United States as part of the general doctrine of "equality of opportunity" which no good American may deny. By skilful juggling with selected historical facts the agencies of state and private propaganda have moulded the thought of millions who, if they relied upon their own observation and experience, would very soon detect the fraud. Later on, we shall have a good deal to say about the aims and methods of these agencies of propaganda : for the present we must examine the historical foundations upon which the structure of superstition has been erected.

The popular belief that America has always been, at least for white men, the country of equal opportunity, finds little support in the circumstances of the first settlers. The shiploads of adventurers who settled the south came to a country of immense fertility for certain crops, but with a climate so enervating that the only way for the white man to prosper was to import and exploit coloured labour. The Pilgrims and Puritans of New England, on the other hand, had, for a long time, to scratch a living from rocky soil under conditions of

unremitting labour for themselves and their families. In quite early days, therefore, we note a contrast between the opulent, easy-going south and the frugal, hardy north—a contrast directly traceable to *inequality of opportunity*. A little later deep cleavages between classes begin to appear in both north and south. The whole social system of the south was so iniquitous that we may well hesitate to criticise any class for failure to thrive under it. Assuming, however, that the original “poor whites” of the south owed their poverty to their lack of merit, that charge can hardly be sustained against the farmers of Massachusetts. Yet so hard-driven were these latter after the Revolutionary War that they resorted, under the leadership of Daniel Shays, to open rebellion against the State Government which had already become the tool of the crafty merchants and speculators of Boston. It was, in fact, Shays’ Rebellion, with other less serious unpleasantnesses in other parts of the country, which brought the big land-owning interests of the south and the growing commercial interests of the north to realise that they must get together, and by hook or by crook establish a strong central government, if they wished to maintain their privileged position against those, like Shays, who believed that “the property of the United States has been protected from the confiscations of Britain by the joint exertions of all, and therefore ought to be the common property of all.”

In the annals of hypocritical humanity, lofty sentiments have an unfortunate habit of consorting with very ignoble practices, but nowhere in the world has this habit been indulged with such *abandon* as in the United States. Hence, by concentrating upon writings to the exclusion of facts, the good American teacher can make almost any period of his country’s history illustrate his moral theories. Even the period we have just outlined is used to show how “America” has always stood for equality of opportunity. On the strength of New England claptrap about religious liberty, the New Englanders are represented as champions of “equality of opportunity” for the adherents of unpopular creeds. A European may wonder how this reading of history would have appealed to Roger Williams, the founder of Rhode Island, who owed his “freedom to worship God” solely to the speed with which he removed himself and his belongings from Massachusetts after he was found worshipping in a slightly different manner from the other saints; or to the Quakers who suffered torture in the New England States; or to the miserable women

condemned as witches in Salem, Mass. No patriotic native, however, would for a moment harbour such doubts; he would instinctively recognise them as "un-American."

That fine revolutionary document, the Declaration of Independence, also serves to cover a multitude of sins. First among its "self-evident truths" is the right to equality of opportunity: "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." "There!" says the good American, "What could be clearer than that? It beats me how these ignorant foreigners have the nerve to deny that this has always been the land of free opportunity." You may adduce any amount of evidence showing that the United States Constitution—in the shaping of which, to their eternal shame, some of the declaration-signers took a hand—was drafted by an illegal, unrepresentative convention; that its ratification was forced upon the individual States by means of bribery, corruption, and brute force; that it was an expression of the determination of an influential group of land and stock speculators to safeguard their own interests at the expense of the mass of the people; either he will not listen, or he will report you to the police for prosecution under one of the many *lèse-majesté* statutes enacted by the various State Legislatures. If he be very exceptionally broad-minded, in the American sense of that word, he will admit that, in its recognition of chattel slavery, for instance, the Constitution falls notably short of the Declaration. "But," he will say, "we have to make allowances for human imperfection everywhere. The words of the Declaration leave no doubt as to the essential *spirit* of the Constitution."

Leaving the Constitution for further consideration in later chapters, and resuming our general survey of United States history, we soon reach a point at which the "merit and money" theory begins to receive a show of support from the facts of real life. On the vast farm lands of the Middle West and West, when they began to be developed in a really large way, the rewards of energy were substantial and well distributed. The hazards of pioneering were not wholly eliminated, but, generally speaking, a few years of hard work would assure to the farmer a future of solid comfort. This prosperity of the farmer was reflected in similar conditions for those who established businesses to meet his growing needs. For many years the able-bodied had little excuse for continuing poverty,

and it is perfectly easy to see how the possession of a comfortable income came to be associated in men's minds with the moral qualities of which the country stood in need.

Only a fool would pretend that we must go to the United States to find advocates of the "merit and money" theory, which is, as a matter of fact, characteristic of all periods of special opportunity. In England Samuel Smiles and a host of others preached it *ad nauseam* during the early part of last century. Yet the opportunities presented by the Industrial Revolution, upon which their preaching was based, were few as compared with those offered by the developing West, and to seize them usually involved immediate and ruthless exploitation of one's fellows, as was not the case with the American farmer. What is peculiar to the United States is the persistent and practically universal acceptance of the theory in the face of bitter experience of its falsity.

This peculiarity is to a large extent explained by the intellectual and spiritual poverty of American life. There were no poets, artists or philosophers able and willing to challenge the money standard of success. No American had ever been known to achieve anything worth while, that was not readily translatable into dollars and cents; and it was unbelievable that the citizens of "God's country" could be outdone in any worthy line of effort by the effete inhabitants of the Old World. So argued the ordinary American. His exhausting pre-occupation with material problems left him in no condition to appreciate cultural values. The "cultured" classes of Europe, so far as they were represented at all among the immigrant population, sent to America chiefly the riff-raff who could be persuaded or obliged to leave home for their country's good. The uncultured immigrants, on the other hand, consisted largely of the cream of Europe's working-class—those who most bitterly resented the class distinctions in evidence at home and who had the courage to adventure across the sea with the purpose of improving their status. Under such circumstances it was natural that the American's preference for financial, as opposed to cultural, standards should grow into an obsession.

It was during the period of high average prosperity for all who were willing to work, that the foundations were laid of the money-power which to-day blightingly overshadows everything else in American life. The surpluses acquired through hard work were used, as such surpluses always are under a capitalistic system, to lower the earning capacity of labour and to exalt the power of absentee ownership. Men who owed everything

to the comparative freedom they had enjoyed as pioneers put their savings into speculative enterprises which subsequently crushed the life out of other pioneers further west. In the great organisations, which first brought hell into the lives of farmers, miners and lumber-jacks west of the Mississippi, there was the germ of that system of corporation control which now holds the United States in its grip from New York to San Francisco, from the Gulf of Mexico to the Canadian border. It would be a mistake, however, to interpret this as signifying any sudden or striking deterioration of character in the people of the eastern half of the United States. Nearly every man has a dash of the gambler in his make-up, and every circumstance of his life tended to encourage that characteristic in the American. The boredom of well-to-do American home-life can be realised only by those who have experienced or witnessed it: some form of outside excitement its victims must have by way of relief from its super-dullness. Gambling, in the form of speculation, is not forbidden by the Christian Churches; and Sunday school superintendents, who would be shocked at the sight of boys playing pitch and toss, unhesitatingly deal in "margins" and "options." What, then, more natural than that ordinarily sober-minded Americans should be tempted into speculation by the dazzling possibilities of the undeveloped territories in their own country? Even if he suffered heavy losses, it was not, in those days, a very difficult matter for the speculator to make a fresh start in life, provided he were on the sunny side of middle age. As to the policies pursued by the companies in which he invested, he was not apt to entertain far-fetched scruples. If it ever occurred to him that, as a class, speculative companies have a bad reputation for cruelty and treachery, he would salve his conscience—like the good Protestant individualist that he was—by saying that that was none of his business, but was a matter between the directors and their God.

While the great mining, lumber, packing and railroad corporations of the West were making themselves the classic instances of money rule in its most brutal and open form, it was not necessary to leave the Atlantic coast to become aware of the sinister growth of the money-power as an anti-social force. Though useful labour was still comparatively well paid for, it soon ceased to be in the same class with ownership and commercial shrewdness as a means of gain. Unearned increments in the values of lands at strategic points acquired through inheritance, good luck, or shrewd speculation, formed one source

of wealth which had nothing to do with merit. Another was skill in obtaining exclusive control of, or priority rights in, the supply of services essential to the newer territories. Inasmuch as this sort of skill was, as a rule, divorced from honesty and efficiency in meeting the requirements of the situation, it cannot be considered meritorious. A third method of growing rich without merit was to "make good" as a stock operator or in some related line of legalised brigandage. By these and other means a considerable class of socially worthless Easterners was enabled to prey upon the people at large. So long as the general standard of comfort remained high their depredations either passed unnoticed or were good-naturedly winked at. There was enough and to spare; and few, if any, had to go hungry that the financial magnates might feast.

The majority of the people took for granted that their easy circumstances could last for ever. Not so the plutocrats. To them it was clear that their existing ascendancy by consent could not be maintained for long without change. They could not afford, as the aristocracies of Europe might, to remain on the defensive. In their family and personal records there was little, if anything, calculated to inspire respect. Only by careful planning and energetic action could they hope to impose upon people who never tired of ridiculing the divine right of kings, the doctrine of the divine right of landlords, franchise holders and stock operators. Whatever its defects, the American privileged class showed at this juncture that it lacked neither daring nor cunning. It took chances, and was justified by the event. Organising its forces rapidly, but without ostentation, it was soon in a position to manipulate the church, the schools, the press, the legislatures, and the administrative machinery of government, not simply to protect its present interests, but to strengthen and extend its power far beyond the limits reached by the feudal barons of the Middle Ages in relation to their serfs.

Outside of the wonderful "machine" created by big business the American people have manifested a singular incapacity for voluntary organisation. During the last generation or so—since the big business machine was perfected—this defect of character may be attributed largely to the systematic manufacture of slave psychology in the schools and churches. This, however, is not the whole truth. The machine itself could not have been brought so easily into being among a people accustomed to voluntary, democratic association for their own protection and betterment. In all matters of social concern,

the American habit is—in their own phrase—to “let George do it.” There are in the United States innumerable societies for accomplishing all sorts of purposes, good, bad and indifferent; every year they raise vast sums to defray the cost of their activities, for personal stinginess is by no means an American vice; but it is hard indeed to find one, the management of which is not completely in the hands of a small group of professional or leisured enthusiasts. Nor is this condition merely accidental. By-laws and articles of association are customarily drawn in such a way as to facilitate control by an oligarchy. This is as true of labour unions and fraternal orders as it is of church and social clubs. Obviously such forms of organisation, while admirably adapted to the ends of money-making and political corruption, are hopelessly unsuited to the purpose of crystallising and giving expression to healthy public opinion. By the reactionaries this way of doing things is dignified as a union of democracy and efficiency, or as democracy under sane leadership. To the progressive elements of the population it spells dictatorship under the forms of democracy. By it untold thousands have been reduced to the apathy of despair; thousands more have been driven into a bitter and unpractical anarchism.

The historical explanation of the situation is simple. During the formative period of “Americanism” the processes of social evolution were only beginning to be understood in Europe. Although the *fact* of class antagonisms was quite widely recognised, it was not generally supposed that such antagonisms were susceptible of scientific explanation. Conditions and institutions that were in reality the product of social forces were regarded as creations of human will or as accidental consequences of human weakness. The men who developed the railroads, mines and farm lands of the United States were not thinkers, but men of action. Private ownership of natural resources and of public utilities, production for profit, and the other economic characteristics of contemporary Europe were accepted by them as a matter of course, as laws of Nature without which human society would be impossible. Fondly imagining that a righteous social order would follow automatically upon good intentions, they transplanted into their New World the dominant institutions of the Old. It is true that they rejected monarchy and hereditary nobility, but that change amounted to very little. Real power in Europe had already passed into the hands of the commercial and industrial princes, and in so far as these new rulers chose to clothe their dominion

with the forms of an outgrown and hated feudalism, they were playing into the hands of the class-conscious wage-earners. In other words, the net achievement of the noisy "democracy" of the West was the getting rid of a few troublesome survivals which tended to distract attention from the vital problems of the age.

Over against this trivial gain must be set a very heavy loss. In discarding the relics of mediæval feudalism the mass of the people supposed themselves to be abolishing the possibility of class rule. The truth, of course, was that the seeds of class conflict had been carried across the Atlantic with the European system of property rights. Under that system it was inevitable that the population should, at no distant date, be divided into an exploiting minority on the one hand and an exploiting majority on the other. All that remained to be determined was the *personnel* of the coming plutocracy. In other parts of the world the new aristocracy of business had to deal with a working class which had learnt in the hard school of experience that it *was* a class, and which was constantly organising itself to the extent of its ability along class lines. American "big business" had to encounter no such opposition; it could go ahead and do what it liked without arousing suspicion as to its true character. And very early in its career of domination it took measures to strengthen the popular delusion that in the United States there are no classes.

One other outstanding characteristic of Americanism calls for brief mention in this general survey, viz., the American's practical contempt for legal and orderly procedure. This contempt is in no sense an expression of righteous disgust at the travesties of justice which are everywhere perpetrated in the name of law. On the contrary, it is displayed most markedly in lynching and tar-and-feathering parties against those who have little chance of an unprejudiced hearing even in the courts, and who will certainly not be the objects of leniency if convicted. The lawless "white terror" in America is, in fact, generally applauded on the ground that negroes and "radicals" are lacking in respect for "law and order." Along with this hysterical pretence of regard for legality in the abstract goes an outrageous laxity in the administration and observance of laws in the concrete—particularly of those relating to public health, safety and finance.

The habit of taking summary vengeance on supposed criminals having black skins or advanced opinions is clearly traceable to the historic conflict of races in the Southern States.

Wherever we find a white minority lording it over a coloured majority—in India, Egypt and South Africa as much as in America—we find also a chronic nervous tension which seeks relief every now and then in acts of frenzied cruelty or beastliness. By skilful playing upon emotion and ignorance, the plutocracy has within the last few years succeeded in classing “reds” with “niggers” as outside the law, and in widely extending the area in which lynching and allied forms of terror are accepted as part of everyday life. The work in this direction was made easier by the tradition of the “vigilance committees” of the far West. In the days of the mining camps, before the organisation of regular government, these committees acquired a reputation, at least, for efficiency in keeping the wilder elements of the population within bounds. It is quite possible that, under exceptional circumstances, the committees did accomplish some good here and there; but, whatever view we may take of their activities, we can rest assured that they had little in common with the gangs of scoundrels which were formed in the great cities under such names as “The Vigilantes,” ostensibly for patriotic purposes but in reality for riot, pillage and the suppression of free speech.

The laxity of law observance in other respects is mainly due to the intrusion of “business” into public life. Under the “spoils system,” most of the responsible positions in the public service are at the disposal of the professional politicians who, subject to the general directions of the representatives of the money power, work the various political “machines.” The mayoralty of Boston, Massachusetts, for example, is now held for the second time by an ex-convict—and ex-Congressman! who has served a prison term for fraudulent impersonation. In New York, two or three years ago, a horse doctor was appointed head of the Bureau of Fire Prevention, an office which has jurisdiction over such vitally important matters as safe building construction, the storage and handling of motion-picture films, chemicals and explosives, etc., etc. More recently still a man was taken from behind the counter of a chemist’s shop and nominated as “examining engineer” in the street department. At worst, appointees of this type sell immunity to favoured law-breakers; at best, they rely utterly upon the advice of their subordinates, who may, or may not, be honest and competent. What is true of cities and states applies, with some modifications, to the national government, with the result that the substance of the laws—whether federal, state, or city enactments—is often as rotten as their administration.

Thus, in Minnesota it is unlawful to have in one's possession a red or black flag, or "any picture or facsimile thereof": in Massachusetts, except in war-time, one is liable to prosecution if one works in the garden on Sunday.

As a natural consequence of such conditions there has grown up, alongside the theoretical anarchism of the serious-minded minority already mentioned, a sort of mob anarchism among the frivolous majority. American laws—which are, to a large extent, simply foolishness administered by blackguards—have no hold upon the respect of the people; and when the passions or personal interests of the latter prompt them to run amuck, all they have to consider is the attitude of a corrupt officialdom. Oftentimes it is the policy of the officials to promote lawlessness, and the arts by which mob violence is stimulated and directed have been thoroughly studied by big business. When the courts and officials acting in their legal capacities fail, mobs can at short notice be called into action to destroy, or at least intimidate, any one who attempts to enlighten the minds or arouse the spirit of the working people.

* * * * *

Dates and concrete illustrations have been used very sparingly in this chapter. The purpose, so far, has been to give the reader a broad view of the historical foundations upon which the prophets of Americanism have chiefly built. Details will be supplied when we proceed to analyse their doctrine in relation to other conceptions of life, and as it manifests itself in action. Here it may be well to recapitulate the principal characteristics touched upon in the chapter, specifying also the names by which they are known among Americanisers:—

1. An overweening pride of race, based on the material development of the country achieved largely through the ability and industry of "foreigners." Known locally as patriotism.

2. The establishment of dollar-producing or dollar-collecting capacity as the absolute standard of value, covering every form of intellectual and spiritual achievement. Known locally as "practical idealism" based on "equality of opportunity."

3. Glorification of "democracy" as an abstract idea, divorced from practical control by the rank and file. Known locally as "the union of efficiency and democracy under sane leadership."

4. General lawlessness and contempt for orderly procedure. Known locally under a great variety of flowery and meaningless names, of which "upsurging of the great heart of America" may be taken as an example.

III

AMERICANISM AND DEMOCRACY

A MINORITY of the men who signed the Declaration of Independence, and perhaps a majority of those who fought and suffered for it, were sincerely attached to the principles set forth in that document. From the Declaration to the United States Constitution is, however, as steep a descent as from Woodrow Wilson's "Fourteen Points" to the Treaty of Versailles.

George Washington and his fellow Federalists were shrewd enough to realise the value of democratic idealism as a fighting incentive, and they gladly availed themselves, so long as the revolutionary struggle lasted, of all that Thomas Jefferson and his friends had to offer in that line. When the war had been won, and it was no longer necessary to keep up appearances, they proceeded to frame the Constitution on strictly class lines. In this connection it is interesting to note the great progress made in spiritual efficiency in America since 1787. At that date not even Washington was equal to the task of supplying idealism and selfish political trickery at the same time. In our day even Wilson, with his one track mind, found little difficulty in taking care of both ends of the game of statecraft.

In sketching the historical background of Americanism it was necessary to touch upon the methods by which the United States Constitution was forced upon the people. These methods must now be discussed in greater detail if we are to understand the relation between Americanism and democracy. The young American, like the young Englishman, is taught to regard the Constitution as the embodiment—so far as a legal instrument is capable of embodying any decent human purpose—of the ideals of the Revolution. What they learn at school most men, unfortunately, accept to the end of the chapter as "eternal verities"; and this is peculiarly the case in the United States, where uniquely brutal and interfering mobs are ever ready for mobilisation against groups that dare to think independently. Unalterably persuaded that in so doing he is upholding the generous sentiments of the Declaration, the American makes

the Constitution his norm of democracy. As a matter of cold history the Constitution had no other object than that the Declaration should become a dead letter.

Those who have watched the profiteering, the destruction of real wealth, the contraction of trade and the extraordinary variations in rates of exchange brought about by the World War, should have little difficulty in picturing the social problems by which the fathers of the American Republic were confronted. Crops were good, but money and manufactured goods were scarce. The propertied classes, as their custom is in such emergencies, were whining about the idleness, thriftlessness and impatience of the working-class. The issue of quantities of worthless paper—by the State Governments as well as by the Confederation—unsettled wages and prices, and thus facilitated speculation. The speculators entered into an unholy alliance with the lawyers, whereby a cloak of legality was cast over every species of extortion and oppression. Veterans of the Revolutionary War, who had been paid partly in cash and partly in Western land scrip, were forced to part with the latter for a mere song, and saw their homes sold over their heads to satisfy debts incurred during the period of famine prices. Discontent was general, and here and there institutions of home growth began to be criticised, and even resisted, for precisely the reasons which Washington and Co. had proclaimed to the world as justifying rebellion. “Whenever any form of government”—so ran the Declaration—“becomes destructive of these ends (life, liberty and pursuit of happiness), it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organising its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.”

Daniel Shays, and those associated with him in the obscure rebellion which bears his name, discovered that the government of the State of Massachusetts did not “effect their safety and happiness.” They were ready, if not to abolish it, at least to make drastic changes in it. Like millions of other soldiers, before and since, they learned, as the dust of battle cleared away, that the land which had been “theirs” when it was to be fought for, was not theirs when it was to be enjoyed. Understanding little else about politics or economics, they perceived clearly that the courts of law were not courts of justice, but simply instruments of exploitation in the hands of the propertied few. In particular they objected to seeing war veterans dispossessed of their farms by well-to-do creditors who had

stayed at home and trafficked in the necessities of the fighters and their families. Such dispossession being at that time the principal function of certain courts, the rebels decided that these courts should not sit. Armed demonstrations in various towns in the western part of the State actually prevented the holding of court sessions, but the insurgents were not strong enough to enforce their will in and near Boston. The back of the rebellion was broken in disastrous encounters with State troops, at Springfield, towards the end of January, 1787, and a little later at Petersham.

If the Shays affair had been an isolated phenomenon it would not have caused the wealthy merchants and landowners of the country so much concern. All around them, however, they saw signs that the infection of revolutionary principles was spreading. Shays had failed, but another rebel leader with similar views might succeed—if not in Massachusetts, then in some other State. Even the negro slaves were not always submissive enough to please the masters who had so recently proclaimed, as a “self-evident truth,” that “all men are created equal” and are “endowed by their Creator” with an “unalienable” right to liberty. Property rights, including chattel slavery, were in danger. Something must be done! Something *was* done. That something was the calling of the Constitutional Convention which met in Philadelphia in 1787.

The dominant purpose of the fifty-five members of the Convention was to set up a strong central government capable of crushing any violent self-assertion on the part of the propertyless masses in any State, and of restraining any radically-minded State Legislature from enacting laws which might injuriously affect property rights. Besides succeeding in these negative and, comparatively speaking, respectable aims, practically all the members profited directly and personally from the establishment of a Federal Government in place of the old Congress of Representatives of Sovereign States. There was not a poor man among them, and naturally, therefore, most of them were holders of public securities or of Western land scrip, or of both. The analysis given by Professor Charles A. Beard in his book “An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States,” shows that many were not holders merely, but speculators. Among those involved in speculation was George Washington, who had incidentally made himself the richest man in North America by following the amiable trade of a money-lender. (Facts like these are surely as deserving of publicity as the improving story about

his inability to tell a lie.) By devising a system which guaranteed the separate States against attacks of radicalism, whether legal or illegal, and which made it easy to "subdue" the Western Indians, and so develop their lands, the Constitution framers did at least as well for themselves as for their country; for under such a system the value of securities and scrip was bound to rise.

Their own spoken and written words are the best evidence of the spirit in which the makers of the Constitution worked. From the facts that they sat in private, allowed only a fragmentary record to be kept of the Convention proceedings, and withheld even that from publication until after President John Quincy Adams had been inaugurated in 1825, we may infer that what has come down to us represents them at their best. Now let us see what some of these pioneers of "democracy" believed.

"Those who hold and those who are without property have ever formed distinct interests in society." Such was the opinion expressed in the *Federalist* by James Madison, who afterwards became President. In another issue of the same reactionary print we find another writer committing himself thus: "It is of great importance in a Republic not only to guard the society against the oppression of its rulers, but to guard one part of the society against the injustice of the other part. Different interests necessarily exist in different classes of citizens. If a majority be united by a common interest, the rights of the minority will be insecure."

Alexander Hamilton, representative of the State of New York, and perhaps the most striking personality in the Convention, held that "all communities divide themselves into the few and the many. The first are the rich and well born, the other the mass of the people. . . . The people are turbulent and changing; they seldom judge or determine right. Give, therefore, to the first class a distinct, permanent share in the government. . . . Nothing but a permanent body can check the imprudence of democracy. . . . It is admitted that you cannot have a good executive upon a democratic plan."

Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, whose name will live for ever in the word "gerrymander,"* opined that "the evils we

* In the office of a local editor hung a map showing the weird contour of one of the voting divisions of the State, so defined in order to secure a party advantage without regard to geographical convenience or community of interest. It was generally understood that Gerry's was the brain in which the scheme was conceived. An artist, having to wait

experience flow from the excess of democracy," and (on the subject of elections to the national Legislature) "the people compose two great interests, the landed and the commercial; to draw both branches from the people would leave no security to the commercial interest, that of the people being chiefly agricultural."

Rufus King, another delegate from the same State, expressed, in the words of the late Melville M. Bigelow, of Boston University, "a fear that extreme caution in favour of liberty might enervate the Government." The voice of Fisher Ames was raised in the same strain at the Massachusetts ratifying Convention. "I conceive, Sir, that the present Constitution was dictated by commercial necessity more than any other cause. . . . A democracy is a volcano which conceals the fiery materials of its own destruction."

Charles Pinckney, as we should expect from a representative of South Carolina, contended that the people were not "fit judges" to choose their national legislature and that they would be "led by a few active, designing men."

The famous lawyer, John Marshall, long Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and an enthusiastic worker for ratification by his own state (Virginia), believed that the Constitution was "designed to bring under the ban substantially all legislation which affected personalty adversely."

Small wonder is it that the legal instrument elaborated by such men came later on to be known among opponents of chattel slavery as a "covenant with death and agreement with hell." As Patrick Henry put it in his picturesque way at the time: "The Constitution is said to have beautiful features; but when I come to examine these features, Sir, they appear to me horribly frightful."

It is unnecessary here to summarise the various provisions of the Constitution. Suffice it to say that chattel slavery was recognised and legalised; that the decisions of elected bodies were made subject to review by courts which, with a uniformity of abjectness unknown in other countries, have shown themselves to be creatures of the money power; that by such devices as indirect election, fixed terms of office, etc., the practical value of those features of the plan which had a semblance of democracy was reduced to vanishing point. Three illustrations affecting life to-day will make clear how little

in the room, added a head and wings to the shape on the map, saying, when the editor came in, "There, that will do for a salamander." "Say, rather, a gerrymander," growled the editor. And the name stuck.

public opinion has to do with the working of the system. Congressional elections ordinarily occur in November, but the existing Congress completes its term, which does not expire until the following March. Under the Constitution, unless a special session is called, the new congressman does not begin to function until the National Legislature meets in December of the year following his election. During the intervening thirteen months the issues upon which he was elected have either been settled or have grown so stale as to relieve the legislator from the necessity of bothering about them.

The other two illustrations are drawn from the processes of constitutional amendment. Proposals for amendment, theoretically, may be made either by Congress or by the State Legislatures. In the latter case two-thirds of all the State Legislatures must petition Congress to call a National Convention to draft amendments which must then be ratified by conventions or legislatures (as Congress may direct) of three-fourths of the States. This method, of course, has never been used and is never likely to be. Congress, on the other hand, if two-thirds of the members in both houses so vote, may submit amendments which become effective after concurrence of three-fourths of the State Legislatures. The consequence of this arrangement is obvious. By reason of the size of the majorities required, amendments are practically limited to those which commend themselves to the "machine" politicians of both the great parties. It took the best part of fifty years' hard fighting to secure the enactment of the women's suffrage amendment, which responded to a genuine popular demand and which worries nobody, now that it is in operation. But when "big business"—very short-sightedly, in the writer's opinion—made up its mind that a teetotal working-class would be more docile and profitable to exploit than a working-class of toppers, and so instructed its political creatures, a "prohibition" amendment was rushed through in much less than fifty months, to the amazement of a bitterly hostile electorate.

Some reader may here object that things cannot be so black as they have been painted in this chapter, that you cannot in this age of enlightenment fool millions of people into confusing the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, into believing that a system of government, such as has been outlined, deserves the name of democracy. To such a sceptic we can reply that multitudes, otherwise apparently sane, throughout Europe as well as

America, are firmly persuaded that modern civilisation is based on the teachings of the New Testament. The mental confusion of Americanism and the mental confusion of Christianity are produced by exactly the same method. Two directly conflicting sets of ideas and principles are presented side by side to the young American, as to the young Christian—the one set intended to fire his imagination, the other to influence his conduct. The next step is to create the illusion that both sets can be held by one individual at the same time; that it is possible to admire and imitate both John the Baptist and John D. Rockefeller the Baptist; that it is possible to love your enemies while preparing poison gas for their destruction; that it is possible to believe in “unalienable rights” while participating in a lynching bee; that it is possible to uphold free speech while preventing every one who disagrees with you from speaking; and so on and so forth. It is irrelevant to our present purpose to inquire how such illusions can be induced; for us the significant fact is that the trick is a common one, and we do not have to go to the United States for examples of it. “Democracy” is, in truth, as sacred, and as unreal, to the ordinary American as the teaching of Jesus is to the ordinary Christian. He will sentimentalise over it; knock you down if you question it; do anything for it, except act upon it.

The digression in the last paragraph followed naturally upon an unflattering description of the working of the Federal Constitution. It may also prepare the mind of the reader for some observations on the expedients devised for rendering the mass of the people impotent in State and city politics. Individual ingenuity and caprice, combined with varying local conditions, have given to these local statutes and ordinances a diversity of form which to some extent camouflages their unity of spirit and intent. A couple of illustrations drawn from the writer's personal experience as an active member of the old Socialist Party* in Massachusetts will, however, give an idea of the general situation. Lest the reader should suppose that Massachusetts is peculiarly reactionary, it must be stated that radical minorities are less obstructed there than in most other

* In 1919 the members of the “old” Socialist Party throughout the United States declared themselves overwhelmingly in support of the Moscow International, and became the Communist Party. What is now known as the Socialist Party consists of a mere remnant of the organisation, to which a few social reformers have since been added. It is negligible both in size and in influence.

parts of the country. Even Boston, which, by an irony of history, has become a political stronghold of the Roman Catholic Church, still half-heartedly permits its citizens unusual latitude in the expression of their opinions—out of respect for the memory of the Boston Tea Party and the agitation of the Abolitionists. Nor has its municipal corruption, though considerable, ever been comparable to that of Tammany Hall in New York or that of the Republican machine in Philadelphia.

Under such favourable conditions, then, let us see just how much political initiative and control rest with the people in the matter of electing a mayor of the city or a governor of the State. We will take the case of the mayoral election first. In 1917 the Socialist Party of Massachusetts decided to run a candidate for Mayor of Boston. This office is vastly different from that of an English mayor. An American mayor is the executive head of all the city departments, has extensive patronage at his disposal, and exercises a host of functions which in England are divided between the town council and Whitehall. In Boston his salary is \$10,000 *per annum*, and his term of office four years.

The election, in this particular instance, is, in the political parlance of the United States, "non-partisan," which simply means that the State does not provide machinery whereby the established parties can nominate and select their official candidates. Any such machinery would, from the orthodox point of view, be wasted in Boston, for nothing short of a miracle can prevent the Democratic nominee from winning over the Republican in that city. However, to get a candidate's name printed on the ballot in this "non-partisan" election, it is necessary to secure the signatures of 3,000 qualified electors on nomination papers. One rule specifies how the signatures must be drawn from various wards of the city; another, that each signature must correspond exactly with the form in which the signer is registered as a voter. Thus, if Thomas Henry Jones of 17, Paradise Street, is registered (as he probably will be) as "Thomas H. Jones," he had better not sign his name in full, and he certainly must not sign "Thos. H. Jones," or "T. H. Jones," or "T. Henry Jones," if he wants his nomination accepted by the scrutineers in office at City Hall. Again, if he has moved from 17 to 35, Paradise Street, or into some other street, since the date on which he was last registered as a voter, he has lost the power of making a valid nomination.

The consequence of this method of nominating is that the professional politician alone has a chance of election. It is

true that no candidate may have the solid support of the machine of either the Democratic or the Republican Party throughout the city, but it is equally true that the backing of regular political organisations in several wards, at least, is indispensable to victory. Such organisations can obtain the necessary signatures without great difficulty, and can also offer a reasonable degree of assurance that the lists will not be scrutinised with deliberate hostility by the officials who certify the nominations; for, although there may be family fights within and between the two dominant parties, they usually give each other fair play and unite against all outsiders. For the outsider, on the other hand—and particularly for a working-class organisation which must rely largely upon voters whose conditions force them to move frequently and many of whom have "queer" "foreign" names, in the official spelling of which mistakes constantly occur—the gathering of nominations is heart-breaking work which absorbs energies that are desperately needed for the campaign proper.

What happened in the Boston mayoral election in 1917 proves to the hilt the truth of these assertions. The Socialist candidate, James Oneal, had many advantages. His name alone was a tremendous asset in Irish Boston; he was a practised speaker and writer; he was thoroughly familiar with American psychology; and there was, at that time, nothing in his record to discredit him among the radicals as a compromising politician. Circumstances were not wholly unfavourable, either. Despite the propaganda of big business, there was little real enthusiasm for the war against Germany, and still less for the virtual alliance with Britain. The capitalist newspapers were seriously alarmed at the prospect of a large protest vote,* and one of them went so far as to threaten to publish in its columns the names of all signers of nomination papers for Oneal. They need not have worried. Correct in their belief in the existence of widespread dissatisfaction, they altogether under-estimated the mental laziness and moral cowardice of the electorate. The newspaper threat certainly made it no easier to get signatures, but even before the threat it had become evident that Oneal's name would not get on the ballot. Under the American system the voter may write or

* Boston's municipal affairs had, of course, little to do with the World War, but elections in the United States are hardly ever fought on real issues. It was unquestionably anti-war feeling that gave Morris Hillquit a record Socialist vote in the New York mayoral campaign of the same year.

paste on his ballot the name of any person of his choice, if he disapproves of the officially recognised candidates ; and Oneal's candidacy was maintained to the end by printing and distributing "stickers" bearing his name, so as to save his supporters the trouble of writing it in. As was to be expected, however, under such conditions, he polled only a few hundred votes.

In the State elections the same brand of "democracy" is in evidence. So long as a party remains very small it is permitted to nominate its candidates at a regular annual convention. Not until the votes given to it amount to a specified percentage of the total ballots cast in an election does it have to bother with the signature-collecting business.* Then it becomes a "recognised" party, and troubles descend upon it with a vengeance. To put a full ticket in the field it must secure so many thousand nominations for Governor, for Lieutenant-Governor, for Secretary of State, for Attorney-General, for State Treasurer, for State Auditor, and perhaps for one or two other offices which the writer has forgotten, the candidate for each office having to be nominated separately.

From what has already been said on the subject of restrictions on city nominations the reader will have inferred that the nominations filed on behalf of a Socialist or other unorthodox candidate must exceed, by anything from 50 to 200 per cent., the number required by law. Otherwise the rejection of signatures by the Election Commissioners may exclude him at the last moment. Such precautions are just as badly needed in State as in city politics, but geographical conditions render it more difficult to meet the need. Nominations for State office must come, in such and such proportions, from so many different counties ; and even in a small State, such as Massachusetts, a "recognised" party, to nominate a candidate, must campaign and collect signatures in a dozen different towns which have as much in common with each other and are as far apart as (say) Wimbledon, Watford, Reading, Northampton, Brighton, Colchester, Dover, Aylesbury, Southend, Cambridge, Lewes, and Wallingford. If this were all, it would be enough—for any but a wealthy and powerful organisation. But it is not all. What the constitution-framers and gerry-

* To the best of the writer's recollection this percentage was, at the time he has in mind, set at three. The point is in any case of small importance, as the details of American electoral procedure are constantly being changed to meet the tactical needs of the politicians in power.

manderers of former generations left undone in the way of obstruction to the popular will—and be it said, in justice to the dear departed, that they accomplished wonders in that direction—has in our own day been made good by American political engineers. The masterpiece of ingenuity and hypocrisy which these gentlemen have succeeded in foisting upon a majority of the States is known as “the direct primary.”

Generally speaking, the fear of lynch law and social ostracism suffices to keep American parties of protest so small as to exclude them from the rank of “recognition.” Every now and then, however, one of these outsiders polls enough votes to bring it within the charmed circle. The change in nominating procedure which follows upon such a success has already been described; the explanation of the change is to be found in the working of “the direct primary.” Before the invention of the primary all parties nominated their candidates in convention, as the “unrecognised” still do. As every one who knows anything of American politics is aware, party conventions were, and are, the battleground of rascals who contended, and contend, for control of the party machinery. Experience has so deeply graven on the minds of Americans the idea that personal corruption is inseparable from what they call democratic government, that their views on the subject are usually about as intelligent and progressive as those of an orthodox Mohammedan on the prevention of cholera or bubonic plague. Yet there came a time when even American cynicism grew restive under the rule of Republican and Democratic conventions. It became clear to the keener-visioned among the upholders of the existing order that either the political bosses must change their ways or they must find some way of shifting responsibility for their acts. The second plan was adopted, the direct primary being the responsibility-shifting device employed.

The argument put forward in support of this method of election is that the State has a duty officially to recognise political parties, to protect them against invasion by outsiders seeking to capture or transform them, and to see that the rank and file of each party have a voice in selecting the party nominees. The right to nominate is accordingly transferred from the party conventions to individual nominees. Each candidate for party nomination must obtain the requisite number of signatures, divided among the counties as prescribed by law; and his name then goes on the party primary ballot. An election is held by the State to discover who is to be the official nominee of each party. There is a separate ballot for

each party, and the voter has to specify in which party primary he wishes to participate. By this choice he officially enrolls himself as a party member. In a party of protest, nomination in the primary is equivalent to nomination as official candidate, for the struggle to get one set of signatures sufficiently taxes the resources of the organisation, and there is no inducement to wealthy outsiders to put up their names. In the dominant parties, however, there are usually several candidates. These are either bosses or tools of bosses representing factions which would, under the old system, have made their fight on the floor at the party conventions, with the occasional addition of some wealthy or influential man who aspires to independent boss-hood and is in a position to create a new machine of his own. In other words, the plan perpetuates boss control under the pretence of abolishing it, for without a "machine" it is practically impossible to secure the nomination and wage an effective electoral campaign.

Our experience in Massachusetts demonstrated how well the direct primary fulfils the purpose for which it was designed. Years of propaganda, combined with growing popular discontent, had resulted in the polling of sufficient votes to secure State "recognition" for the Socialist Party. Automatically we lost our right to nominate in convention and devote our small funds and considerable energies to campaigning in our own way. If we failed to nominate in the primaries, our party would not appear on the final ballot. Perhaps we were wrong, but we calculated that the loss of prestige in that event was more to be feared than the waste of money and effort involved in going after the signatures. We succeeded in nominating part, at any rate, of the ticket—the details are unimportant—but, with our strength frittered away in the technical details of electioneering, our campaign was a failure. Our vote fell off, and we reverted, as it was intended we should, to the ranks of the "unrecognised."

No mere description can do justice to the craftsmanship that enters into the framing of an effective American election law. One has to be on the spot to appreciate fully the skill with which the political bosses plan their moves so as to preserve the illusion of democracy among the slow-thinking masses at the very moments when they are most busily engaged in extending and strengthening their own arbitrary power. A few words on the provision of the direct primary law for protecting existing parties from invasion by outsiders may, better than any other available means, convey to the English reader an

idea of the political cunning involved. As was stated above, a voter enrolls himself officially as a party member when he participates in a primary. He may change his choice of party from election to election, and his primary choice is not necessarily indicative of the candidates he will vote for in the final election, but by voting in a party primary he loses the right to sign nomination papers for candidates of any other party at the next election. This restriction follows naturally upon the idea that established parties are entitled to State protection, and, as will be shown, adds materially to the difficulties of parties of protest.

By abstaining from the primaries a citizen in no way impairs his rights in the actual election for office, and it is a matter of record that the numbers of ballots cast in the two often differ widely. As a rule the primary voters comprise the worst and the best of the electorate, those whose votes are "delivered" (to this or that candidate) by a party boss and those who are sufficiently interested in the public welfare to attempt to appraise aspirants for office on their merits. Among the candidates in any primary there will usually be one who, for an American politician, is honest and progressive; there will probably also be two or three who are conspicuously dishonest and reactionary. The best that can be expected from an elector who has not yet realised the futility of the whole proceeding is that he endeavour to elect the first or exclude the last. It is to this group of electors that any new movement must look for its most promising recruits. Such recruits, however, are useless for nominating purposes until the second election after their conversion, and many drop discouraged out of the ranks in the interval. In this way the "recognised" party of protest is thrown back upon the great indifferent mass for any nominations which its tried supporters may be too few to furnish.

It should be added that when a radical party gets its candidate on a primary ballot, the rank and file have to turn out and vote for him. If they fail to do so they take the risk of discovering next day that some opponent has secretly engineered an eleventh hour "sticker" campaign,* and, with the aid of a few score of friends, has wrested the party nomination from the real nominee, thus making a laughing-stock of the organisation. Being compelled officially to register themselves through their participation in the primary, the radicals are

* For explanation, see account of Oneal's mayoral contest in Boston, page 27.

easily "marked," and what that means will be made clear in the chapter devoted to "Americanism and Law and Order."

Everywhere in the United States the *status quo* is maintained by similar trickery, coupled with rant about the sanctity of democracy. In the mind of the native this condition is the only conceivable alternative to mediæval feudalism; it is "politics," and "politics" are part of "democracy." Whoever thinks otherwise is an unpractical dreamer, says the good American, himself little dreaming that his conclusion confirms, from an opposite point of view, substantially all the criticisms that the Communists direct against modern democratic republics!

* * * * *

Although, on the great scale, the ethics of each age are dictated by the requirements of its economic and social structure, in the small matters of personal intercourse men have constantly tried to express ideals which, however admirable in the abstract, had the misfortune to be out of harmony with contemporary conditions. Conscious hypocrisy cannot be excluded from the motives underlying such personal practices, but ineffective aspiration also drives men into strange inconsistencies. They are willing to put themselves to considerable personal inconvenience for the sake of an ideal, but not to challenge the entire social order which makes that ideal impossible of realisation. Thus the Christian employer who drives his underpaid work-girls on to the streets for a subsistence may, and sometimes does, live a rigidly chaste life, from a sense of duty and against his personal inclination. In such cases the mischief is wrought by attempting to find individual solutions for problems that are essentially social. Such democracy as exists in the United States to-day is almost entirely of this narrow, individualistic type.

Powerless to affect the main currents of history, the ideas of liberty and equality proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence still find quaint, if futile, expression in the absence of discrimination shown by the average American in contact with his fellows. It will be understood that this remark has no bearing upon the race antagonisms which are apt to arise whenever a community which has been dominated by people of one kind receives a large influx of new blood. Even then, except in the case of coloured people, the discrimination is a mass, rather than a personal, attitude; and the writer has more than once been amazed to see how men who were engaged in a policy of brutal repression in the mass have attempted, as

individuals and "on the side," to gain the esteem of their victims. Subject to this important reservation, however, American social intercourse is singularly free from snobbery. Outside the small clique of aristocratic New Englanders satirised in the popular verse :—

I'm from dear old Boston,
The land of the bean and the cod,
Where Cabots speak only with Lowells,
And Lowells speak only with God,

it is surprisingly easy for a "cat" not merely to look at, but to speak with, a "king."

The privacy of persons in authority, whether in business or in public life, is not hedged around with taboos nor guarded by small armies of minor officials to anything like the same extent as in the Old World. Some adroitness and persistence may be necessary to secure an interview with an important man, but the applicant has only to create the impression that what he has to say will be worth hearing. In the Old World, of course, he must also offer some kind of surety that he is the sort of person from whom it is proper for an important man to hear anything at all. As between employer and employee, executive and subordinate officials, clerical and manual workers, there is more familiarity of manner and speech than is customary in Europe. Much of this familiarity is deliberately cultivated by scientific managers who understand its value in maintaining the illusion of equality in the minds of the rank and file; the remainder is insisted upon by the rank and file themselves, whose personal aggressiveness often contrasts painfully with their docility as a class.

Undoubtedly democratic sentiment may fairly claim a share of the credit for this characteristic of American social life, but it is not the only influence at work. Almost equally important are the extraordinary ignorance and narrowness of outlook of the so-called educated classes in the United States. With the ignorance of the learned we have all been made familiar, but the ignorance of the average product of an American college is unredeemed even by learning. Specialised scientific training the universities do supply, but a really well-informed man, in the European sense, is indeed a *rara avis*. Apparently through a weird perversion of the idea of division of labour, there has grown up a custom known as "talking socially." As this is understood to be a mental relaxation, accuracy, coherence and responsibility are ruled out of it. A first experience is

simply mystifying to the uninitiated. During the war, for example, the writer heard Americans speculating, in "social" talk, whether, in the event of France and Britain concluding an unsatisfactory peace with Germany, the United States Government would maintain the Western Front on its own account! No statement is too wild, no conclusion too idiotic, for this sort of conversation. Should a stranger attempt to correct an error or expose a fallacy on such an occasion, he is reminded that "we are not arguing: we are just talking socially." Save for professional and business purposes, knowledge and reasoning power count for next to nothing in American life, since nearly all conversation outside working hours is "social." The whole environment discourages everything in the nature of real intellectual activity, and millions become "social conversation" addicts who in other countries might have developed into serious-minded persons.

As soon as men deliberately give themselves over to talking tommy-rot, it is obvious that differences of education and understanding lose their significance; the professional man and the day labourer may meet on a common level of unreason and unreality. Thus comes about much seeming social equality in the United States. There is in the writer's mind no thought of justifying the social and educational divisions of the Old World. On the contrary, his conviction is that economic forces are rapidly undermining the foundations of the entire social structure of Western Europe. What he is now trying to show is that a remodelling on the American plan, even if practicable, would not give satisfactory results.

* * * * *

A now famous humorist, in one of his youthful attempts to ridicule socialism, pictured a community in which the blessed word "majority" was always written with a capital M, and in which hats were doffed whenever it was spoken. Had he but known, he was slightly caricaturing the mental attitude of a nation which prides itself, above all else, on its individualism. Although, as has been explained, American politicians have evolved uniquely complex and efficient machinery for thwarting the will of the people, respect for the majority is carefully taught in every public school as part of the creed of orthodox democracy. The purpose of this teaching is to make it easier for those who control publicity to inflame the mob against any individual or group against whom they may have a grudge, or of whom they may be afraid. *Lèse-majesté* in Germany was

a small matter compared with *lèse-majorité* in the United States. In the former case the offender at least knew against whom the offence was committed and in what it consisted; the penalty also was more or less definitely prescribed. In the latter case any one who is not exactly like his neighbours may wake up some morning to find himself the object of attack; the penalty may be anything from being "railroaded out of town" to lynching; from being flogged, tarred and feathered to facing trumped-up charges in a criminal court. In the supposed interests of majority rule the average American will cheerfully assume the *rôle* of private detective or professional perjurer.

Detailed discussion of the methods and influence of mob terror belongs to later chapters, but the topic is here mentioned in passing, principally for the instruction of those who would have us believe that if we have good ideals, conduct will take care of itself. It is well that such persons should realise how closely lynching and other lawless brutalities are associated with the slogans of democracy. Incidentally, we may convince some reader who has begun to question within himself whether our indictment of Americanism is over-severe that it is better judgment to interpret the theory in the light of the facts, even at the risk of being thought unkind, than to attempt to deduce the facts from the beautiful ideals enunciated by the theorists.



IV

AMERICANISM AND LIBERTY

WHERE Americanism flourishes, there liberty withers away. Liberty and intense nationalism do not consort with each other in this world. The nationalism of subject peoples thrives upon the denial of liberty by alien rulers; the nationalism of imperial peoples can brook no form of thought or action which may hinder schemes of national aggrandisement. During periods of subjection the demands of nationalism usually coincide with those of liberty; but, with the dreadful example of Poland in plain view, only the wilfully blind can fool themselves into the belief that nationalism is identical with love of liberty, even among oppressed nationalities.

Propagandists of Americanism may be divided into two classes—the wilfully blind and the deliberately crooked. Both take absolutely for granted that liberty is the corner-stone of existing American institutions; both, if they condescend to answer criticism at all, will dismiss any iniquity with some such remark as “Oh, that’s the price we pay for liberty, you know. *We* believe it is better to leave people free even if they do make mistakes.” What with Liberty bells and Liberty bonds, Liberty motors and Liberty statues, the ordinary American finds it as hard to get away from the name as to get anywhere near the thing. Should he, in the not too distant future, develop a desire to see himself as others see him—and a demand thus arise for an American edition of this book—a chapter on liberty would become absolutely necessary. For which, among other reasons, the writer has determined to set down at this place a few striking examples of liberty as it is understood and practised in the United States.

Appropriately enough, the plutocracy of modern America goes, for its conceptions of liberty, to the aristocracy of ancient Rome. The upholders of senatorial privilege in the old republic had a saying that “liberty is the power of doing what is permitted by law.” “Liberty consists in obedience to the law” is the condensed and strengthened form in which the maxim does duty to-day. It would, perhaps, be going too far

to say that the words convey a perfect picture of slavery ; but it may be observed that every pioneer of freedom in the world's history has sooner or later found himself in conflict with the law, and that, on this definition, neither chattel slavery, nor the Spanish Inquisition, nor the Red Terror, nor all three together, are in any way inconsistent with complete liberty.

Let it not be supposed that this strange doctrine is confined to small groups of fanatical reactionaries. It has received the stamp of official approval ; it is set forth in inscriptions on public buildings ; it is part of the stock-in-trade of every politician and literary hack. These same politicians and literary hacks are also fond of repeating that what the world most needs to-day is " ideals," and that the potency of an ideal in every-day life depends not so much upon the conditions under which that life has to be lived as upon the vigour and persuasiveness with which the ideal is presented in written or spoken words. Yet they themselves are more influenced by a lying phrase coined by Roman lawyers 2,000 years ago than by the marvellously vivid portrayal of a free society by the one great poet their country has given to the world. In his " Song of the Broad-Axe " Walt Whitman wrote :—

Where the men and women think lightly of the laws ;
 Where the slave ceases, and the master of slaves ceases ;
 Where the populace rise at once against the never-ending
 audacity of elected persons ;
 Where fierce men and women pour forth, as the sea to the
 whistle of death pours its sweeping and unripped waves ;
 Where outside authority enters always after the precedence
 of inside authority ;
 Where the citizen is always the head and ideal, and President,
 Mayor, Governor, and what not, are agents for pay ;
 Where children are taught to be laws to themselves, and to
 depend on themselves ;

* * * * *

There the great city stands.

America has forgotten Whitman and remembered the musty legal tag, not because the latter is true or forceful, but because its falsity and flatness can, under existing conditions, be turned to practical account, as the beautiful ideals of the poet cannot.

When Americans make the claim that in their country law observance and liberty mean the same thing, they tell us more about their own mental condition than about the character of the laws. The fact is that, in the matter of vexatious and unnecessary interference with private life, the laws of many of

the States go further than those of any other country in the world. In one respect only is liberty commonly stretched beyond the average limits reached in Europe, and that is in the immunity enjoyed by certain anti-social classes. The insolent, thievish, whining American child of the North may do as it pleases, in the sure and certain hope of severe legal vengeance upon any adult who may be rash enough to repay molestation with a well-deserved spanking or cuffing. Police-men are at liberty to shoot offenders in the street whenever in their judgment such action will prevent an escape. People attempting to avoid arrest for minor offences are frequently wounded, and sometimes killed, as a consequence of this liberty. District attorneys and other prosecuting officials are at liberty to torture prisoners in the hope of extracting confessions before trial. Newspaper men are at liberty to give currency to any malicious falsehood which will serve their owners' personal ends. Southern white men are at liberty to hold negroes in peonage, and, over a wide territory, to destroy the health and happiness of young children by setting them to work in factories and mills for long hours under conditions of utmost cruelty. To the decently disposed majority of the population, however, liberty is rationed out with the strictest regard for economy.

For convenience of reference a few typical instances of liberty, American style, are here listed under general headings.

PROHIBITED PLEASURES

1. In several States the inhabitants are not allowed to work in their gardens, nor to do jobs around the house, on Sunday. Massachusetts had to pass a special law when it wished to suspend its prohibition of Sunday gardening in war-time.

2. Sunday games are also forbidden in many places. The golf course of a club in the suburbs of Boston crosses the boundary line between two towns. On Sundays only half the course can be used. Play in the other town would be followed by arrests.

3. It is now common knowledge throughout the world that Americans are forbidden to choose their drinks. A considerable measure of liberty in this respect is, however, maintained through the corruption of prohibition officials.

INTERFERENCES IN PRIVATE LIFE

4. Adult men and women choosing to live together outside legal matrimony are, in a number of States, liable to arrest and

imprisonment. The reference here is not to couples taken together in raids on disorderly houses, but to all persons who prefer a free union to the legal bond. As in the matter of "prohibition," the liberty denied by the law is purchased on a large scale from the supposedly law-enforcing officials; but the courts from time to time pass prison sentences upon couples who are unlucky enough to be found out and who are not rich enough to pay the policeman's "graft."

5. American physicians are by law forbidden to give patients who want to limit the size of their families any information as to the contraceptive measures through which the desired limitation can be most surely and healthfully effected. Not merely publication, but the giving of information in the privacy of a consulting room, is illegal. Of course the law is flouted in the interests of the well-to-do, but working-class parents, who need it most, are to a large extent prevented from obtaining advice on this subject. Every now and then traps are laid for doctors, nurses, and others who are willing to advise poor people on this subject, and any who are caught are severely punished. As a consequence of this state of affairs, the practice of abortion is painfully common in the United States.

6. The State of Minnesota enjoys the infamy of denying its free (American style) citizens the right to possess so much as a picture of a red flag. The language of an amazing statute passed by the Minnesota Legislature in 1919 is as follows:—

1. It shall be unlawful for any person to display within the State of Minnesota any red flag or black flag, provided, however, that the provisions of this Act shall not prohibit the use of a red flag by any employee of a railroad company as a signal, or the display of a red flag on a public highway as a warning of obstruction.

2. It shall be unlawful for any person to have in his possession, custody, or control any red or black flag, *or any picture or facsimile thereof*, whether printed, painted, stamped, carved or engraved on any card, paper or insignia, with intent to display the same in Minnesota. The possession, or having the same in possession or custody, of any such flag, or picture or facsimile thereof, as above prohibited, by any person, shall be deemed evidence of an intent on the part of the persons so having the same in possession, custody or control, to display the same within the State of Minnesota.

3. It shall be unlawful for any person to display any flag or banner, ensign or sign, having upon it any inscription antagonistic to the existing Government of the United States or the State of Minnesota.

To a European mind such legislation suggests a Government frantic with horror after a political assassination or a bloody uprising, but Mr. Walter Nelles, who, as counsel for the Civil Liberties Union, has had unusual opportunity to familiarise himself with enactments of this character, describes it merely as a "typical Red Flag Law."* No other law quite like it has come to the writer's personal notice.

DENIAL OF FREE SPEECH

7. Striking workmen are systematically prevented from holding public meetings, either out of doors or in halls, for the purpose of putting their side of the dispute before the mass of the people. The prevailing official attitude was forcibly stated during the great steel strike of 1919 by James S. Crawford, Mayor of Duquesne, Pennsylvania, who laid it down that "Jesus Christ Himself could not speak in Duquesne for the A. F. of L.!"—the American Federation of Labour being an organisation of such easy-going temper that it will not associate itself even with the conservative Amsterdam Trade Union International, on the ground that European labour is too radical for its taste.

The authority under which this sort of "liberty" is enforced is known technically as "the police power." Although abridgments of the rights of free press, speech and assembly are expressly forbidden by the Federal Constitution, it is held that local authorities are entitled to take such measures as are necessary to preserve the peace. Being under a constitutional obligation not to abridge free speech, it is argued, they will never do so except to meet an emergency calling for the use of the police power. Thus is liberty (American style) defended by reason (American style).

8. Meetings at which individuals of known radical tendencies are to speak, or at which topics of a thought-provoking character are to be discussed, are liable *at any time* to be "called off" by the police without warning, provocation or explanation. Sometimes the speakers are met at the railway station by the chief of police or his representative, and are told to leave the town forthwith. Sometimes the proprietor or manager of the hall is approached and given to understand that if a particular meeting is held therein, any licence he may hold for concerts, dramatic performances, or dances, will be

* "Seeing Red" (page 6), published by the American Civil Liberties Union, New York City.

summarily revoked. In such cases those who have gone to the trouble and expense of arranging and advertising the affair are practically without redress.

It is impossible to be active in any progressive movement without running into experiences of this sort; they occasion no surprise and arouse no public sympathy. If by any chance one of these outrages does excite public outcry and lead to a pretence of official investigation, the considerations involved are sure to be other than those of liberty of speech. The mass meeting arranged in New York City by the Birth Control League of America in December, 1921, and stupidly broken up by the police before a word had been spoken from the platform, is a case in point. There was nothing unusual in the action of the police; what was unusual was the interest of Mr. Harold Cox and one or two other European notables who were in the United States at the time for a congress on eugenics. Such notice as the raid received from officials and public personages was motived simply by the desire to keep up appearances in the presence of eminent foreigners.

9. Connecticut, the State which in former days made it a punishable offence for a man to kiss his wife on Sunday, now carries the same sweet spirit into free speech legislation. Thus, under a statute enacted in 1919:—

No person shall, in public, or before any assemblage of ten or more persons, advocate in any language any measures, doctrine, proposal or propaganda intended to injuriously affect the Government of the United States or the State of Connecticut.

Ignorant of this law, an ex-soldier named Yenowsky ventured in public the opinion that Lenin was "the most brainiest man in the world." He was awarded six months in jail.

(It was once the writer's misfortune to find himself in a position where courtesy demanded that he face the music of an hour speech by the Governor of Connecticut. If the reader had suffered similarly he would agree that Connecticut is to be pitied as well as blamed; it must indeed be a herculean task to inspire the people with respect for the State officers.)

10. For the most perfect legislative expression of what Americans mean by liberty of speech, we must look to Kentucky. It goes without saying that the free and independent Kentuckians are forbidden to preach what is known in the Western States as "criminal syndicalism." Membership in any organisation which advocates this doctrine is punishable

by twenty-one years in prison. It is also made a crime to arouse by speech, writing or otherwise, "discord or strife or ill feeling between classes of persons for the purpose of inducing public tumult or disorder," or for two or more persons to "agree, band, or confederate themselves together" for that purpose; and the law expressly provides that people may be convicted of the last-mentioned offence without proof of any overt act. Policemen are in terms required—under penalty of a \$1,000 fine, thirty days in the county jail, forfeiture of office and disqualification for public service for a period of five years—to disperse *forcibly* any assembly they may consider unlawful; and—crowning touch of Americanism!—if the death of any person be caused—whether accidentally by rioters, deliberately by policemen, or otherwise—at any meeting which is found to be in violation of the law, all persons responsible for the meeting shall be guilty of murder and be punished with death.

For the guidance of any incredulous reader who may wish to check the writer's statements concerning this remarkable law, it may be added that it is known as the Kentucky anti-syndicalist and sedition law, and that it was signed by Governor Morrow on March 26th, 1920.

CENSORSHIP OF THE PRESS

II. Obviously there is no sense in muzzling speakers, if you intend to let writers go free; restrictions upon the spoken word must be accompanied by censorship of the written. Americans are accordingly prevented from obtaining through the mails literature which is not to the taste of the Postmaster-General or his agents. Considerations of expediency are responsible for the use of these officials, instead of policemen, to control the press. The "police power" trick is well enough for the suppression of free speech, but it is ill adapted to the purpose of nullifying the "free press" amendment to the Constitution. The character and intent of an utterance from pulpit or platform can be judged from gesture, tone, and the circumstances of the speech, as well as from the language actually used. Furthermore, as every public speaker knows to his cost, it is the easiest thing in the world for stupidity or malice to misreport what is said. Under the American system of jury-packing, one lying witness for the State will outweigh five truthful witnesses for the defence; hence there is little difficulty, whatever the circumstances, in punishing, as an incitement to break the peace, the public expression of any opinion not smiled upon by the authorities.

Cold print, however, has to be handled more delicately. Without doubt most of the hand-picked jurymen would condemn anybody or anything at the request of a prosecuting District Attorney, but the court records would show with indisputable accuracy just what each writer's offence was. Very awkward constitutional questions would constantly be coming before the judges, and a mass of invaluable material would be available to the "trouble-makers."

To avoid these complications the authorities devised a plan for dealing with the problem by arbitrary administrative decree. The United States Post Office has the trade in reading matter completely at its mercy. Bookshops are few, ill stocked and abominably managed ; individual orders by mail are the mainstay of the business in periodicals, and, to a large extent, in books and daily newspapers ; periodicals and dailies are, in the ordinary way, entitled to what is known as "second class mailing privilege," which means the right to mail their issues, at the office through which the privilege is granted, in bulk, with the assurance of prompt service, without stamps affixed, and at half the rate charged for printed matter posted by individuals. The whole business is in fact organised on a "mail order" basis. On the other hand, wide powers of exclusion are vested in the Postmaster-General. He may refuse to handle at all matter which, in the judgment of his advisers, may be in violation of any law, and, much more important, he may withhold second class privilege just "as his guts guide him." Postmaster Burleson, under the Wilson *régime*, not only refused the privilege to radical journals applying for it, but invented a method of revoking without reason permits already issued. His procedure was as follows : An issue would be held up for examination as to its fitness to pass through the mails ; before a final decision had been reached on this point, the next issue would be brought in ; the publishers would then be told that second class privilege was conditional upon the maintenance of regular service ; the regularity having been lost through the interference with the previous issue, the privilege seemed legally to have been forfeited.

Although the present Postmaster, Will H. Hays,* has, probably for political reasons, repudiated some of the worst of the Burleson policies, it cannot be denied that many liberal and radical publications have been crippled, more killed, and yet others prevented from coming to birth, by the threat or

* Mr. Hays has lately resigned his seat in the Cabinet to accept a position in the motion picture industry.

the actuality of Post Office persecution. Camouflage the fact as they may, Americans are for all practical purposes limited in their magazine reading to what the Postmaster-General for the time being thinks good for them.

12. While the Post Office is busy censoring magazines the public libraries are performing the same function with respect to books. Library trustees and managing committees are seldom liberal or progressive bodies; in the section of the United States with which the writer is most familiar they are dominated either by disciples of the Pilgrim Fathers or the Roman Catholic Church, two groups which, having nothing else in common, are united in fanatic hatred of all that is most vigorous and promising in the thought of our day. And the librarians are worse than the trustees and committees. Sometimes books that are actually in the library are not catalogued. The writer has learned, for example, from two independent sources that people "in the know" and able to pull the right strings have had no difficulty in obtaining J. D. Beresford's novels from the Boston Public Library, although up to the end of 1921, at any rate, not one of them was listed in the library catalogue.

In other cases books are "starred" for limited circulation only; and the would-be reader is subjected to humiliating cross-examination and delay before he or she can secure them. Thomas Hardy's "Jude the Obscure" is a "starred" work at some of the libraries, as one of the writer's friends, a professional woman in the middle thirties, had cause to remember. When this lady's patience and determination had enabled her to surmount the last of the red-tape entanglements around the desired volume, the defeated female in charge sought—unsuccessfully, as it happened—to make her an object of ridicule to two or three young men who were also waiting for books. An American lecturer of national reputation is fond of telling—but not for publication, because his *clientèle* consists mainly of select women's clubs—of the yet more unpleasant experiences, ending in failure, of a married lady of his acquaintance. His story does not concern a novel, but the book "What a Young Girl Ought to Know," which his friend wished to read for the purpose of getting hints as to the best method of imparting to her growing daughter the sex instruction she felt it her duty to give.

It will not have escaped the reader that in each of the foregoing instances the libraries might defend their attitude by appealing to what that great novelist, Edith Wharton (herself

an American, but redeemed by long years of residence in Europe), has sarcastically described as the "abysmal purity" which is supposed to keep women ignorant that such a thing as sex exists, or presents any problems. By different means, however, it is made just as hard to consult the writings of any but rigidly orthodox economists and social theorists. Few indeed are the unorthodox volumes that ever reach the library shelves, and these are reported mislaid with a consistency and cheerfulness that drive the student nearly frantic. Thinking that his own troubles from this cause might be nothing worse than a run of bad luck, the writer inquired of others, with results which left him no alternative but to conclude that habitual mislaying is just another of the tricks by which the substance of liberty is withheld from American readers.

"FREEDOM TO WORSHIP GOD"

13. Their own acts, as soon as they found themselves in a position to persecute others, form a complete answer to the claim, often made in their behalf, that the early settlers of New England were interested in religious liberty. None the less it must be admitted that the doctrine of legal separation between Church and State exercised a powerful influence on American policy during the nineteenth century. The United States became the home of numberless weird cults which were attracted thither by the prospect of freedom from State interference.

More recently, however, there has been a swing back to religious intolerance in striking contrast to the dominant tendencies in the rest of the civilised world. Speaking at Montclair, New Jersey, on October 11th, 1921, Thomas R. Marshall, who served as Vice-President during both of Woodrow Wilson's presidencies, declared (according to a special dispatch to the *Boston Herald*) that every child in the United States should be compelled to go to church. Mr. Marshall criticised those who construed the "freedom of worship" provision of the Constitution as meaning "that they did not have to worship God at all."

The Massachusetts Legislature has before it at the date of writing* a petition to make universal church attendance compulsory. The petition is sponsored by Frank P. Bennett, himself until lately a member of the Legislature, a representative in the last State Constitutional Convention, and former

* January, 1922.

managing editor of a leading Boston newspaper. This gentleman is still prominent in political circles and holds public office in his home town. He is also agitating for a constitutional amendment which will make belief in God a condition of citizenship.

Coming from experienced and successful politicians, these pronouncements are not to be taken as the frenzied outpourings of angry Chadbands, but as "slogans" which their authors think likely to prove useful in the dirty field of American politics. In this connection it is noteworthy that Roger W. Babson, the "Captain Coe" of American gamblers in securities, has been campaigning vigorously in favour of greater interest in "religion" on the part of the "stock operator." If the latter had any sense, argues Babson, he would see that the Churches are his best friends, allaying, as they do, the resentment of the poverty-stricken masses. In the light of such warnings there is nothing far-fetched in the idea that within a very few years it may be as illegal to stay away from church as it now is to drink a glass of beer.

LIBERTY IN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

What Americanism does to the Labour movement will be more fully explained in a later chapter. At present all that is necessary is to tabulate two or three of its major achievements in the direction of "liberty."

14. In some States, notably Kansas, workers are not at liberty to strike. Alexander Howat and August Dorchy, officers of the United Mine Workers of America, have served jail sentences for calling a strike forbidden by the authorities. Further legislation designed to prevent "unwarranted strikes" is under consideration in New York.

15. State Legislatures are not at liberty to enact laws protecting peaceful picketing from arbitrary interference by the courts. An Act giving such protection in the State of Arizona has just been declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court.

16. Striking workers are not, at any time or place, at liberty to carry picketing to the point of "importunity and dogging," according to another recent Supreme Court decision arising out of a strike at Granite City, Illinois.

17. Whenever and wherever a strike occurs, it is the practice of the employers to apply to the courts for "injunctions" depriving the strikers and their unions of liberty to do any of

the things necessary to win the strike. American judges are in the habit of going to almost any lengths to oblige the employers. The whole subject of injunctions will, however, be given further consideration elsewhere.

LIBERTY IN CONGRESS

18. The Republican and Democratic Party leaders having been seriously embarrassed, since President Harding came into office, by the votes of an "agricultural bloc," formed by representatives of farming constituencies irrespective of party affiliations, Representative Anson, of New York State, has introduced into Congress a Bill to deprive legislators of their liberty to organise outside "the regularly convened caucuses of the majority and minority* political parties." The Bill proposes a fine of \$5,000 for either Senators or members of the House of Representatives found guilty of belonging to a "bloc." While the chances are that the Bill will not pass in its present form, it has been accorded a respectful attention very different from the nation-wide burst of guffaws that would greet such a suggestion in any but "the land of the (American style) free."

* *i.e.*, Republicans and Democrats.

V

AMERICANISM AND "LAW AND ORDER"

WE have already noticed the superstitious veneration with which Americans speak of the legal and administrative institutions of their country. In the chapter now beginning we shall see how badly those institutions need the aid of superstition to get themselves respected at all, and how utterly they fail to restrain the lawless proclivities of their devotees.

Neither in the structure of the system nor in its *personnel* is there anything to inspire confidence in an unprejudiced mind. Throughout the civilised world, of course, the maxim holds true that there is one law for the rich and another for the poor, but nowhere else is human welfare so brutally, consistently and openly sacrificed on the altar of private gain as in the courts of the United States. The writer could, if he were so minded, take up the rest of this book, and fill another volume beside, with evidence in support of this sweeping statement. It not being his present purpose, however, to compile a text-book of legal iniquity, he will only touch upon a few of the most objectionable features of American court procedure.

First may be mentioned the method of picking juries. In many places, if not universally, a large majority of the voters is permanently excluded from jury service. The officials of each city and town list a number of citizens believed to be orthodox in their prejudices, and therefore unlikely to reach conclusions that will embarrass the Government. Lists thus compiled in the various townships are combined to form the jury list of the county, which is usually a unit for court purposes. The unfairness inherent in this system is increased by the privilege of challenge recognised in the courts. In addition to a number of peremptory challenges, to which each side is entitled, opposing counsel are permitted to inquire into the opinions and life history of each prospective juror for the purpose of raising objections for consideration by the judge. Days are usually consumed in getting a jury in an important case. All sorts of objections are allowed on all sorts of pretexts.

Membership in a trade union has repeatedly been made a disqualification for jury service in cases involving men active in the Labour movement. Single taxers have also been rejected because of their opinions. Prospective jurors who hesitated to affirm in general terms their willingness to send a fellow human being to the gallows or the electric chair on purely circumstantial evidence have been barred in murder cases. And so on *ad nauseam*. In criminal cases the State employs police detectives to investigate the jury candidates, and uses the information so gained to exclude mercilessly all whom it deems in the least likely to strain a point in favour of the poor devil in the dock. In civil cases the side which has most money hires private detectives, whose reports practically enable it to obtain the sort of jury it wants. These facts alone go far to explain the astounding verdicts returned against radicals in the American courts; the juries in such cases are always packed.

The arts of jury-packing are never resorted to by Governments which intend that the proceedings of their courts shall be fair in other respects; and many a performance that goes by the name of trial in the United States appears to the foreigner either as a joke or an outrage, according to the seriousness of the issues at stake. To begin with, both the investigation and prosecution of criminals (except for federal offences) are in each district in charge of one official, who is known as the district attorney. This individual is elected along with other State and county officers, and it is his duty not merely to act as the State's advocate in the courts in his territory, but also to conduct general inquiry into the activities of suspected persons, to summon witnesses for preliminary examination, and to institute proceedings for the indictment and arrest of offenders. By the time any case of his gets into court a district attorney has acquired an urgent personal interest in securing a conviction, for to the natural desire of a lawyer to make the best of his side of the argument there is added the necessity of vindicating the efficiency of his office as a detective agency.

Thus it comes about that the State's cases are pressed in America much more unscrupulously than British public opinion would tolerate. The attitude of the average district attorney is well expressed in a statement made on January 16th, 1922, by District Attorney Thomas Lee Woolwine at Los Angeles, California, after a jury disagreement over a murder charge against one Arthur C. Burch:—"I am going to keep after Burch until I get him." An exactly similar spirit was

shown by District Attorney Saltonstall in a Massachusetts murder trial which was in progress on that date. There a man named Loud was accused, but subsequently acquitted, of killing a policeman. Loud owned a motor car numbered 20264, and testimony was introduced to show that a car with a number beginning 2-0 had been seen in the vicinity of the crime near the hour of its commission. The first two figures were all that the identifying witnesses had been able to see in the darkness. Yet the district attorney strenuously objected to having it made known to the jury by the defence that a physician against whom there was not a breath of suspicion had been driving in the neighbourhood at about the same time in a car numbered 2024.

Such a concentration of powers and functions as is thrust upon an American district attorney cannot safely be entrusted to any single individual, however wise and good; and district attorneys as a rule fall far below the standard of average humanity in respect of both wisdom and goodness. The inevitable dirtiness of much of its work makes the office unattractive to all but the cheapest of professional politicians. To these gentry the prospect of "getting" their enemies, showing favour to their friends, and doing a general blackmail business at the expense and under the protection of the State, proves very alluring; and so, naturally enough, district attorneys are recruited mainly from their ranks. When such guardians of law, order and public morals fall out among themselves their revelations and mutual recriminations make spicy newspaper reading for months. During the second half of 1921 various quarrels between the law-enforcing officials of Massachusetts came to a head almost simultaneously. The achievements of the contending forces by the beginning of 1922 may be roughly summarised as follows:—Attorney-General J. Weston Allen was under indictment for larceny from a poor woman by whom he had been engaged to do legal work prior to his election as Attorney-General; Judge Peirce, of the State Supreme Court, was under indictment for conspiracy to obstruct the ends of justice; District Attorney Nathan A. Tufts, of the Northern district, had been removed by the Supreme Court for gross misconduct; District Attorney Joseph C. Pelletier, of the Suffolk district, was before the Supreme Court under charges of a yet more serious character; former District Attorney Corcoran, of the Northern district, was under indictment for conspiracy; disbarment proceedings were under way against several leading Boston lawyers; three

more were under sentence for receiving stolen papers, taken from the office of a rival; various judges were the objects of vicious attack and extravagant eulogy according to their treatment of cases argued before them by members of one or other of the two legal gangs.

Yet when a couple of Italian labour agitators are to be rail-roaded to the electric chair on a trumped-up charge of murder, as in the world-famous Sacco-Vanzetti case, the warring factions unite in shrieking that it is like the impudence of radicals to call in question the perfect fairness of legal procedure in the United States, and particularly in Massachusetts. It is one thing for Mr. Henry F. Hurlburt—a Boston lawyer who has a local notoriety as President of the Bar Association, as Attorney-General Allen's chief lieutenant in the campaign against District Attorney Tufts, and as counsel for the Fish Trust—to denounce as a cheap popularity-seeker the judge who was rash enough to pass prison sentences upon certain of Mr. Hurlburt's clients convicted of illegal profiteering in fish; it is quite another for working people and a few middle-class liberals to attack the conduct of the trial which led to the conviction of Sacco and Vanzetti.*

The possibilities of a district attorney's office as a black-mailing agency have already been made clear. While it would be going rather far to lay down as a general proposition that a district attorney is like a waiter—the one depending on threats of prosecution, as the other depends on tips, to add to his stated salary—yet enough has come to light in connection with recent scandals to suggest that the comparison would quite frequently hold good. It remains to show how the extraordinary powers wielded by the district attorney in relation to individual defendants after criminal proceedings have been started are a standing temptation to him to compound felonies—at a profit. The district attorney has practically unlimited authority to *nol. pros.* cases at various stages; it is he commonly who suggests the amount of the bail, and, upon conviction, the sentence. He can suggest to the court, with every expectation of success, that a defendant be placed on probation; he is constantly entering into "gentlemen's agreements" with defending counsel for the disposition of criminal cases on terms

* The writer was one of a large corps of speakers for whose convenience a condensed analysis of the evidence was prepared and subsequently issued in pamphlet form, as "The Story of the Sacco-Vanzetti Case," by the Sacco-Vanzetti Defence Committee, Box 37, Hanover Street Station, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.

settled out of court (though oftentimes submitted to the court afterwards as a matter of form). In conducting this sort of bargaining the possession of plenty of ready money has been found an immense advantage. It was clearly brought out during the trials of District Attorney Tufts and District Attorney Pelletier in Boston that a particular group of high-priced lawyers had been uniquely successful in arranging such semi-official settlements in criminal cases.

Finally, before we pass from the judicial to the administrative field, a word or two should be said on the subject of the law's delays. The State of New Jersey has some remarkable records for speed in disposing of serious criminal cases, but these records are made at the expense of outcasts who are apprehended and hurried into court after perfunctory investigation, given equally perfunctory trial, and sentenced forthwith. This method of procedure is the exception that proves the rule. In general, American criminal proceedings are attended with a wearisome delay which we English are accustomed to associate with civil actions only. Where the accused is poor and friendless, the district attorney is likely to hold up the hearing on the pretext that time is required to complete his investigations or the "preparation"—a word of dread significance in the United States—of the case. Or the purpose may simply be to break down the defendant's *morale* by prolonging his suspense.

Rich defendants—the rich are seldom arrested unless the evidence against them is very strong indeed—usually seek postponement on their own account. Bail presents for them no serious problem; and the number and variety of technical impediments that can be raised simply stagger the English imagination. Firstly, there are those connected with the fact that each State has its own code of laws. A defendant who fights extradition can gain much time by carrying that issue from court to court in a State other than that in which he is "wanted." Occasionally, it is interesting to note, an extradition fight will bring results much more valuable than delay, as witness two recent decisions (in Massachusetts and New York respectively) which, for very different reasons, have attracted some little notice. The Massachusetts authorities declined to return a negro to one of the Southern States on the grounds that the charge against him was not adequately substantiated and that it appeared extremely doubtful whether he would receive a fair trial if extradited. New York State refused to surrender for trial in New Jersey an extremely wealthy man who was

charged in the latter State with two separate criminal assaults, the victims of which both identified him as the assailant.

Suppose, however, that a trial has been held and a conviction secured. Defendant's counsel can go into court and move for a new trial on all of several grounds. After exhausting all the time-gaining possibilities of motions, including as many postponements of hearing as the court will grant, the convicted person is still before the court which tried him. He now goes to the court above on "exceptions" to the rulings and procedure of the trial court. These exceptions frequently run into scores on a single case, and all have to be argued and decided at least once, the number of courts available for appeal varying according to the location and character of the offence. With any luck a clever lawyer will win on one or two of his many chances, and then the case will come back to be tried all over again. When at last the final court of decision is reached, the psychological conditions are as favourable to the defendant as in an English case which is still pressed after two jury disagreements. Oftentimes, also, changes in the plans or *personnel* of the prosecuting authorities afford opportunity for getting the case settled through an amicable arrangement out of court.

Hence it is exceedingly rare to find the well-to-do being punished with severity even for the most heinous crimes. If he had been an American, operating in his own country, Jabez Balfour would never have spent long years in jail for his Liberator frauds; and for Whitaker Wright there would have been nothing in store sufficiently unpleasant to drive him to suicide, if he had not been so foolish as to do his swindling in England instead of in the country in which he first made his "pile."

* * * * *

When an American wishes to insult you, he calls you a politician; when he wishes to characterise a contemptible act, he says, "Oh! that's politics." In this indirect fashion even the most patriotic will admit practically everything that the harshest critics have said about official corruption in the United States.

The history of the past few decades reveals only two practicable methods of operating the machinery of administration of a great modern State other than a Soviet Republic. Either, as in Germany and the British Empire, the work must be entrusted to a corps of permanent officials, hard and narrow, but, in their limited way, efficient; knowing little and caring

less about the fluctuations of public opinion outside their own ranks, but governing their conduct in accordance with pretty definite notions as to what is due *from*, as well as *to*, persons in official position. Or, as in France and the United States, everything may be in the hands of short-term political appointees, often irresponsible and corrupt, but experts in mob psychology and past-masters in the arts that are most useful to those who seek to acquire and maintain popularity without merit. "Red tape" and "politics" are the words used in England and America respectively to characterise the two systems. While the two evils are not mutually exclusive, one or other usually so predominates as to throw its fellow quite into the shade.

American officials, for example, might indulge themselves in as much "red tape" as Germany and the United Kingdom together could find occasion for, and American administration would still be more remarkable for its corruption than for its niggling technicalities. So strong a statement needs to be backed by striking facts, but such facts are not far to seek. Let us first take the record of the last two years in the matter of State governors. The office of governor is the highest which the electorate of a State can confer: its occupant wields the powers of pardon and reprieve of criminals; he commands the military forces of the State; he may veto Bills passed by the State Legislature; the patronage in his gift includes, as a rule, many of the most valuable and important appointments in the State service; from a governorship is a very short step to a United States senatorship or a presidential candidacy. Governors, in short, are the political cream of the country, and to credit the rank and file of American officialdom with gubernatorial* standards of integrity and intelligence would be to err greatly on the side of charity. Yet nobody manifests very much surprise or distress when individual after individual belonging to this exalted class becomes involved in scandals which, in any other land, would create a nation-wide sensation.

In November, 1920, ex-Governor Horace F. Graham, of Vermont, was sentenced to from five to eight years' imprisonment for the larceny of State funds amounting to \$19,000. On the day of sentence he received an unconditional pardon from his successor, Governor Clement, and the Vermont Bar Association, of which the thief was a member, thinks so lightly of the matter that it has voted down a resolution, presented by

* This is the adjective which American newspaper men delight to apply to everything pertaining to a governor.

its committee on professional conduct, recommending his disbarment.

About a year later Governor Small and Lieut.-Governor Sterling, of Illinois, were indicted on a charge of conspiring with others to rob the State of \$535,000. The case has not yet been tried,* but the contention of the prosecution is that the accused were parties to a scheme whereby large sums of public money were placed on deposit in a "safe fund" with an institution calling itself the Grant Park Bank. It is alleged that the "Grant Park Bank" was not a bank at all, but merely a name under which Small, Sterling and their confederates made loans from the State funds to the great packing houses of Armour & Co., Swift & Co., Morris & Co., and the Cudahy Packing Co., and that the conspirators pocketed the difference between the interest (varying from 5 to 8½ per cent.) paid them for the use of the money and the beggarly 2 per cent. allowed to the State by the "Grant Park Bank."

While these unpleasant suggestions were being made in Illinois, trouble was brewing, also in connection with a bank, for the chief executive of Oklahoma. In March, 1921, by bringing up one of their men in an ambulance to the voting chamber, the political friends of Governor Robertson were able to prevent the adoption of a Legislative Committee report recommending his impeachment for misuse of his official powers in connection with illegal transactions involving the Guaranty State Bank of Okmulgee. This, however, was not to be the end of the matter; and on March 22nd, 1922, the Governor was arrested on an indictment charging him with accepting a bribe to permit the bank to operate while in an insolvent condition. According to their accusers, the Governor and former State Banking Commissioner Dennis agreed, in return for a bribe of \$25,000, to place \$150,000 of State funds in the bank, well knowing that the institution was unable to meet its obligations and that their statutory duty was to order its immediate closing.

Less directly affecting the conduct of public business, but, if successful, scarcely less damaging to the prestige of governorship, is the suit filed on February 6th, 1922, by a stenographer in his office against Governor Russell, of Mississippi. The lady claims \$100,000 damages on two counts of \$50,000 each, the first

* On June 24th, 1922, after the above was written, Governor Small was acquitted in the Lake County Circuit Court at Waukegan, Illinois. Three weeks were spent in selecting a jury, and, in the language of the *New York Call*, "the case was marked by much legal jockeying."

alleging seduction under promise of marriage, and the second an illegal operation, undergone at the instigation of the defendant and resulting in permanent invalidism for the plaintiff.

It is true that only one of the four cases mentioned has yet come to final decision, but the mere fact that independent legal proceedings are pending against the governors of several States at the same time speaks for itself. More than ordinary courage is required to initiate proceedings against an influential politician, and the evidence must be weighty indeed before a grand jury can be induced to indict a governor. We may go further than this, and say that even to inconvenience a governor's friends is a very dangerous proceeding unless you are absolutely sure of your ground. For example, an honest, if rather fanatical, prohibition officer named Wilson recently raided a well-known Boston hotel while a banquet was in progress at which Governor Channing Cox, of Massachusetts, was present. A valuable haul of liquor was made, but not in the banqueting hall itself, although it was shown that the forbidden drink had been taken to the hotel in anticipation of the banquet and that many of the banqueters had at least partially slaked an illegal thirst before the arrival of the raiding party. The Governor, naturally enough, disclaimed knowledge of the liquor, and spoke as convincingly as the circumstances allowed in favour of law enforcement. None the less Mr. Wilson lost his job almost immediately, tactlessness in the administration of his office being given as the reason. His place was taken by an appointee named Roberts, who, having served a term in the penitentiary for robbing the mails before he was selected to safeguard his fellow-citizens against the sinful indulgence of a glass of beer, is credited with a proper appreciation of the value of "tact" in crime prevention.

The governor group of scandals may be regarded as a series of badly-infected sores on the body politic which point unmistakably to general unhealthiness, and not local accident, as their cause. The host of what may by comparison be called administrative pimples—defalcations of town and city officials, bribery and corruption among prohibition agents, immigration inspectors, secret service employees, and such small fry—are then seen as subsidiary symptoms of the pervading disease; and the occasional *causes célèbres* which disturb the serenity of even the loftiest circles in Washington are perceived to represent something more than the vagaries of individuals intoxicated with power.

Hatred and contempt are the feelings with which the thinking minority naturally answers the brutality and injustice of the Government. The unthinking majority, which is proportionately larger in the United States than in any other civilised country, will tolerate an enormous quantity of brutality and injustice, so long as opportunities for the grosser forms of pleasure are moderately plentiful. Individual victims of the system, except in the rare instances in which they pass over into the ranks of the minority, "take their medicine," as the popular phrase has it, with worse than Oriental fatalism. Early and thoroughly, after the manner of Jesuit instructors dealing with the notion of ecclesiastical authority, do American school teachers instil in the minds of their pupils the idea that the institutions of the United States represent complete and final perfection. If questioned about the suffering that arises under those institutions, the teacher resorts to the "explanation" which the theologians find such a present help in face of the problem of the existence of evil under the rule of a supposedly all-powerful and holy God; it is the consequence of man's inexplicable, inexcusable, and incurable perversity even under the best of all possible conditions. The attitude of the average American towards his Government thus becomes very similar to that of the average Catholic towards his Church. Each of them is brought up to venerate an institution; neither finds it possible, by any stretch of imagination, to reconcile the conduct of the institution's representatives with the ideals for which it is supposed to stand. The resulting blend of feelings commonly contains a frenzied attachment to Church or State, in the abstract, along with contemptuous hostility towards individual priests or public officials.

Petty meanness, nagging and pomposity are the direct irritants responsible for the unpopularity of the priest or official, but the priest, being a man under discipline, rarely exhibits himself as a mere snobbish fool. The American officeholder, on the contrary, knowing nothing of the restraints of discipline and ignorant of the meaning of self-respect, is constantly making himself a laughing-stock as well as a nuisance. Gilbertian situations arise so frequently that their humour, like that of some practical jokes, fails to compensate for their unpleasant consequences. For an understanding of the tremendous public feeling, upon which the vested interests skilfully play, against federal, state, or municipal "meddling" with business of any kind, we should look not to the Napoleonic schemes of spoliation devised by the "higher ups," but to the

constant, inescapable reminders of incompetence and graft in the minor offices.

How, for instance, is it possible, even for the average stupid American citizen, to feel anything but contempt for the New Jersey judges who, by a fourteen to two vote, dismissed a suit brought by Fred Harwood, State Secretary of the Socialist Party, against the Mayor and Fire-Chief of Rahway, N.J., for having a municipal fire-hose turned upon him while he was endeavouring to deliver an address which was not to their liking? The immunity enjoyed by public officials, who commit lawless outrages upon militant members of the working-class is shared by private individuals, if rich, who offer violence to the police. Thus, Magistrate Levine of New York City, in October, 1921, dismissed a charge of felonious assault preferred against a youth named Montford Steele who, while in a state of intoxication, attempted to shoot a patrolman. In the words of the *Boston Herald* report, "The magistrate told the young man that in view of the fact that he was of good family and a college graduate . . . he felt it would be unjust to brand him a criminal for an act he committed while crazed from indulgence in bad boot-leg whisky." Just about the time at which this young man of "good family" was receiving such lenient treatment, a respectable druggist, well-known to a friend of the writer, had great difficulty in averting official proceedings which would have ruined his business. A sleuth attached to the Prohibition Enforcement Department had feigned illness in the druggist's store, and the latter had illegally proffered a little alcoholic stimulant without a physician's prescription.

Not very long afterwards the Boston public was regaled with the history of "Government Informer" Howard M. Madison, who was instrumental in bringing about a large seizure of liquor from a wealthy firm. The stubborn determination of the defendants to maintain their legal rights to the utmost led to a pretty thorough investigation of Mr. Madison's qualifications for the delicate and responsible position held by him. It appeared that within a year of the commencement of his moralising public activities he had "done time" for larceny. He had at another time been arrested on a warrant charging wife and child desertion. His discharge from the army bore a notification—placed thereon by some person unknown—that he had been awarded a Distinguished Service Cross, such award having in some manner been omitted from the official military records. The Government itself was forced to ask the court to

permit his testimony to be withdrawn, and to seek a warrant against him for perjury.

What is peculiar in the foregoing case is that the corruption of the law-enforcing officer should have been laid bare by the defence. Cases too numerous to keep track of are constantly being reported, in which prohibition enthusiasts detect officials accepting bribes from boot-leggers or illegally disposing of liquor seized in the name of the Government. The arrest in February, 1922, by Kentucky State guardsmen of the Mayor and Chief of Police of Newport, Ky., together with the county attorney, a county detective and two county policemen, on charges of conspiracy to violate the Prohibition law, is simply a rather striking illustration of the kind of thing which is going on all over the country. Only a small proportion of the violators ever get into court, and a small proportion of these again ever receive any punishment.

That the reader may see how American judges regard the judicial office the case of Robert P. Brindell, of New York, is here mentioned. Brindell was sentenced to Sing Sing prison for extortion in connection with the operations of a building ring, which was engineered by a group of employers and labour union officials. He appealed against the conviction. Four other indictments had been obtained against him, but he was able to make an arrangement with the State Supreme Court under which, if he saved them the trouble of hearing his appeal, these other indictments should be dismissed!

Equally astonishing to an unprepared mind is the action taken by Judge Asa G. Adams, in the Court of Domestic Relations in Chicago, on January 12th, 1922. Forty spectators were summoned before him by the judge, assessed what money they had on their persons, and told to get out of the court. It must be inferred, from the press statement that the proceeds were given by the judge to "The Junior Cheer Fund," that this exaction was not a legal levy, but just an expression of the judge's whim at the moment! The incident is instructive, inasmuch as it helps to make clear why it comes natural to American newspaper men to attach equal weight to the pronouncements of highwaymen and governors.

The reader will not have failed to notice that judges and magistrates figure prominently in the little batch of news stories we have brought forward to explain why it is that the representatives of the Government are held in such low esteem in the United States. These particular instances of contemptibility were reserved for this section, instead of being

given in the section dealing with the judicial system, because they reflected rather upon the calibre of the individuals selected for office than upon the system itself. Our last two instances, however, will concern important elective offices, non-judicial in character.

The first involves State Treasurer Jackson and State Auditor Cook, of Massachusetts. Mr. Jackson, before the Massachusetts Legislative Committee on Ways and Means, testified "that never while in office had he received any co-operation from Cook, and that he expected none in the future." During Mr. Cook's absence on a vacation in Florida, his deputy appeared on his behalf in support of legislation to modify the routine procedure followed in handling cash received by the various State departments. Among other reasons for the proposed measure it was suggested that the State Treasurer favoured it, and that it would relieve the congestion of work in his office. As soon as Mr. Jackson heard that this had been said, he was at pains to deny through the public press both that he was in favour of the Bill and that his department was overworked. Next morning, January 18th, the *Boston Herald*, which gives a general support to the Republican Party under the auspices of which both the officers were elected, came out with a spicy little item on the subject under the heading "State Officers at Loggerheads," but no one seemed to think it a matter of grave importance that such a situation should have arisen.

Ordinarily a United States senatorship is not described as a "minor office"; but the issues and personalities involved in the now celebrated Ford-Newberry senatorial squabble were so small that the case naturally comes to mind when one is writing of petty rascalities. Hence its use to round off the present section.

Every one interested in world affairs will recall the unedifying row that occurred in 1919 between President Wilson and a group of Republican senators over the question of ratifying the Treaty of Versailles. Bad though the Treaty was, it was but the application to international affairs of the policies of deception and savage repression which Wilson had developed at home, and which had been as enthusiastically welcomed by the opponents as by the supporters of the pact. To put the substance of the controversy in a nutshell, we may say that it arose out of the thwarted desire of certain prominent senators to enjoy a trip to France at their country's expense. Mr. Wilson and his official advisers, the objectors reasoned, had already received sufficient honours and emoluments, and it was simply

hoggish of them to monopolise also the delights of attendance at the "peace" conference. The President, on the other hand, seems to have made up his mind that by keeping the business of treaty-making strictly in his own hands, he would be laying up for himself a crown of glory that would not pass away. Such being his view, it was necessary that his colleagues at Versailles should be obedient hacks of the Democratic Party, for under any other arrangement it was likely that others would share the credit which he felt to be due to himself alone. Subsequent events have exposed with pitiless severity the cheapness of the motives underlying the struggle. The constant exhibitions of weak rage and petty spite given by the disillusioned Colossus in the closing days of his administration, poor Mr. Lansing's story of his chief's more than royal arrogance to his subordinates during the negotiations, the shifts and sophistries to which the now victorious opposition has been reduced in its efforts to formulate practical policies which shall not too utterly discredit the slogans of the anti-Wilson campaign, all tell the same tale.

Success or failure in this sordid strife depended, to a considerable extent, upon the result of the election for senator in Michigan in 1919. The Wilsonians, in a desperate effort to save the situation, supported Henry Ford, of motor-car fame, while the opposition put up as its candidate a man named Truman H. Newberry. To counterbalance the tremendous advantage enjoyed by Mr. Ford, as possessor of a name which was already a household word throughout the United States, the Newberry forces had to spend money like water. As was bound to happen under such conditions, the law against corrupt practices was violated right and left. Money prevailed against prestige, and Newberry was elected by a narrow margin. Proceedings were then commenced against him, and, after a trial at Grand Rapids, during which he spoke no word, he was sentenced to imprisonment for two years. On appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States he was freed by a decision to the effect that the law under which his conviction had been obtained was unconstitutional, the court observing that "the Senate is not without power to protect itself against corruption, fraud, or other malign influences."

When a Senatorial sub-committee was appointed to investigate his campaign, Mr. Newberry did not see fit to appear before it; but when, at last, his right to the seat which he had bought in 1919, came up for final decision in the Senate in January, 1922, he was sustained by a majority of that august

body. Nothing else had been expected by the American public, which knew that without the Newberry vote the Republicans could not have maintained for the past two years their party control of the Senate. None but romantic foreigners, misled by the patriotic oratory of American propagandists, would for a moment entertain the idea of either of the great political parties of the United States forgoing a practical advantage for considerations so intangible as self-respect or human decency.

* * * * *

With such a legislative and administrative system for background individual lawlessness is the only possible foreground. A people with any instinct for legal and orderly procedure would not tolerate courts or officials of the distinctively American type for a single day. But neither, it must be added, would a "lawless" people of the healthier sort—for example, some of the Latins, whose contempt for legal forms is largely traceable to quickness of sympathy and intensity of feeling. The lawlessness of the United States is simply a projection of the spirit of a spoilt and not very clever adolescent boy, who is unruly just for the joy of giving his seniors trouble or his juniors pain. Their friends are fond of saying, in an admiring way, that the Americans are a "young" people, "just growing up," but only in the sense here given to it is the description a true one.

Crude self-importance, checked or stimulated, according to circumstances, by a crude herd instinct, determines the attitude of the ordinary American in relation to the laws of his country as in most other matters. The youthful cyclists who, in the country towns, will unhesitatingly run you down on the sidewalk—if you are so inexperienced as to attach any importance to the conspicuously posted police prohibitions of sidewalk cycling, and so disregard yells of command that you get out of the way—will yet display the spinelessness of a jelly fish when it is a question of standing out against some silly or harmful fad that has been taken up by their schoolfellows. The gangs of adolescents, whose activities disgrace the streets of the larger cities, are strikingly deficient in the sense of social obligation, even in gang honour; yet you would hardly find a gangster who would dare be seen in a straw hat after the date on which all good Americans are supposed to put aside their "straws" and don their winter headgear.*

* This illustration is not a product of the writer's fancy. He forgets the day of the month, but he will never forget the comment he drew upon himself, even from persons belonging to a politer class than the gangsters, by suiting his hat to the state of the weather, instead of paying homage to the set day.

The extreme "wetness" of the country under prohibition might also be cited to show that all the American thinks about is what he can "get away with," regardless of law or public policy. At risk, however, of shocking many excellent people, the truth must be told that the resistance to prohibition is not without its hopeful aspects. Hundreds of thousands, who have hitherto paid little attention to what was going on in Washington and the State capitals, have been startled out of their apathy. Of course the liquor interests are capitalising the widespread resentment felt among those who never "exceeded," but who enjoyed a little light beer or wine with their meals and on festive occasions. Of course the army of "soakers" and habitual drunkards is lined up on the same side. Yet, even so, the writer, himself a lifelong abstainer and associated, while in the United States, with a group of radicals who were pledged to avoid like the plague any connection with the illicit traffic in liquor, cannot conceal from himself that the attempted enforcement of abstinence has awakened in multitudes a spirit of antagonism toward the Government, which is all to the good. For—let no propagandist of teetotalism deceive himself!—the little band of determined enthusiasts and job-seekers, whose adroit wire-pulling secured the enactment of federal prohibition, without reference to the wishes of the people, are no friends of liberty, democracy, or human progress.

Both geographically and politically there is a close connection between the forces which sponsored federal prohibition and those which support the organised lawlessness of reaction. It is true that the official "Prohibition Party" has a moderately progressive social programme, but the Prohibition Party is a negligible factor in American politics. To find the strongholds of prohibition sentiment and action we must go to "the solid South," where they lynch people at the average rate of one a week, where "tarring and feathering" is a popular sport, where negroes are held in peonage and forcibly deprived of the right of suffrage, where child labour is permitted in the factories and mills, where the proportion of illiteracy is highest—the home of the dreaded "Ku Klux Klan." In the West, where also "dry" propaganda has been very successful, lynching is on the increase, and the obstreperous "labour agitator" runs very much the same risks as an obstreperous "nigger" does in the South. The Ku Klux itself is no longer confined to the South, but is building up a large membership in the West and North.

All which does not in the least mean that the use of alcoholic

stimulants makes for righteousness in industrial relations. It simply brings out the fact that in a particular country, at a particular time, certain powerful business interests somehow came to believe that prohibition would help them to get more work done for less pay. The theory was that a greater output could be obtained from a teetotal working force, and that the wage bill could be reduced by the amount which in pre-prohibition days was spent on liquor. Stated thus abstractly, the proposition is plausible enough; but in actual working the official ban upon intoxicants is setting in motion other forces which bid fair to falsify most of the calculations of "big business."

For present purposes, however, the most vitally interesting thing about prohibition is its relative failure when compared with the striking success achieved in the anti-radical campaign of terror, which had very much the same backing. Why is it that under prohibition people who never drank before are beginning to drink now? Why is public sympathy always with the man in the dock on a liquor charge? Why do judges and commissioners always give the accused the benefit of the doubt in such cases? Why do the courts show so much interest in questions as to whether the arrest of the defendant was effected in a legal manner, and the evidence against him properly obtained? The answer is simple. Not even the ingenious captains of American industry have yet discovered a method of linking up teetotalism with the herd instinct.

Law observance on principle being almost unknown in the United States, except imaginatively through patriotic verse and Fourth of July orations, interested parties habitually supplement the machinery of the State by private associations which assist not only in securing the passage of laws, but also in their subsequent enforcement. Such associations vary as widely in spirit and method as in aim, but in one respect all the successful are alike; they are all capable of making a direct emotional appeal to large masses of people. For instance, the branches of the American Legion have utilised to the full the patriotic appeal in promoting certain laws supposed to be beneficial to ex-service men, and in arranging hostile demonstrations against administrative measures which were displeasing to them. In the field of fire and accident prevention the National Fire Protection Association and the National Safety Council, supported largely by the business interests that are most injuriously affected by unnecessary fires and accidents, are always on the look-out for opportunities, through mass

meetings and popularly-written leaflets, to drive home the lessons of the appalling disasters which happen with such frequency in careless America. But for the constant appeals of these bodies to the instincts of ordinary humanity, there can be little doubt that the safety codes of the country would be even more inadequate and more slackly administered than they are. No appeal of a mass character could be made through existing "anti-saloon" leagues or "watch and ward" societies, for these organisations had for the most part identified themselves with policies and tactics which made them objects of general and well-deserved detestation. To construct a new organisation for the sole purpose of popularising teetotalism was out of the question, and there was no other issue with which this one could be tied in. So the dry laws are still more honoured in the breach than the observance. A few attempts have, it is true, been made by propagandists of the William Jennings Bryan type to brand the opponents of prohibition as "anarchists," and so to expose them to public fury, but the net result of these well-meant efforts has to be measured, not in lynching-bees, but in laughter.

Very different was the situation with regard to the persecution of radicals. "Red baiting" was the safest of exciting sports. In no other line was it possible to give such free rein to the brute instincts, or to wallow so deeply in the sloppy sentimentalism which serves your true American as substitute for art and human feeling. It offered an orgy of lawlessness in the name of "law and order." Every common prejudice stood ready to be mobilised in the cause. You could rally church members by dwelling upon the godlessness of the radicals and their alleged plans for destroying the Christian Sunday schools. Family men were easily won over by the yarn of a red plot to "nationalise" their wives and daughters. Possessors of accumulated wealth, amounting to \$10 or more, could be roused to a high pitch of excitement by being told that lazy "agitators" were proposing to live in luxury on the confiscated savings of the industrious and thrifty. Above all, the nationalistic appeal was ever available. Was not Karl Marx a German Jew? "Foreigners," and even people with Anglo-Saxon names who had the temerity to go abroad for their ideas, had no business to criticise American ways and institutions. Why not "ship or shoot" them, as General Wood, one of the shining lights of the Republican Party, tersely put it?

Already, in 1917, the World War had made the United States

safe for gangs of ruffianly patriots who, under pretext of protecting the country from German spies, roamed about torturing, and occasionally murdering, such persons as they chose to suspect of disloyalty. In July, 1918, the National Civil Liberties Union, which is as courageous in exposing and denouncing political outrages as it is blind to the cause of such happenings, compiled a list (admittedly incomplete) of cases of mob violence occurring between April 1st, 1917, and May 1st, 1918. This list included—

- 3 completed lynchings (in addition to the ordinary negro sort).
- 4 interrupted lynchings.
- 61 tarrings and featherings (in one case a woman).*
- 16 "beatings up" (in one case a woman).
- 10 simple floggings.
- 7 paintings (six of the victims being painted yellow, the seventh having an iron cross painted on his body).
- 1 "riding on a rail" (a woman).

During the same period large numbers of people were forced to abandon their homes, physical compulsion being used when threats failed. Deportations of this sort were carried out wholesale, and with exceptional brutality, in Arizona, where in July, 1917, over 1,000 striking miners were taken from their homes in Bisbee and dumped in the middle of the desert—Arizona is a wild and arid State—by a "loyalty league" organised by the employers.

To add insult to injury, many of the victims were made to kiss the flag which never fails to protect the perpetrators of such crimes.

This auxiliary "defence" against Germans was in reality a camouflaged offensive against political and industrial radicals. Naturally, therefore, its activities did not cease with the War. Instead, it was reinforced by Government agents who, on being deprived of the excuse of the international struggle, sought to justify their continued maintenance at the public expense by increased activity in the class struggle. The Department of "Justice" (American style) obtained a grant of \$1,000,000 for the express purpose of suppressing "red" activities; and with this money it embarked upon a career of propaganda and provocation which is without parallel in the history of modern civilised communities. Two Federal judges, Judge Bourquin, of Montana, and Judge G. W. Anderson, of

* In a number of these cases the victims were also flogged and otherwise maltreated.

Massachusetts, were found in the whole country who set their faces like flint against illegality directed from high quarters and who did everything in their power to curb it ; but outside the very limited jurisdiction exercised by this brave and honourable pair, the administration was free to do practically anything it liked.

What sort of thing the Administration *did* like, is made plain by the language of Judge Bourquin's decision of February 12th, 1920, in the case of John Jackson, a member of the Industrial Workers of the World, who was arrested in a "red raid" at Butte, and who brought *habeas corpus* proceedings in the local federal court :—

. . . These [*i.e.*, the raiding party], armed, forcibly entered, broke and destroyed property ; searched effects and papers ; seized papers and documents ; cursed, insulted, beat, dispersed ; and bayoneted members by order of the captain commanding ; likewise entered petitioner's adjacent living apartments, insulted his wife, searched and seized his papers, several times arrested him and others, and in general, in an orderly and populous city, perpetrated an orgy of terror, violence and crime against citizens and aliens in public assemblage, whose only offence seems to have been peaceable insistence upon an exercise of a clear legal right.

Judge Anderson in Boston was equally explicit in his comments in the case of *Colyer et al. v. Skeffington* which came before him in April, 1920. During the hearings he stated that the admissions, which the Government witnesses had been compelled to make before him, laid "solid foundation" for the inference that *agents-provocateurs* had been hired by the Attorney-General or his representatives, and that these same admissions made it "perfectly easy to argue that persons in the employ of the Government might have issued literature intended to bring into condemnation" people such as the deportees who appealed to his court. "There is evidence here," proceeded the judge, "that the Government owns and operates part of the Communist Party."

The following paragraph is culled from the considered judgment which was handed down, nearly two months after the conclusion of the trial in this case, dealing with a variety of legal questions arising out of a whole series of raids carried out in New England in January, 1920 :—

I refrain from any extended comment on the lawlessness of these proceedings by our supposedly law-enforcing officials. The documents and acts speak for themselves. It may, however,

fitly be observed that a mob is a mob, whether made up of Government officials acting under instructions from the Department of Justice, or of criminals, loafers and the vicious classes.

The acts thus characterised by Judges Bourquin and Anderson were not by any means the worst committed under Government orders, for the mere knowledge that such men sat on the bench had a restraining influence in Montana and Massachusetts. Some of the official excesses which occurred in other States will be touched upon in a different connection in the next chapter, but from what has already been said the discerning reader will be able to form a fairly accurate estimate of the conditions generally prevailing.

Thus encouraged by the Government, the private forces of repression set to work with renewed energy. The Attorney-General, under his official letterhead, circularised the Press offering to furnish editors "with any details, either general or in specific cases" concerning the radical movement. Among the "original documents" of which photostatic copies were distributed by the Government for the enlightenment of American newspapermen on the "purpose, history and character" of the "red radical movement" in the United States was a fiery manifesto, published in Odessa in 1905, by a small group of Anarchist-Communists in connection with the revolutionary disturbances of that year in Russia. Plates were also prepared, and offered "without charge, carriage prepaid, on the order of U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.," containing columns of matter exactly similar to what radical editors had received five and ten year sentences for printing. And just as private capitalist newspapers were used for Governmental propaganda, so were private motor cars used in "red raids." So close became the co-operation between the agents of the "D. of J." and the paid and volunteer spies connected with business interests, that it could only be a matter of time before the latter would initiate raids of their own against people whom it was unsafe for the officials to tackle; and it was apparent, too, that the public police would never be on hand to interfere with the execution of these little private *coups*. All that remained to be seen was the precise form which the private terror would take.

The form adopted was that of a revival of the famous Ku Klux Klan. This organisation had its origin in the stormy days of reconstruction following the American Civil War. At that time carpet-baggers from the North invaded the Southern States, and behaved as badly (if differently) as the old slave-

owning planters had done. Cloaking their designs with noble pretensions of liberty and race equality the newcomers attempted to secure for themselves, with the help of the negroes, the offices and jobs that had been monopolised by the native white aristocracy under the old *régime*. Probably there was truth in the Southerners' complaint that imported selfishness made a worse mess of things than did the home variety, which at any rate was combined with a thorough knowledge of local conditions and some understanding of negro psychology. Be that as it may, the new order excited such bitter feeling among the southern whites that a secret terroristic organisation, the Ku Klux Klan, was created for the purpose of compelling re-adoption of some of the old ideas. Within a few years the conquered States found themselves strong enough to re-assert, without interference from the North, "white supremacy," so that to-day the negroes south of the Mason-Dixon line are a cowed and subject people. When this condition had been re-established the "K-K-K" ceased activity, and became only a dreadful memory.

Although, in the language of its Imperial Wizard, "the Invisible Empire was called from its slumber of half a century" in 1915, it was not until 1920 that the "Knights of the Ku Klux Klan" began to make themselves felt as a power in modern American life. In that year, in pursuance of the purposes of their order "to maintain for ever white supremacy in all things" and "to keep eternally ablaze the sacred fire of a fervent devotion to a pure Americanism," masked men wearing the dreaded white robe began to hold parades in southern cities, and to kidnap, flog, tar and feather men *and women* at will. "With the spring of 1921," wrote Mr. Albert De Silver, in a report on the Klan's activities, "there came, principally in the State of Texas, a remarkable crop of mob outrages, all perpetrated by masked bands of men, and so similar in technique as to suggest a common origin. Among the persons attacked were both blacks and whites, men and women, and there was such a variety of apparent causes as to defy analysis. Responsibility for two at least of the mobbings was publicly avowed by the Beaumont, Texas, Branch of the Klan. . . ." Other branches of the organisation in the States of Alabama and Florida also got into trouble for carrying on their work in too open a manner.

That same spring Governor Dorsey, of Georgia, laid before the Inter-Racial Committee of Atlanta the facts in no fewer than 135 cases of lynching, peonage and cruelty towards negroes

in his own State, which had been brought, unsolicited, to his notice. In the Governor's opinion these cases represented but a fraction of the evidence of oppression which systematic investigation would bring to light. "In some counties," he said, "the negro is being driven out as if he were a wild beast. In others, he is being held as a slave. In others, no negroes remain." It is difficult to believe that there was no connection between the condition of affairs, which Governor Dorsey deplored, and the renewed activity of an organisation, with headquarters in that very State, which stands for "white supremacy in all things."

Of course, disclaimers were issued from the national office of the order, and a few indiscreet branches were publicly disciplined. The fact remains, however, that large accessions to the Klan's membership have been accompanied by a great increase of mob violence. Thus on a single day in August, 1921, more than 2,000 Chicagoans were reported to have been inducted into "the Invisible Empire" at a semi-public ceremony presided over by the Imperial Wizard; and it is in Illinois, of which State Chicago is the principal city, that some of the most striking instances of mob violence have been staged. Wherever a progressive movement of any kind begins to make headway Ku Klux branches seem to spring into existence to oppose it. Mrs. Ida Crouch Hazlett, a moderate Socialist, was dragged from the platform on which she was speaking in Mason City, Iowa, in the summer of 1921, and was driven from the town by a gang of rowdies who described themselves to a United Press correspondent as the Ku Klux Klan. Organisers of the Non-Partisan League, a party of constitutional reform, established by the farmers with the object of fighting the domination of big packing interests over agriculture, received similar, or worse, treatment on numerous occasions.

Masked men being difficult to identify, especially at night, and a white robe being obtainable by any one for a dollar or two, it is impossible to prove conclusively that the order is responsible for every outrage committed in its name. But official denials do not prevent reasonable people from drawing very definite inferences, nor can the Klan be absolved from moral responsibility for crimes committed by its imitators. Whether technically affiliated or not, there can hardly be a gang of lynching, mobbing patriots throughout the length and breadth of the United States, which does not look to the Klan for ideas, inspiration and leadership in devising new methods of frightfulness.

As illustrating the sinister power which has been acquired by this secret conspiracy of reaction, a few incidents of its recent career are worthy of mention. To parade through the streets of an American city without a police permit is, in general, regarded as a very serious offence. On May Day, 1919, for instance, a body of young men and women in Boston, Massachusetts, proceeding from one Socialist meeting to another, formed themselves into a sort of informal parade through a few suburban streets. They were fired upon without warning by the police, and scores were arrested and "beaten up." Several of the writer's friends narrowly escaped with their lives, and others went to jail for varying periods. Compare such action with what happened at Lorena, Texas, in October, 1921, when a demonstration of masked Ku Klux men was arranged one Saturday night in defiance of the local sheriff. On an attempt being made by the sheriff to halt the procession and unmask the leader, a free fight was started, in which the sheriff received a bullet through the right lung, and a police constable was stabbed in the abdomen. In the following January, by which time his life was out of danger, the sheriff was indicted for the killing of a spectator who had been unfortunate enough to get pushed into the fracas by the crowd behind him. "*No other indictments,*" stated the Press dispatch in which the grand jury action was reported, "*have been returned in connection with the affair.*"

On February 9th, 1922, Judge Christopher, of the Okmulgee (Oklahoma) county superior court, dismissed a grand jury on the ground that it had been illegally drawn. On the 11th, the following significant items appeared in papers served by the Associated Press:—

OKMULGEE, OKLA. *February 10th.*

County Prosecutor James Hepburn paraded through the streets here last night with 300 Ku Klux Klansmen, in protest against the discharge of a grand jury which was empanelled to investigate the defunct Bank of Commerce.

A large banner warning officials to do their duty or leave was borne in the procession, after which six of the hooded figures conducted Hepburn to a street corner, motioned a huge crowd to gather closely, and then directed the county attorney to make an address.

* * * * *

Friends of Judge Christopher declared that he left his home here with his family and belongings an hour after the cry of "get a rope" was heard in his court-room. It was reported

this morning that his motor car had been seen headed south on the Jefferson highway, south of Muskogee.

It is reported that the members of the Ku Klux Klan are pursuing the judge, determined, if possible, to get his reasons for dismissing the grand jury, which reasons, they believe, were not very plainly stated by the judge as he hastened from the courtroom yesterday.

* * * * *

The fact that Atty.-Gen. Short has been sent to Okmulgee to take charge of the bank investigation is resented generally among depositors of the failed banks here, and there are broad insinuations that the Attorney-General may be called on by the Ku Klux Klan.

On February 13th Judge Christopher resigned.

By way of pacifying the unreasonable agitators, who had been raising quite a disturbing noise about the activities of the Klan, the Rules Committee of the Federal House of Representatives undertook an investigation. Testimony was presented to the committee to the effect that the Chief of Police of the important city of Norfolk, Virginia, was a member of the organisation, and had promised it 260 rifles for use "in time of trouble." It was also testified by an ex-Klansman, named Wright, that the Imperial Wizard had openly boasted that the membership list included Federal Congressmen. The total money taken in by the Klan was stated to be \$1,488,710. This interesting news was given in the Press on October 12th, 1921. Five days later there was a dispatch from Washington, commencing as follows:—

The proposed investigation of the Ku Klux Klan by Congress blew up to-day. After a ten-minute session behind closed doors, the House Rules committee, which at morning and afternoon sessions put William J. Simmons, the Klan's Imperial Wizard, through a rigid investigation, voted unanimously not to call any more witnesses, certainly at this time.

The Klan has been as successful in its public use of the machinery of the State as in its private wire-pulling and defiance of the law. It obtained, on February 17th, 1922, from the superior court in Atlanta, an injunction restraining a minority faction within its ranks from "any act that will embarrass the organisation," as a special correspondent of the *Boston Herald* described it. Four of the persons against whom the injunction was issued were ex-officers of the order, who had been discharged from the propaganda department, and who, as we may infer from the language of the court order,

had subsequently exercised "rights they formerly had as members of the organisation" in a manner "inimical to the Klan."

Themselves the children of lawlessness, the Ku Klux Klan and its imitator societies are continually begetting new illegalities. Some of their more objectionable methods are already being openly adopted by the authorities in preference to ordinary legal procedure. In this connection a Press dispatch dated March 6th, 1922, from Camden, New Jersey, has topical interest:—

Tarring and feathering will be the punishment for highway robbers at Woodlynne, near here, in the future, Mayor William D. Kramer announced to-night. Many residents recently have been held up and robbed.

We have obtained a big tank for melting tar, said the mayor, and a bountiful supply of feathers. The next man caught in a hold-up will be tarred and feathered, and carried through the streets as an example to the community.

In taking this step the citizens of Woodlynne believe they can break up the practice within a short time.

The town has been organised into *vigilante* committees, who hold themselves in readiness to respond to calls for help, Mayor Kramer added.

Small wonder is it that in such an environment the American League for the Conservation of Human Life is at its wits' end to devise means whereby the annual 6,000 homicides, committed in the United States, may be reduced to a figure proportional to the English average of less than 300 murders per annum.

We now have before us the essential facts as to the origin and development of organised mob violence in the United States. The significance of this movement will require further consideration in later chapters. For the present, the attention of the reader is especially directed to the existence, under protection of the American courts, of secret societies which, in the interests of "pure Americanism," violate with impunity, and often with the connivance or assistance of Government officials, not merely the laws of the United States but all the decent instincts of ordinary humanity.

VI

AMERICANISM AND LABOUR

“THE rights and interests of the labouring man will be protected and cared for, not by labour agitators, but by the Christian men to whom God has given the control of the property interests of the country.” So Mr. George F. Baer, President of the Reading Railroad in 1902. It would be difficult to find a simpler or more direct statement of the typically American view of labour problems. Yet the apostles of Americanism never tire of proclaiming that there are no classes in America!

Attention has already been drawn* to the phases of historical development which gave temporary colour to the theories that the United States offered their inhabitants equality of opportunity, and that, in so much at least of the North American continent as lay between Canada and Mexico, the possession of great wealth was just an outward and visible sign of inward and spiritual grace. To demonstrate how utterly worthless such theories are in the light of the facts of to-day, we have only to quote from the Report of the Industrial Relations Commission appointed by the United States Government to “seek to discover the underlying causes of dissatisfaction in the industrial situation.” The Commission’s conclusions were made available to the public in 1915, and in transmitting them to Congress the chairman, Mr. Frank P. Walsh, made the following statement: “The plan of submitting none but undisputed facts in the final report of the Commission has been faithfully adhered to. No statement or conclusion of fact adverse to the attitude or interest of any person or group of persons is submitted, except as declared or assented to by the person or by the individuals comprising the group affected.”

Perhaps the most important of the facts revealed by the Commission was that 2 per cent. of the people owned 60 per cent. of the national wealth, while a beggarly 5 per cent. represented the share of the wealth owned by 65 per cent. of

* In Chapter II.

the people. The authoritative findings of the Commissioners dispose once for all of the illusion that the favoured 2 per cent. are indebted for their position to their ability and willingness to render conspicuous public service. Here is what the Commission Report says about the inherited power of wealth :—

The great fortunes of those who have profited by the enormous expansion of American industry have already passed, or will pass in a few years, by the right of inheritance, to the control of heirs or trustees who act as their "vice-regents." They are frequently styled by our newspapers, "monarchs of industry," and indeed occupy within our Republic a position almost analogous to feudal lords. These heirs, owners only by virtue of the accident of birth, control the livelihood and have the power to dictate the happiness of more human beings than populated England in the Middle Ages. "The king can do no wrong," not only because he is above the law, but because every function is performed or responsibility assumed by his ministers or agents. Similarly our Rockefellers, Morgans, Fricks, Vanderbilts and Astors can do no industrial wrong, because all effective action and direct responsibility is shifted from them to the executive officials who manage American industry.

Forty-four families, whose members (such is the official statement of the investigating Commission) "perform little or no useful service," divided between them in 1915 an aggregate income of *at least* \$50,000,000. At the same time from two-thirds to three-fourths of the adult workers in factories and mines earned less than \$15 per week, without taking into consideration "lost working time for any cause." Inasmuch as the investigators found that "wage-earners in the principal manufacturing and mining industries in the United States lose on the average from one-fifth to one-fourth of the working time during the normal year," we are well on the safe side in saying that the actual earnings of most of the members of this vast army of adult workers did not exceed \$625 per annum. Yet, quoting once more the Commission's own language, "elaborate studies of the cost of living made in all parts of the country at the same time have shown that the very least that a family of five persons can live upon in anything approaching decency is \$700."

Under such circumstances the reader will not be surprised to learn that "in six of our largest cities from 12 to 20 per cent. of the children are noticeably underfed and ill-nourished," and that "only one-third of the children in our public schools complete the grammar school course and less than 10 per cent.

finish high school.* Those who leave are almost entirely the children of the workers, who, as soon as they reach working age, are thrown, immature, ill-trained and with no practical knowledge, into the complexities of industrial life."

Further evidence of the class character of American democracy will hardly be required even by the most prejudiced reader. Four additional extracts from the mass of material collected by the Industrial Relations Commission may, however, properly be given at this point, partly because of their conclusiveness as to the class struggle, and partly because they prove the tremendous strength of the plutocracy, which it will next be our task briefly to explain and to contrast with the weakness of organised labour. First shall come—

A BIT OF EVIDENCE

Chairman Walsh : What do you think has been accomplished by the philanthropic activities of the country in reducing suffering and want among the people ?

Mr. Guggenheim : There has a great deal been done. If it were not for what has been done and what is being done we would have revolution in this country.

Second, a description of capitalist control of the machinery of government in industrial centres :—

In some localities the control by the employers of the entire machinery of government is such that lawless acts on the part of agents of the employers go unpunished, while vindictive action against leaders of the strike is accomplished by methods unparalleled in civilised countries.

In the third place a few words on recent tendencies in agriculture, which used to be the refuge of labour militants whose militancy had rendered them, from the point of view of the industrial czars of the cities, "unemployable" :—

The condition of agricultural labourers cannot be dismissed without referring to the development of huge estates which are operated by managers with hired labour, on what may properly be called a "factory system." The conditions upon such estates are deplorable, not only because of the extremely low wages paid (80 cents per day in the case of one which was most carefully investigated), but even more because these estates, embracing within their boundaries entire counties and towns, are a law unto

* The "grammar" and "high" schools of the United States correspond roughly to the English elementary and secondary schools respectively.

themselves and the absolute dictators of the lives, liberties and happiness of their employees. It is industrial feudalism in its extreme form.

Fourth and last, some remarks on the "union spy," whose very existence is irrefragable proof that the employers, at least, base their dealings with labour on the assumption of a state of war :—

If the secret agents of employers, working as members of labour unions, do not always instigate acts of violence, they frequently encourage them. If they did not they would not be performing the duties for which they are paid. If they find that labour unions never discuss acts of violence they have nothing to report to those employing them. . . . The union spy is not in business to protect the community. He has little respect for the law, civil or moral. Men of character do not engage in such work, and it follows that the men who do are, as a rule, devoid of principle and ready to go to almost any extreme to please those who employ them.

Permanent public ownership of natural resources, under a strong centralised control which would have infringed the so-called rights of the State Governments in all manners of ways, was, from the beginning, the only possible alternative to the kind of capitalist domination from which the United States suffer to-day. If the country was to be developed at all it had to be on a large scale, affecting whole groups of States at a time. Consequently the pioneers in American railway building and similar enterprises found themselves in a position in many respects analogous to that of the pioneers of trade and commerce in England and France in late feudal times, or to that of the pioneers of industrialism in Germany. The feudal trader found himself hampered and obstructed at every turn by the independent or conflicting jurisdictions of a host of nobles, to get rid of whom he assisted the king of the country to establish a strong centralised Government, whose uniform tyranny was at least preferable to the confusion which preceded it. The German industrialist could make little headway, because of the multitude of tiny principalities through whose separate custom houses his manufactures must pass on their way to market ; and naturally he did everything in his power to strengthen the mailed fist of Prussia, which made short work of his fiscal tormentors. The American corporation, having no monarch and no Prussian Junkerdom through whose agency it could secure the conditions needful for its life, was forced to resort to direct action for the purpose of getting the better of its actual or potential enemies, the State Governments.

The kind of direct action employed varied with circumstances of time and place. Sometimes it was easiest to purchase votes in a local legislature, and thus secure the enactment or defeat of specific Bills ; sometimes it seemed best to ride roughshod over troublesome laws and obtain immunity by corrupting the officials whose duty it was to prosecute ; sometimes it was possible to finance a political machine which would nominate for office only creatures acceptable to the men who supplied the funds ; and sometimes recourse was had to criminal methods of blackmail and private terror against obstructionists, whose " legal right " to obstruct was beyond cavil, but whose strength was not equal to their " right." Concrete illustrations of the workings of the secret service maintained for such purposes by the great corporations will be given a little later, when we come to examine the actual happenings in some of the historic labour struggles which have occurred in the United States in recent years. For the moment we may content ourselves with observing that the underground organisations, originally created for the purpose of overcoming petty obstruction in big business enterprises, are now strong enough and aggressive enough in many States to issue edicts which are much more perilous to disobey than any ordinance of the acknowledged Government.

It would, however, be doing injustice to a very astute set of men to let it be supposed that the railway, mining, lumber, oil, and other industrial overlords have failed to take full advantage of their opportunities above ground. Under the guidance of the most brilliant attorneys in the country, nearly all of whom they attracted into their service, they have evolved an uncanny facility in the use of legal trickery to violate the spirit, when they deem it wise to respect the letter, of the law. Among the more remarkable of their achievements is the interpretation which they have induced the courts to place upon the Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution. That amendment was enacted at the close of the Civil War, and its ostensible purpose was to prevent the Legislatures of the Southern States from disfranchising or otherwise penalising negroes in contravention of the rights and privileges to which they were entitled as citizens of the Republic. So far as the southern negro is concerned the amendment is a dead letter, but in court decision after court decision it has been quoted as a reason for protecting corporations from regulation by State authorities. Professor Charles Beard is authority for the statement that " practically all " the important law cases under the

amendment are of this kind. The present situation therefore is that big business is subject only to such interference as may be sanctioned as constitutional by the Federal Supreme Court, which august tribunal has never yet been found lacking in appreciation of the sanctity of property.

For a considerable time groups of capitalists fought each other as ruthlessly as they fought their common foes, but after the great crisis of 1893-1896 the folly of the "dog-eat-dog" policy was realised as never before. Amalgamations and absorptions became the order of the day in all important industries, and, a little later, alliances grew fashionable between organisations engaged in entirely different lines of business. This latter development was engineered by the great bankers, who were already laying plans for what the well-known American economist, Scott Nearing, has called "The One Big Union of Business." In 1912 it was found that a group of banks, closely associated with J. P. Morgan & Co., already held 148 directorships in forty-four banks and insurance companies having resources amounting to \$4,972,000,000, and 88 directorships in thirty-six manufacturing, trading and public utility corporations, the total capitalisation of which amounted to \$5,489,000,000. The group was also represented by 105 directors in the control of thirty-two transportation systems. Such huge concentrations of economic and industrial power make it easy for each of the associated interests to bring pressure upon the Federal Government, whether to extort concessions when tariffs are being framed, or to procure official aid in breaking strikes, or for any other anti-social purpose.

Strength, however, is to be measured relatively as well as absolutely. For example, the conditions, which made for size and ruthlessness in the American trusts, might also have been favourable to the growth of great organisations antagonistic to those trusts, in which case the capitalists of the United States might be less of a dominating force than a bald statement as to the size and variety of their operations would suggest. Actually the situation is the reverse of this. Big business is stronger, instead of weaker, than appears on the surface, striking though the superficial impression of power may be. Like the rabbit in Australia and the gipsy moth in New England, the pirates of high finance found in the United States an environment, admirably suited to themselves, in which none of the usual "natural checks" upon the increase of such pests was present or could readily be acclimatised. This brings us face to face with the most significant and instructive

feature in American life. It presents to us a perfect picture of what untrammelled capitalism does with ordinary human nature. Elsewhere capitalistic production developed in societies with a long experience of Feudalism behind them, and the new system had to grow amid a host of tendencies and survivals which belonged to an earlier way of life. In the United States it had no trouble with the past. The Red Men, such of them as were left alive, did not count. The State system of government was almost as new as capitalism itself, and was, moreover, the creation of a mistaken theory of society, rather than a response to any historic need.

Old-style Feudalism, with all its hateful distinctions of rank, was at least based on a recognition of mutual obligation. The best type of feudal lord did shoulder, albeit in an offensively feudal manner, a considerable personal responsibility for the welfare of his "inferiors." Even the worst type admitted that *something*, if not very much, in the way of personal courage and truthfulness was due to society from a nobleman. It is true that the less one received from the system the greater was one's obligatory service, and that many of its so-called duties were such as no self-respecting man could fulfil; but, in spite of all this, when Feudalism had been superseded by Capitalism, there did survive a sense of social responsibility which was alien to the spirit of the new order. Many of the capitalists themselves were infected with it, not, of course, to the extent of feeling any compunction for the dreadful conditions under which their wage slaves had to exist, but sufficiently to cause them to feel interested in the quality, as well as the sales, of their products. Such businesses as the manufacture of jam pips or wooden nutmegs might even yet be considered as slightly discreditable to their proprietors, except in the United States, where there is no sentimental "hold-over" to interfere with frank admiration for any money-making activity whatsoever. And, whatever may be the private views of the capitalists of the Old World, they cannot afford to leave entirely out of the reckoning the prejudices of the majority of the people.

Not only were Rockefellers, Vanderbilts, Goulds, and their fellows entirely superior to out-of-date considerations of public service, but, as we shall see presently, they had nothing to fear from the existence of such considerations in the minds of others. The famous Vanderbilt slogan, "The public be damned!" and Marcus Hanna's memorable words, addressed in 1890 to the Attorney-General of Ohio who was trying to break up the Standard Oil Trust: "You have been in politics long enough

to know that no man in public office owes the public anything," epitomised the morality of Capitalism, as held not only by the distinguished authors of these literary gems, but by practically all good 100 per cent. Americans. Hence, quite apart from their illegal activities, the American corporations were able to proceed in a manner which in any other country would have raised dangerous storms of protest.

Six years after its formation the Standard Oil itself, according to Professor Charles A. Beard's *Contemporary American History*, "was paying to a small group of holders about \$20,000,000 annually in dividends on a capital of \$90,000,000." From the same authority we learn that the Northern Pacific Railway Company obtained the grant of lands estimated by a railway official to be worth enough "to build the entire railroad to Puget Sound, to fit out a fleet of sailing vessels and steamers for the China and India trade and leave a surplus that would roll up into the millions." William Z. Foster, Secretary of the Trade Union Educational League of Chicago, and himself a practical railway man, quotes, among other instances in his recent book, "The Railroaders' Next Step," the case of the Central Pacific Company, which "got in land and other subsidies \$86,000,000, wherewith to build their road. The total cost of building, including the greatest extravagance and graft, was \$42,000,000. The remaining \$44,000,000 of the Government gift they calmly pocketed."

So general was the acceptance of the idea that railway companies existed primarily for the purpose of "gouging" the public, that two competing lines actually ventured to reduce the fare between Chicago and points in California (a distance of nearly 2,000 miles) to \$1 per passenger, one of the companies furnishing free meals *en route*! Yet clearly such charges were either a robbery of the shareholders, or else part of a plan for enabling the shareholders to rob the public later on.

Watering of stock has also been practised on a staggering scale. Professor W. Z. Ripley, of Harvard University, found that during a seven-year period, commencing in 1898, securities valued at \$62,600,000 were distributed by way of bonus to railway shareholders. Interest on this immense sum, equivalent to \$66,000 per mile of line owned, has to be provided out of the earnings of the companies affected, although not \$1 in cash, nor any kind of service, was tendered in return for it by the original recipients. Yet multitudes still lend a ready ear when railway companies plead low earning power as an excuse for wage cuts.

In 1904 Senator Norris estimated that there was about \$1,000,000,000 worth of "water" in the capital of the Steel Trust. According to the *Financial Chronicle* for May 8th, 1920, eighty corporations had, since March 8th in the same year, declared stock dividends, the official name for "water," ranging from 3 per cent. to 1,900 per cent. of their capital stock. It was on the second-mentioned date that the United States Supreme Court had decided that stock dividends were not taxable as income under the federal income-tax law.

These things, and many more of the same sort, the capitalists were able to do without having any serious trouble made for them by the community. And it need hardly be added that the men who were permitted to turn society into a cockpit for their mutual struggles were also given a free hand in conflicts with their employés.

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The lack of background which has proved so advantageous for the exploiters has been disastrous for the working-class of the United States. Unbridled individualism was soon found to be unprofitable even for the lucky and strong among the capitalists, and during the very bitterest period of inter-corporation strife, the tendency was steady toward larger fighting units and consolidation of interests so far as was compatible with the hopes entertained by the most powerful groups of establishing monopolies through the destruction of their competitors. How much less is the policy of "every man for himself and devil take the hindmost" suited to the circumstances of the wage-worker, whose power, whether for defence or aggression, depends wholly on numbers and organisation. Throughout the world employers have been busy preaching to the working-class the beauty of individual "self-help," as the best means of retaining in private hands the ownership and control of socially created values. Everywhere they have found many listeners, but in the Old World enough relics of Feudalism have been left, both in the conditions of life and in the minds of the people, to form a partial foundation for class solidarity. The American workers alone have absorbed as a body the principles offered them by the employing class and its agents.

American labour is, therefore, relatively much weaker than might be inferred from its trade union membership of nearly 4,000,000, or the accumulated funds of some of the wealthier unions. It remains outside the Amsterdam International

because, in the opinion of the American leaders, that extravagantly moderate organisation is dangerously radical. It is utterly destitute of coherent policy in relation to the great issues of the day. Its closest approximation to a principle is expressed in its meaningless slogan : " A fair day's pay for a fair day's work." In this connection we are, of course, thinking of the unions comprised in the American Federation of Labour, which, whether we like it or not, is the only organisation which can claim to represent the mass of organised workers in the United States. There are a number of independent unions, some quite powerful, committed to much more definite programmes, but these, unfortunately, are outside the main current of the workers' movement.

It was natural for natives to take the lead in opening up new country, and in the process a large proportion of the best home-grown brain and muscle was transferred from the wage-earning class to the ranks of the exploiters. Very many of those who remained wage-earners were men who had suffered defeat in a struggle to become exploiters themselves, and who were incapacitated by personal bitterness, to say nothing of their ingrained individualism, for usefulness in the trade union movement. It must also be admitted that until very recent times the demand for thoroughly skilled workers in many lines was sufficient to enable the well-trained craftsmen to maintain a high standard of comfort, and under such conditions the trade union, if it flourished at all, was apt to take on the character of a close corporation. With such unions the more active spirits soon became dissatisfied ; but, finding that the re-moulding of an offending organisation nearer to their heart's desire would be a long and tiresome job, the rebels, in instance after instance, broke away and formed rival unions of their own, which were as far inferior to the conservative bodies in actual fighting strength as they were superior in theoretical understanding of the situation.

Incalculable damage has been suffered by the American Labour Movement as a consequence of this dual unionism. The statement is not made in any condemnatory spirit, or without full realisation of the fact that many of those who have acted on the opposite view have been heroic warriors of the working-class. The failure of the Industrial Workers of the World to win any considerable influence in the great industrial centres, where they had to function as dual unionists, as compared with their success among the lumber-jacks and migratory agricultural workers of the West, where they were the original

labour organisers, strikingly illustrates the truth of our contention. We have no reason for believing that the I.W.W. members in the great cities were naturally less courageous and energetic than those who made themselves hated and feared by the predatory lords of lumber and land. Revolutionary unionism made headway in the fields and lumber camps, chiefly because the I.W.W. was the only organisation willing and able to lead the fight for more pay and better conditions. In the mind of the ordinary worker acceptance of its doctrine followed upon experience of its fighting capacity. So far as the great manufacturing cities are concerned, on the other hand, the I.W.W. has had little opportunity to do more than preach into a vacuum. The actual struggle for material improvement has been for the most part waged, however inefficiently, by the older craft unions, and the gospel of the I.W.W. has been associated in the thought of the average labour unionist with a rival organisation, which is not infrequently accused, however unjustly, of scabbing upon workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labour.

Even the history of a strong industrial union like the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, outside the A.F. of L., increases one's consciousness of the evils of separation. The Amalgamated has achieved wonders for the formerly sweated workers in the clothing industry; its membership is to a large extent moderate Socialist, but they are not afraid of ideas; it regularly celebrates May Day, which the "good American" unions repudiate in favour of their own "Labour Day" in September; it was large-minded enough to donate \$100,000 to help the great steel strike of 1919 sponsored by A.F. of L. Unions, though it had never received from the Federation anything but abuse, or more active hostility; in education and generalship its responsible officers tower head and shoulders above the men and women who hold similar positions in the orthodox unions. Yet its example has had next to no effect on organised labour as a whole. To some extent this may be due to national feeling. The combination of "Jewish brains and Italian passion"—as Michael Gold, himself a Jew, described it in an article in *The Liberator*—which stood the Amalgamated in such good stead in its dealings with the employers, would not have helped its members to influence A.F. of L. Unions. Yet, even so, one cannot help speculating on what might have happened had the people who built up the Amalgamated felt it possible to devote the same gifts to getting control of the feeble orthodox union, known as the United

Garment Workers, and forcing the Federation of Labour either to countenance their methods, or to take the responsibility of expelling them.

Imitators, like the Amalgamated Textile Workers' Union, which originated in Lawrence, Massachusetts, in 1919, following a strike in which the orthodox United Textile Workers had played an even shabbier part than the United Garment Workers did in the great New York strike of 1912, which gave birth to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, have been far less successful. Artificially stimulated by sympathetic intellectuals, the new textile union has had a chequered career. Despite its revolutionary preamble, it has not hesitated to place itself under financial obligations to its well-to-do friends, and the *protégés* of those friends have officered it to a remarkable extent. Never before, surely, did a union carry so many ex-clergymen and other stranded intellectuals on its pay roll. It did undoubtedly organise a number of mills which had hitherto been neglected, but its value to the labour movement as a whole may be gauged from its attitude in the strikes which started in the spring of 1922, in response to drastic wage reductions decided upon by the New England textile magnates. In one section of the little State of Rhode Island the "Amalgamated" textile workers predominated; elsewhere the "United." The policy of a united front was everywhere being accepted among the radicals as the only hope against the great offensive of the capitalists, yet one of the writer's friends, a radical machinist with a national reputation as a speaker and organiser, found the "revolutionary" officers of the "Amalgamated" just as bitterly opposed as the reactionaries of the "United" to his plan of arranging demonstrations of solidarity between strikers in adjacent towns who, though under different auspices, were at the same time fighting the same enemy, for the same immediate objective, and with the same certainty that any weakening of one group would mean defeat for the other also.

We are now in a position to get a clear view of the connection between Americanism and dual unionism. Admittedly the phenomenon of such cleavage in the ranks of Labour is not peculiar to the United States, but special conditions have rendered its occurrence peculiarly frequent and peculiarly disastrous in that country. An American labour union is very like a political constituency. In both places machine control is maintained by "politicians" versed in the same arts. And the tendency towards dual unionism was just another

manifestation, on the industrial field this time, of the forces mentioned in an earlier chapter as driving the political radicals of America into Anarchism rather than into Socialism.

As both Anarchism and Socialism were constantly denounced as "un-American," no nationalistic cry could be used to drive them mutually farther apart. In the world of unionism, however, this could be, and was, very effectively done. While Americanism is opposed to any association for any purpose other than the patriotic protection of private property, it is quite prepared to make terms with one foe if thereby it can injure another whom it considers more dangerous. To chambers of commerce, and similar organisations, the "open shop" is known as the "American plan"; but for the purpose of fomenting discord between unions the employers not seldom emphasise their appreciation of the difference between a body of fellow Americans (the A.F. of L.), from whom they differ on matters of detail, but upon whose sterling patriotism they can always count in time of crisis, and the hordes of foreign outlaws who declare that the interests of the working-class and the employing class are not, and never can be, the same.

To some readers it may seem strange that praise of a union by the boss should not arouse the workers' suspicions and dispose them favourably to the organisation which he condemns. Those who reason in this way fail to take account of the intensely nationalistic influence of the public schools, in which native children are given their so-called education, and the character of the "Americanising" process through which as many immigrants as will submit to it are put after arrival in the country. These subjects will be more fully dealt with in the next chapter. All that need be said here is that the American-born child (whatever the nationality of its parents) leaves school with a sense of racial superiority similar to that displayed by the white rulers of India towards the Indian races, and that the thoroughly "Americanised" immigrant has only one ambition, to identify himself as completely as possible with the American herd. The hard facts of industrial life are carefully studied by experts, with the object of creating dissension among the employees by skilful appeals to race prejudice. Thus in Lawrence, Massachusetts, where the writer has friends of many nationalities, the prejudices which separate different national groups in the Old World have gained, instead of losing, strength. Nowhere in the world, he has been told again and again, do north and south Italians and Sicilians mutually hate so virulently as in the New England textile

centre ; and this condition has been brought about by industrial spies who are well paid for their work. Religious antagonisms are also kept thoroughly alive. The United Textile is the Lawrence " good union " which repudiates the acts of the foreigners.

When, however, the A.F. of L. itself tries to organise a new territory or industry, it, too, may be tarred with the " foreign " brush ! Two good illustrations of this, given by William Z. Foster in his story of the great steel strike of 1919, are reproduced here. At Elwood, Pennsylvania, the following was circulated as a handbill :—

WAKE UP AMERICANS !!

Italian labourers, organised under the American Federation of Labour are going to strike Monday, and are threatening workmen who want to continue working.

These foreigners have been told by labour agitators that if they would join the union they would get Americans' jobs.

They are being encouraged by ITALIAN MERCHANTS, WHO ARE IN SYMPATHY WITH THEM. ARE YOU GOING TO SLEEP AND LET MOB RULE THREATEN THE PEACE OF OUR TOWN ?

And here is the English part of a large pictorial advertisement, with letterpress in eight languages, carried by the *Pittsburgh Chronicle Telegraph*, on October 6th, 1919 :—

THE STRIKE HAS FAILED

The end of the steel strike is in sight. Failure was written across it before it was a day old.

American workers who understood the radical element that is seeking to operate under the cloak of organised labour are now back. Few of them ever left their work—only a few foreign-born—mostly aliens, who allowed themselves to be swayed by the un-American teachings of radical strike agitators. Each day more and more of these are seeing the light and returning to work.

Sane heads in labour's own ranks have saved American liberty in this great struggle, and have again decisively demonstrated that nothing short of 100 per cent. Americanism can hope to win out in this country.

The strike has failed. GO BACK TO WORK.

A variety of factors enter into the mutual dislike of natives and foreigners, some of which it is worth while to notice here. To begin with, many of the immigrants are themselves bold individualists. The desire to " better oneself " is a very common cause of emigration. On arrival, the newcomer oftentimes

finds that he can very substantially better himself, and yet manage more cheaply than his native competitor, whose habit is to live well and save little. In matters of workmanship, too, the foreigner is often more thorough and has a wider range of technique than the American. Needless to say, such circumstances give rise at times to bitter antagonism between what are known to capitalist morality as the "higher" types of alien and the native worker.

Other forces operate to prevent the formation of bonds of goodwill between the natives and the less capably acquisitive or "lower" types of foreigner. The American, if he be worth his salt, has a tremendous "pull" over workers possessed, at best, of a limited knowledge of the English language, unfamiliar with the customs of the country, and ignorant of most of their "legal rights." Hence the better paid and more responsible jobs usually fall to the lot of natives or the Americanised aliens above described. Crediting to their own character the comparative comfort they enjoy, the holders of petty advantage waste little sympathy on the ground-down wretches beneath them, and the latter are in no position to generate spontaneous interest in the welfare of anybody outside their own ranks.

The agents of the employers experience no difficulty in showing that the strongholds of radical propaganda are to be found among workers of foreign birth, for such is undoubtedly the fact. They are perfectly right, also, in describing native radicals as "un-American." Men and women who emerge from an American schooling with capacity for independent thought, and courage to act upon it, are not of the easily classifiable kind; and certainly the class, of all others, with which they have least in common, is that to which the overwhelming majority of their countrymen belong. The moridity of their criticism of everything typically "American" gives their opponents a good excuse for dubbing them foreigners; and in this way national prejudice is used to secure the rejection of certain policies and tactics, unexamined, by the very unionists who have everything to gain from a thorough consideration of all the questions involved.

Two further obstacles to working-class solidarity, viz., the tremendous distances of the United States and differences among the foreign-born, deserve mention before we pass from the causes to the appalling consequences of Labour's relative weakness. The first calls for little elaboration, beyond the statement that it costs more to journey in comfort from New York to San Francisco than from New York to London, and

that it is a stupendous task for the American proletariat to create an organisation which will maintain a living unity of thought and action between districts separated by great mountain ranges, wide stretches of desert, and thousands of miles of farming territory, subject to different climatic conditions. To a few capitalist dictators, who do not have to consult the wishes or feelings of other people, natural barriers matter little. These gentlemen are accustomed and have the means to travel ; and the environment, which has developed their consciousness of their class interests to so high a pitch, has also lifted them above merely local prejudices and limitations.

With regard to the differences of nationality, hare-brained optimists sometimes talk as though the foreign-born workers were a unit ; and console themselves for the sluggishness of the home-grown movement by dwelling upon the radical tendencies discernible in many of the foreign groups. " After all," they say, " a clear majority of the wage-earners in each of a number of vitally important industries—bituminous coal mining, iron and steel, oil, textiles, clothing—are foreign. Why worry so much about the natives ? " The answer to this question is that the foreigners are not a unit, and that only in working for some end dictated by their common relationship to the American Labour movement can they exert their full strength. There is nothing else, in outlook or historical background, to draw Finns and Italians together, or French Canadians and Greeks, or Russians and Portuguese, to take a few examples at random. In other words the fulfilment of the hopes of the radical foreigners is conditional upon what the natives think and do.

Perhaps the difficulties in the way of common action of any other kind cannot be fully appreciated without practical experience of the ease with which misunderstandings arise on mixed committees between men whose purposes are identical, but whose temperaments and manners of speech are as far apart as the poles. Take, for instance—the writer has known just such a case—a Finn and a South Italian trying to work together on a committee for some limited purpose, in which Finns and Italians are the only peoples interested in a particular locality. Neither speaks the other's language ; neither feels entirely at home in English. Finns are probably the most phlegmatic people on earth, barring the Chinese. They speak little, and what they do say, with the friendliest intent, is abrupt almost to rudeness. Your South Italian, on the other hand, tries to impart, even to his imperfect English, something of the flowery eloquence of which he is a master in his own

tongue. He is naturally expansive, and polite to a degree ; but he is also apt to become explosive when what seem to him compelling arguments are met with what seems to him indifference or scorn. Is it any wonder that the Italian gets steadily hotter inside as he looks on the impassive countenance of his Finnish colleague, or that the dour Finn should begin to wonder how badly his southern comrade is suffering from nervous overstrain ? Thus agreement on essentials may be obscured by temperamental accidents ; and the great nation-wide drive of the working-class, in which there will be ample scope both for the brilliant dash of the south and the grim tenacity of the far north, waits for the awakening of the American-born.

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Lawyers and working men are proverbially antagonistic. Working men have a sense of human values, while lawyers are interested in formulæ. The difference in outlook and the sources of mutual irritation are well illustrated in the story of the man who was engaged to repair the wall of a well, and was thrown to the bottom by an accident which would certainly have carried with it the right to compensation if the wall had been above ground. To the crude non-legal mind all that seemed necessary was to establish the facts of the fall and the resulting injuries. But trained legal intelligence was pained by such an evasion of the extremely interesting question raised by the case—something much more important than a mere mangled human body or the welfare of the victim's dependents, to wit, the delicate problem of law, can a well forty feet deep be regarded as a building forty feet high ?

At the best of times, therefore, Labour is apt to come off badly in courts given over to the presentation by lawyers of purely legal issues, with another lawyer, or group of lawyers, acting as umpire. Worker witnesses are unable to make the most of themselves, and it very seldom happens that the real issues at stake in a labour case come before the courts at all. Legal technicalities may vitally affect human relationships ; but, as everybody knows, human relationships that rest on no better foundation than the legal rights of the persons concerned, are, in the ordinarily accepted meaning of the word, as "inhuman" as it is possible for such relationships to be. You cannot make as much play in a capitalist court with such contentions as that people must live, or that children must be given a chance, as you can with a nice point like that concerning the structure of a well. The legal view is that certain statutory provisions have been framed with a view to the maintenance

of life, and if in any case these provisions are inadequate, the proper procedure for those affected is to let Nature have its course, devoting their dying moments to constitutional advocacy of changes in the existing law. As regards giving children a chance, while this is not *per se* an unlawful or undesirable purpose, it is clearly not recognised as obligatory by the statutes, for do not these very statutes contemplate the provision of gallows, jails and lunatic asylums mainly for the use of those who are not given a chance in childhood?

To explain the amazing decisions of the American courts, however, the plea of inhuman legalism is insufficient. We must refer back to our quotation from the findings of the Industrial Relations Commission bearing upon "the control by the employers of the entire machinery of government," supplementing what was there said with a pronouncement by Chief Justice Clark, of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, in *The Arena* for November, 1907:—

At the present time the supreme power is not in the hands of the people, but in the power of the judges, who can set aside at will any expression of the people's will made through an Act of Congress or a State Legislature. These judges are not chosen by the people, nor subject to review by them. This is arbitrary power, and the corporations have taken possession of it simply by naming a majority of the judges.

It is the ambition of every young attorney who wants to rise in his profession to become a corporation lawyer; and although the emoluments of judges are much smaller than those of leaders of the bar, there are many who, having done well for themselves in practice, are attracted by the dignity, security, and comparative leisure of the bench.* Thus, before any question of political influence enters into the appointments, the chances are all in favour of a corporation lawyer getting a judgeship if he wants one.

Rarely in any capitalist country does a court in a labour case voice anything other than the masters' will, but in the United States the stage at which ingenious pretences of fairness are considered expedient now belongs to the past. Ex-President Taft, who now sits as Chief Justice in the United States Supreme

* As an example of the opportunities enjoyed by the American judiciary may be mentioned the case of Federal Judge Kenesaw M. Landis, of Illinois, who found time, in addition to his court duties, for work in connection with baseball management, valued by his employers at the rate of \$42,500 a year.

Court, earned for himself, while an ordinary federal judge, the nickname of " Injunction Bill " for his initiative in smashing strikes by court injunction. To obtain an injunction is now the first thought of the employer in whose plant a strike has been called. All that he has to do is to go into court, tell a sympathetic judge how much annoyance and injury the strike is causing him, and recite the methods by resort to which the strikers have most chance of winning. The judge then makes an order, either " enjoining " the strike as unlawful in itself, or, if that seems unwise, enjoining all activities which seem essential to a victory for the strikers. If the injunction is disobeyed the offenders can be summarily packed off to jail without any preliminary nonsense about trial by jury or the sufficiency of the evidence to convict.

From the following summary of a few of the most notorious decisions and injunctions in labour cases, the reader can sample the substitutes for justice handed to the workers by the American courts of law :—

BLACKLISTING AND BOYCOTT BY EMPLOYERS

In the case of *Boyer v. Western Union Telegraph Company*, the question was raised in a Federal Court whether the company was entitled to discharge employés without notice, solely because of membership in a labour union, and to notify other employers of the fact of discharge and the reason for it. The court held as follows :—

As in the absence of contract for employment for a definite period, the employer may discharge his employés at any time for any reason, or for no reason, there can be no such thing as an unlawful conspiracy to destroy a labour union by discharging its members or refusing to employ them. An employer, having discharged employés for belonging to a labour union, has the right to keep a book containing their names, and showing the reason of their discharge and to invite inspection thereof by other employers, even though the latter therefore refuse to hire the discharged employés.

Laws passed by the State Legislatures of Ohio and Oklahoma, forbidding the discharge of employés on the ground of membership, or intended membership, in a trade union, were in 1915 overruled by the courts as unconstitutional. In the same year a similar fate overtook a Kansas enactment, which attempted to make it illegal for an employer to require a worker, as a condition of employment, to agree not to join a trade union.

BLACKLISTING AND BOYCOTT BY LABOUR

Members of a union who agree together to publish the fact of an employer's unfairness to organised labour are guilty of an "unlawful conspiracy," and in the opinion of the United States Supreme Court "the agreement to act in concert when the signal is published, gives the words 'Unfair,' 'We don't patronise,' or similar expressions, a force not inhering in the words themselves, and therefore exceeding any possible right of speech which a single individual might have. Under such circumstances they have become what have been called 'verbal acts,' and as much subject to injunction as the use of any other force whereby property is unlawfully damaged."

A few months after the above decision the Circuit Court of Appeals for the southern district of New York affirmed an order issued by a lower court restraining the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners not only from "communicating to any other person, firm or corporation, any statement or notice of any kind or character whatsoever," calling attention to the unfairness of a particular wood-working concern, but even from "requesting customers or those who might become customers of the complainants, to purchase their wood materials from, or have their woodwork done by persons or corporations who use the union label of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America . . . so that they may avoid labour troubles."

SYMPATHETIC STRIKES

The sympathetic strike is an indictable conspiracy. This was settled in the great railway strike which, in the summer of 1894, paralysed the traffic on twenty-four lines. The Pullman Palace Car Company, which, according to the Industrial Relations Commission, "enjoys a practical monopoly of the sleeping-car service," was at that time engaged in a bitter struggle with its employés, who to this day constitute one of the most pitiable groups of overworked, underpaid and habitually brow-beaten wage slaves in the United States. Sleeping and parlour cars, it should be explained, are attached to ordinary trains, although the tickets for them are purchased separately, and they are not staffed by railway company men. In an effort to help the Pullman strikers the radically-inclined American Railway Union, with headquarters in Chicago, placed a boycott on Pullman cars, but the railway companies insisted on accepting such parlour cars and sleepers as the Pullman Company could

put in service. A railway strike was the inevitable consequence ; and, but for the intervention of the courts with their doctrine of conspiracy, labour would have won. When, however, the strike leaders began to be jailed and the secret service of big business to practise the tactics of terror in which it has since become more proficient, many of the strikers weakened, and the fight was lost.

The court view of a sympathetic strike was thus stated by Mr. Taft :—

All the employés had the right to quit their employment. But they had no right to combine to quit, in order thereby to compel their employer to withdraw from a mutually profitable relation with a third person for the purpose of injuring that third person, when the relation thus sought to be broken had no effect whatever on the character or reward of their services. It is the motive for quitting and the end sought thereby that make the injury inflicted unlawful and the combination by which it is effected unlawful conspiracy.

STRIKES AGAINST " OPEN SHOP " AND UNJUST DISCHARGES

Strikes to secure the discharge of non-union workers or the reinstatement of workers unjustly discharged are also unlawful. They are an invasion of the employer's right to " discharge his employés at any time, for any reason, or for no reason," and they are " coercive," as a New Jersey court was not slow to perceive :—

There is this coercion : The men agree to leave simultaneously in large numbers and by preconcerted action. We cannot close our eyes to the fact, that the threat of the workmen to quit the employer, under these circumstances, is equivalent to a threat, that unless he yield to their unjustifiable demand, they will derange his business and thus cast a heavy loss upon him. . . . In such a condition of affairs it is idle to suggest that the manufacturer is free to reject the terms which the confederates offer.

PICKETING

While on the topic of " Americanism and Liberty " we noted that the courts reserve to themselves the right of enjoining whatsoever they please in connection with picketing, and that they recently overruled as unconstitutional an Act of the Arizona Legislature which would have fettered their discretion in this respect. There is no uniformity in the decisions, even as to the legality of picketing when " accompanied by mere peaceful persuasion." The Supreme Courts of Illinois and

Alabama have, however, decided adversely on this issue, the latter holding that "there can be, perhaps, in the eyes of the Legislature no such thing as peaceful picketing or peaceful persuasion."*

"Intimidation" is always unlawful, when practised by strikers; and in determining what constitutes intimidation from that side, American lawyers have developed an exquisite delicacy of sentiment, as astonishing as their wooden obtuseness to the feelings of sufferers from acts of tyranny committed by officials or employers. How touching is the consideration for the feelings of the black-leg, which breathes through the opinion of the United States Supreme Court, that "in going to and from work, men"—meaning strike-breakers—"have a right to as free a passage without obstruction as the streets afford," and that the poor dear things, if the strike they are trying to break happens to be one in which no legal excuse has yet been found for prohibiting picketing altogether, must not be subjected to the annoyance of being approached by more than one picket at a time.

The multitudinous items taken care of in the injunction granted by Justice Kelby, of the State Supreme Court, in the New York milkmen's strike of November, 1921, include "spying on the operations of the plaintiffs or any of their customers or employes," "ridiculing," or "following" "employes or customers or prospective employes or customers of any of the plaintiffs or any of their families and friends" and "inflicting or threatening to inflict any detriment, disadvantage, inconvenience or annoyance of any kind upon any person because of relation to or association with any of the plaintiffs."

From the terms of this injunction, which differs from others rather in the detail of its specifications than in the spirit which informs it, the reader can gain only a partial idea of the disabilities under which American unionists go on the picket line. The employers, their police, and their other agents are given more and more latitude as the restrictions upon the workers are drawn tighter. But of this more anon.

LIABILITY OF UNIONS FOR DAMAGES

Ever since 1915, when protracted litigation ended in the United Hatters of North America being mulcted in \$252,130 damages in respect of a boycott, following a strike, organised

* Quoted from Dr. Harry W. Laidler's summary in the *American Labour Year Book*, 1916.

by their officials against one Loewe, a hat manufacturer of Danbury, Connecticut, the American trade unions have had to exercise the utmost caution in whatever they say or do in relation to the products of a "scab shop." That decision was a heavy and, to many, an unexpected blow; for at the time of the passage of the Sherman anti-trust law, under which the action for damages was sustained, assurances had been sought and obtained that trade unions were not regarded as organisations coming within the purview of the act.

At the present moment, however, organised labour is staggering under the effects of a Supreme Court decision which, in American parlance, makes the Danbury hatters' case "look like five cents." As a consequence of this latest legal onslaught, union funds become liable for damage inflicted either upon employers or upon "the public" by a strike. In June, 1922, the United Mine Workers of America, in the midst of a nationwide strike comparable to that of the British Miners' Federation in 1921, received a blow between the eyes in an action brought by the Coronado Company to recover £120,000 damages in respect of a strike in Arkansas several years ago. Although the damages were remitted on a technicality, the action was sustained in principle, and the announcement of the decision has been followed by another suit against the Mine Workers by another company, which wants £200,000. Before this book comes off the press half the unions in the United States may be in sight of bankruptcy, as a result of concerted action by financiers interested in pressing the new doctrine to its logical conclusion, the destruction of unionism.

Just over ten years ago Mr. Gilbert E. Roe, an eminent member of the New York Bar, wrote a book called "Our Judicial Oligarchy," detailing the causes of popular distrust of the courts, and making certain very moderate suggestions for reform as a "first step toward bringing about better relations between the courts and the people." In the section (to which the present writer is indebted for some of his law references) dealing with labour cases, the tolerance and charity of the introduction to Canute's criminal statutes are contrasted with the ferocious punishments—amputation of hands, feet, nose, ears, and lips, scalping, and putting out of the eyes—prescribed as soon as "the good king had finished his preamble and got down to the business at hand." Mr. Roe's comment is:—

I am always reminded of old King Canute and his criminal statutes, when I read the decisions of our courts relating to labour disputes. The decisions always abound with satisfying phrases

about the "Dignity of labour," "Sacredness of contract," "The right to work," and the like, but when the decision gets down to the question presented in the particular case, and has finished with the labour organisation before it, that unfortunate party is apt to bear a strong resemblance to one of King Canute's subjects after a collision with that monarch's criminal law.

To some liberals in 1912 this pronouncement seemed a little extreme, but they can hardly deny that subsequent decisions have justified every word of it.

* * * * *

If the American capitalists were seeking nothing more than the substance of power through the existing State, they would already be satisfied. To all Marxians, and to many others who would not call themselves by that name, it is a truism that national Governments are maintained, and function, in the interests not of nations, but of economically dominant classes. Although since the Treaty of Versailles the British and German Governments have grown steadily more subservient to the great money interests in Britain and Germany respectively, there are still limits beyond which the politicians might refuse to go, even if ordered. In all essentials the capitalists are in control, but their rule is not absolute and unquestioned; they recognise the possibility, if not the imminence, of an overturn. They would like to be as brutally masterful as their American brothers, but they are restrained by fear of precipitating an open conflict, in which their possible losses are far greater than any gains they at present have in view.

While big business in Europe thus hovers between the old order and the new, the capitalists of America, like the Communists of Russia, have boldly crossed over and are exploring the possibilities of the new. Not for long can the crisis of transition be delayed by the rest of the world. Sheer force of circumstances will impel the capitalists forward. Those countries in which, as in the United States, they encounter no resistance, or unsuccessful resistance, will enter upon a period of Industrial Feudalism. Where the resistance succeeds, the hitherto exploited proletarians will assume control, making use for that purpose of the Soviet form of government. Seen in this light the progress of events in the United States at the present time becomes of engrossing interest to every intelligent European worker, for it indicates more clearly than anything else in the world what the future holds in store for him, if he fails in courage and energy in solving the problems

which will be presented to him for solution within the next twenty-five years or so.

The land Feudalism of mediæval times was made possible by the break-up of strong centralised government in the Roman Empire. So Feudalism in industry can only come into being through the destruction of existing forms of government ; in this respect it resembles Communism. Now, though it is true that the capitalists have the American Government absolutely in their grip, we may also observe that they have it gripped by the throat. They are slowly crushing its life out even as they utilise its remaining strength. They shout for "law and order" and make free use of legal indictments against their enemies ; but the net result of their policy in these matters is to exalt organisations like the Ku Klux Klan above the federal and state courts as custodians of law and order. In like manner their employment of private detectives and gunmen tends to discredit the official police. When a chamber of commerce or some similar group of business men hires false witnesses, and has a labour leader convicted for a crime of which he is entirely innocent, the effect may be to inspire a dread of offending powerful capitalists, but the courts which are impotent to protect the guiltless are certainly brought into contempt. Let a social reformer hint at anything in the nature of public investigation or effective regulation of the activities of the great corporations, and the business interests will hold up to ridicule, as a monster of corruption and incompetence, the very Government for criticising which they are in the habit of having radicals tarred and feathered or lynched.

What is meant by Industrial Feudalism is a system of society under which those engaged in industry will occupy in relation to their employers a position exactly similar to that of the serfs and subordinate vassals on mediæval estates. To work out this conception in detail would require a book to itself. The reader may, however, be reminded that not only was the feudal underling at his overlord's disposal for service in war and for the purpose of getting the land cultivated, but his most intimate personal affairs were subject to supervision and interference from above, and both his obligations to society at large and society's obligations to him (so far as any were recognised) were fulfilled, not directly, but through his feudal superiors.

The three remaining phenomena scheduled for notice in this chapter seem to the writer as conspicuously feudalistic in tendency as they are conspicuously American in character.

They are (1) "the frame-up," (2) the maintenance of private armies by the big corporations, (3) paternalism in industry.

1. Ethically, the "frame-up" stands on a lower level than lynching or an ordinary Ku Klux outrage. Technically, the term is applicable to any trial in which the evidence is faked, and witnesses deliberately give false testimony to send an innocent man or woman to prison or the gallows. Doubtless these things are occasionally done out of personal spite or revenge, but the game is so uncertain and so desperately dangerous to the players that we may infer that it is not frequently played. The kind of frame-up which we have in mind belongs to an entirely different category. It includes such famous scandals as the Smith-Preston case in Nevada, the Tom Mooney case in California, and the Sacco-Vanzetti case in Massachusetts. The feature common to all these cases is that labour organisers, whose strike activities have rendered them obnoxious to the employing class, are suddenly arrested, tried and convicted—on evidence which no decent human being would consider sufficient to justify the hanging of a dog—not as sedition-mongers, or criminal syndicalists, or something equally to their credit, but as common or garden cut-throats.

It would not at all serve the ends of those responsible for the prosecution to make too much concealment of the weakness of their case and the character of their witnesses. The accused gets no sympathy from the court—that possibility is given consideration when the time and place of the frame-up are arranged—and by judicious propaganda the passions of the local mob are thoroughly inflamed in advance. The whole proceedings are rushed through in a style which causes an unprejudiced lawyer to whistle as he looks through the court record and raises the blood of any other fair-minded observer to boiling point. Much more is intended, and achieved, than a judicial crime against an individual or two in the labour movement. Every such conviction serves notice on the radicals that, however carefully they may adapt their propaganda to the requirements of sedition and "anti-anarchy" laws, their lives and reputations are no safer. If they offend the real masters, the overlords of coal, copper, textiles, or whatever may be the dominant interest in the territory in which they live, they will be punished in defiance of all the legal safeguards which the bourgeois state boasts of providing for all.

In order that readers who may be unfamiliar with what

happened in the Smith-Preston, Mooney and Sacco-Vanzetti cases, may judge for themselves as to the truth of the writer's interpretation, it is worth while here to set down the essential facts.

At about 6.30 p.m. on March 10th, 1907, a restaurant keeper named John Silva announced his intention of killing Morrie R. Preston, business agent of the Western Federation of Miners, who was on picket duty in the street outside the restaurant in the mining camp of Goldfield, Nevada. Preston, who, like most union organisers in that wild country, had been the object of threats on several previous occasions, saw his enemy come to the door, take aim at him with an automatic pistol and pull the trigger. It is true that by accident the weapon missed fire, but the intention was plain. Four, even among the State's witnesses, testified at the trial that, a short time before the shooting, Silva had displayed his pistol, and boasted that he was going to use it against either Preston or the miners' assistant business agent, Joseph W. Smith. In such circumstances it would have been extraordinary if Preston had not drawn *his* gun, and fired in self-defence. Actually he fired twice, one shot going wild, and the other inflicting a fatal wound on the aggressor. At that time Smith was admittedly eating his supper at home, more than a mile away from the affray.

Nevertheless, both Preston and Smith, along with seventeen other members of the miners' union, were indicted for conspiracy to murder not only Silva, but several prominent opponents of their organisation, none of whom was either threatened or harmed, either before or after Preston and Smith were sent to jail. These two men were tried first, and convictions obtained against Preston for murder in the second degree and against Smith for manslaughter. Subsequent inquiry showed that the hostile verdicts were mainly due to the jurors being affected by the intense local prejudice created by paid emissaries who, under the guise of disgusted union men, went around hinting that the facts were even blacker than the prosecution alleged. With regard to the evidence of two of the three "star" witnesses for the State, J. F. Douglass, who had been chief prosecutor, wrote in April, 1914:—

Relative to my opinion of the testimony given by Claiborne and Bliss at the trial of M. R. Preston, I have no hesitancy in stating that I became convinced at the time of the trial, and from information which came to me subsequently thereto, that both

the above-named witnesses perjured themselves at that trial. Certainly enough of their testimony was perjured to create grave doubt as to the truth of any of it.

The third of the "stars," it may be mentioned, was one Davis, who had been found guilty, in the State of Idaho, in 1896, of murdering two sheep-herders who had dared to camp on a range which he had been hired by a large cattle company to "protect" in their interests. His death sentence was commuted, and by 1902 his powerful friends had been able to secure him a free pardon.

None of the other seventeen accused men were ever brought to trial, but the two business agents of the union received sentences of twenty-five and ten years respectively. It is clear that in this early frame-up big business went to work with some nervousness. The miners were intended to understand the reason for which their officers had been "put away"; but "the Christian men to whom God has given the control of the property interests of the country" were not yet ready to exact the death penalty for opposition to their will. Smith, if guilty of any crime at all, was guilty of being accessory before the fact to a premeditated murder, and, in that event, Preston was not entitled to a verdict of "second degree" murder, which means murder without premeditation. Certainly the capitalists here missed a chance; but the reader will note how far beyond such weak scrupulosity they had advanced in 1916 when Tom Mooney was framed-up in San Francisco.

Thomas J. Mooney, his wife, Warren K. Billings, Israel Weinberg and Edward D. Nolan were charged with a bomb outrage, which caused several deaths, on the occasion of a parade in favour of military preparedness, held in San Francisco on July 22nd, 1916. Billings who was arraigned in the following September, and Mooney, who came to trial in January, 1917, were both found guilty. Mrs. Mooney and Weinberg were later acquitted, and the case against Nolan was dropped. The public prosecutor refused to call as witnesses people who actually saw the falling of the bomb, but put on the stand witnesses whose character caused J. B. Densmore, Director-General of Employment for the Federal Department of Labour, to express wonder at "the sorry type of men and women brought forward to prove essential matters of fact in a case of the gravest importance." This interest on the part of the Department of Labour was due to the unrest to which Mooney's condemnation was giving rise among workers engaged in the production of war materials during 1917 and 1918

As was well said by a famous Press correspondent, Robert Minor :—

The only evidence against Tom Mooney that a sensible man would listen to, was that of an Oregon cattleman, Frank C. Oxman, who came into the trial at the last moment, took the stand like a breeze from the prairie, swore that he was a country gentleman, loved his wife, and had seen Israel Weinberg drive Tom Mooney, Mrs. Mooney, Billings and an unidentified man to the scene of the crime in Israel Weinberg's jitney bus, of the number of which car he had made a note on a telegraph envelope which he had in his pocket at that moment. He never made a mistake in his life in the identity of a person, as he was used to identifying cattle on the range. . . .

In April, 1917, to quote Mr. Densmore again, "it was demonstrated beyond the shadow of a doubt that Oxman, the prosecution's star witness, had attempted to suborn perjury and had thus in effect destroyed his own credibility." District-Attorney Fickert's principal assistant, Edward A. Cunha, "made a virtual confession of guilty knowledge of the facts relating to Oxman," who had been discovered to be an Illinois swindler, who had made a hurried departure from Grayville, his home town, after being caught in a land graft. "Since the Oxman exposure the district-attorney's case has melted steadily away, until there is little left but an unsavoury record of manipulation and perjury, further revelations having impeached the credibility of practically all the principal witnesses for the prosecution." Yet a motion for a new trial was denied, and the California Supreme Court decided "that it could not go outside the record in the case, in other words, that judgment could not be set aside merely for the reason that it was predicated upon perjured testimony."

An alibi was established for Mooney by the enlargement of a photograph (including a street clock), in which he, Mrs. Mooney and others were shown in another place at a time so near that of the explosion as to make it a physical impossibility for them to have taken part in the outrage. When the Netherlands Federation of Labour, the British Trades Union Congress, the General Federation of Labour of Milan, and even the Kerensky Government in Russia took the matter up, President Wilson interceded with Governor Stephens, and that functionary, in whose hands (the conviction having been obtained under the California law) the final decision lay, graciously commuted Mooney's death sentence to life imprisonment. But to this day Mooney and Billings are languishing in jail for the only

crime for which they were marked for punishment, viz., organising the Pacific coast workers in opposition to the ruling corporations.

The Sacco-Vanzetti case in Massachusetts presents, if possible, a more sordid story than the Mooney trial. Two Italian labour organisers, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, were arrested on May 5th, 1920, and charged with murders committed at South Braintree, Mass., on April 15th, 1920, in one of a series of pay-roll robberies which took place in New England around that time. From the similarity of procedure throughout the series it was pretty clear that a gang of seasoned criminals was at work under the direction of a master-mind. There was nothing in the record of either of the accused to connect them with the underworld, nor did the police claim to have any clue as to the identity of the other men who admittedly were concerned in the South Braintree crime. The large sum of \$15,750 was secured by the bandits, but the prosecution made no attempt to prove that either Sacco or Vanzetti was a cent better off after than before the crime. At the time of their arrest both men were actively interesting themselves in meetings to aid Mrs. Andrea Salsedo, whose husband's body, after eight weeks of illegal captivity (still unexplained), suddenly, on May 3rd, 1920, came hurtling down to the pavement from the fourteenth storey headquarters of the Federal Department of "Justice" in the Park Row Building, New York City. One of their plans was to defray the cost of legal proceedings for damages against the United States Attorney-General, by whose subordinates Salsedo was being unlawfully detained when he met his death.

The murders, of which a packed jury has found the two Italians guilty, were committed in broad daylight in front of a shoe factory, the victims being a paymaster and a pay-roll guard. Having killed their men and got the money, the bandits made their escape in a motor-car. Many persons witnessed the crime, and of these no less than twenty-two testified in court their certainty that neither Sacco nor Vanzetti was among the criminals. Thirteen witnesses, called by the prosecution for the purpose of establishing the facts of the crime, were unable to identify either Sacco or Vanzetti; two of the five identifying witnesses were discredited on the ground of character, and a third by the contradictions between his testimony and that of other State witnesses.

Special attention is directed to the evidence of the two reputable witnesses who identified Sacco only. These were

book-keepers who had a view of the car in which the murderers were escaping. Their view was obtained from a second-storey window, 80 feet away from the car, which was travelling at about 18 miles an hour and remained within their range of vision for a distance of only 35 feet—in other words they had a glimpse for $1\frac{1}{5}$ seconds. During this space of time Miss Mary Eva Splaine saw a man lean out from behind the front seat, and received impressions which she described thus :—

He was slightly taller than I, weighed about 140 to 145 pounds, had dark hair, dark eyebrows, thin cheeks, and clean-shaven face of a peculiar greenish-white. His forehead was high. His hair was brushed back, and it was, I should think, between 2 and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. His shoulders were straight out, square. He wore no hat. . . . His face was clear-cut, clean-cut. He wore a grey shirt. He was a muscular, active looking man, and had a strong left hand, a powerful hand.

She was supported by Miss Frances G. Devlin. Neither girl had been willing to identify at the preliminary hearing, held a few weeks after the crime and a year before the trial proper. Miss Splaine added that certainty came to her with "reflection." Just how "reflection" helps an American wage-earner to identify some one seen a year ago for $1\frac{1}{5}$ seconds, may be inferred from the fact that three others, whose "reflection" failed them, lost their jobs—one after seventeen years' service. A member of the convicting jury was subsequently placed on the pay-roll of the same firm.

When it is mentioned that Sacco produced ten independent witnesses of unimpeached character to prove that he was in Boston at the hour of the crime, and Vanzetti had even more to swear that he was in Plymouth, the reader will see that the capitalists took less trouble to provide an excuse for themselves in 1921 than in 1916. Here were two men who had proved intractable in more than one hard-fought strike; they must be made an example of! Guilt? Evidence? Why worry over trifles?

If Sacco and Vanzetti go to the electric chair, as is still quite likely,* their fate will register a further stage in the degradation of the American state and the *naked* assertion of power by big business.

2. Concerning the maintenance of private armies, a characteristic of Feudalism, the report of the Industrial Relations Commission, which ordered a special investigation of the

* June, 1922.

Colorado strike massacres of the autumn of 1913 and the spring of 1914, is conclusive * :—

It is clearly established that the operators had employed 326 armed mine guards in Huerfano county prior to September 1st (when the strike was called), and that no step was taken to arm the strikers until twelve days after that date. . . . Active in the management of the companies' armed guards were agents and officials of the notorious Baldwin-Felts detective agency of West Virginia. . . . It was employed by the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company to aid in recruiting guards, to instal and operate machine guns at the principal mines, and generally to supervise the work of protecting the mines and suppressing the strike.

Under direction of A. C. Felts and Detectives Belk and Belcher of this agency, an armoured automobile was built at the shops of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. This car, christened "The Death Special," was mounted with a machine gun and first used by company guards, and later by militia officers.

On October 9th, 1913, an attack was made by mine guards on the Ludlow tent colony, and one miner was killed. . . . On October 17th a party of mine guards rode to the Forbes tent colony in an armoured automobile and opened fire on the colony with a machine gun. One man was killed and a boy was shot nine times through the leg. A few days later mine guards fired on strikers in the streets of Walsenburg and killed three union men.

The economic dependence of the Colorado National Guard on the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company and other operators has been fully established. President Welborn, of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, testified that his company had paid militia-men from \$75,000 to \$80,000 on certificates of indebtedness, bearing interest and collectable from the State. Troops were quartered in company buildings and furnished with supplies by company stores in return for these certificates.

Mrs. Helen Ring Robinson, a member of the Colorado State Senate, testified that while visiting in the strike zone just before the Ludlow affair, she heard reports and threats that the Ludlow colony was to be wiped out.

On April 20th, militia-men destroyed the Ludlow tent colony, killing five men and one boy with rifle and machine gun fire, and firing the tents with a torch. Eleven children and two women of the colony, who had taken refuge under one of the tents, were burned to death or suffocated after the tents had been fired. Hundreds of women and children were driven terror-stricken into the hills or near-by ranch houses. Others huddled for twelve hours in pits underneath their tents or in other places of shelter

* In this connection the writer wishes to express his indebtedness to the digest of the Commission's report, compiled by Fred D. Warren, and published in a vest pocket edition by the People's College, Fort Scott, Kansas, in 1915.

while bullets from rifles and machine guns whistled overhead and kept them in constant terror.

During the firing of the tents the militiamen became an uncontrolled mob and looted the tents of everything that appealed to their fancy or cupidity. Three of the strikers killed at Ludlow were shot while under the guard of militiamen who had taken them prisoners.

Having burned and looted the tent colony, and killed or driven off its inhabitants, the militiamen on the following day maintained a close watch in all directions and fired on all persons who showed themselves in the roads or near-by fields and hillsides.

After this lengthy and authoritative description, by an official body, of the operations of the private troops of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, it is only necessary to add the briefest of notices of one or two similar happenings elsewhere.

"The notorious Baldwin-Felts Detective Agency of West Virginia," referred to by the Commission, continues to conduct military operations on behalf of anti-union coalowners in certain counties of that unhappy State. In May, 1920, a detachment of Baldwin-Felts men attacked the town of Matewan, in Mingo County, and slaughtered the mayor, together with several other citizens. They had, however, reckoned without Sid Hatfield, the chief of police. After a severe battle with the forces collected by this fighting chief, the invaders, or as many of them as were still able to run, made off. Hatfield was subsequently tried for murder, but acquitted. A few days after his acquittal he was assassinated by an industrial spy who has not yet been punished.

Away under the shadow of the Rockies, in Butte, Montana, on April 21st, 1920, a regiment of private gunmen in the employ of the Anaconda Mining Company fired, without provocation, into a peaceful meeting of striking copper miners, killing several and wounding more. Those who attempted to succour the wounded were treated as targets by the company's marksmen. The next objective was the destruction of the plant of the *Butte Daily Bulletin*, a labour newspaper; but the miners got wind of this, and when the motor-cars loaded with gunmen arrived at the *Bulletin* office they found a fully armed "red guard" in occupation of the premises. A survey of the position decided the attacking party to postpone indefinitely the execution of its plans.

3. During the period in which the American capitalists have assumed, in relation to the working-class of that country,

powers of personal punishment through the frame-up and of group coercion through the use of private troops, there has also developed a less openly offensive paternalism which is so widespread and so varied in form that only a general idea of it need be given here. The experts in scientific management have discovered that production is affected not only by the size, shape and design of the tools employed and by the elimination of unnecessary motions in the performance of tasks, but also by the frame of mind of the worker. The "welfare" departments of many corporations now keep records of the habits, tastes and peculiarities of the employés, and before an applicant can get a job he is required to bare his soul to the gaze of an expert who carefully card-indexes the results of his observations.

One firm of world reputation is said to have on its staff a specialist in matrimonial troubles. Curtain lectures and discord at breakfast time do not conduce to efficiency at the factory, so the dear lady who looks after this department of the service, first investigates the domestic relations of prospective employés and, after employment, keeps them under observation. The attitude of the American employer who has made up his mind that "welfare" work is a profitable investment has been well expressed by Mr. Richard A. Feiss, of the Clothcraft Shops of the Joseph & Feiss Company, Cleveland, Ohio, who said at the Sagamore Sociological Conference in 1916, "We don't carry ourselves into the home, but we are carried into the homes by our contact with employés. We aim to visit only upon such cases as demand our attention just out of common-sense and interest or necessary investigation."

Wherever the employers get a chance they endeavour to absorb the energies of their workers in social activities which they can easily supervise from above. Everything possible is done to segregate the workers of each great concern; in separate benefit associations which will take the place of labour unions; in separate "literary" and "educational" societies which effectually hinder real cultural development; in clubs which fritter away the manhood and womanhood of their members in dancing, if dancing it can be called, to jazz music the latest hideous indecencies invented by American corybantic enthusiasts. In their dealings with such organisations employers are often surprisingly generous, which fact deludes some simple souls into the belief that a new method has been found whereby the workers can achieve quicker and better results. The word "co-operation" is conjured with, and fancy

pictures are drawn of stockholders, craftsmen, shop assistants and office workers united by common interest in a brotherhood of loyalty to the business. A few temporary concessions will indeed be a low price for the employing class to pay for the establishment of a system under which existing working-class organisations shall be superseded by a host of little associations, each owning fealty to the management of the concern to which it belongs. Among manual workers in the trades which are already strongly organised this segregation is not very easily accomplished; but it has played havoc with the morale of office and store employés.

In small mill towns, where the inhabitants are mainly dependent upon one or two concerns, it is the settled policy of employers to own as many as possible of the workers' homes and to hold mortgages on others. It is also easy to control the halls available for public meetings and to keep an eye on any tendencies towards radicalism. In prosperous times "flag raisings" and junketings are held in connection with the mills, and true Americanism is constantly identified with "loyalty" to the economic rulers of the town. When bad times come, the radically-inclined workers are got rid of first; and the rest are told how much worse things are in other countries, and that their only hope for the future lies in becoming better Americans than they were before. In the United States, as Roger W. Babson has beautifully said, "they are getting what they deserve, and when they deserve more, they will get more."

VII

AMERICANISM AND EDUCATION

RECENT laboratory experiments have demonstrated that animals can be starved to death, without any reduction in the quantity of their diet, simply by extracting its vitamine content from the foodstuff supplied to them. American schools and colleges have already carried far beyond the experimental stage the art of starving the human mind by a similar process. In an early chapter mention was made of the standardisation of human beings as part of the programme of Americanism. Subsequently we dwelt upon some of the consequences of that standardisation, notably in the restriction of personal liberty and the crushing of organised labour. We are now to take a look at the teaching institutions in which the young American is subjected to the standardising process of mental undernourishment by which he or she is robbed of capacity for resistance to other standardising processes later on.

It has always been the boast of the English so-called "public schools" that their aim is to impart "character" rather than useful knowledge, that is, to turn out "gentlemen" rather than good citizens. This idea has been taken over bodily by the school authorities of the United States, with the difference that the latter seek to produce ignorant racial snobs ("100 per cent. Americans") as against ignorant society snobs ("English gentlemen"). Compared with this fundamental agreement on the meaning and purpose of education, divergencies in curriculum between the English and American schools are mere details. What matters the particular brand of the lumber with which the young brain is cluttered up, so long as no room is left for the things that matter? A mass of worthless lore about dactyls and spondees, false quantities, and the Virgilian dative is no more to be desired than a knowledge of the name, birthplace, and age at death of every old lady who knitted socks for the revolutionary soldiers in the American War of Independence. Both are where they are solely for the purpose of occupying space that might otherwise be filled with really valuable information.

Education that is frankly education for propaganda is probably the finest kind of education in the world, for its whole tendency is to force those who receive it to examine thoroughly the foundations of their own position as well as to understand that of their adversaries. Nothing, however, can be further from this than the camouflaged propaganda of which we have been speaking. The intention of the latter is not to supply an intellectual justification for such an absurd contention as that 100 per cent. Americans, or English gentlemen, are the best human beings alive and, therefore, entitled to lord it over all others ; but to create and foster a *superstition* that one or other of these absurdities is an approximation to the truth. Properly nourished minds reject gross superstitions of this order as readily as a healthy child refuses to eat chalk. But just as a depraved taste for chalk may be induced by under-nourishment, so may an appetite for falsehood be developed by feeding a young mind upon carefully doctored and selected facts.

Schools devoted to the promotion of superstitions have no option but deliberately to stint their pupils' minds. They must also encourage the baser emotions at the expense of the higher mental faculties. You have only half completed the task of perverting a human child into an " honest to God 100 per cent. American " when you have deluded him or her into believing that the United States form " God's country " inhabited by God's peculiar people. If you leave it at that, his or her Americanism is every moment in peril. Some bracing contact with reality—discussion with a foreigner, perusal of a forbidden book, anything—may switch him or her over into a new way of life which will give free play to the recuperative forces of nature. Americanism is safe only when held with aggressive intolerance. Native youths and maidens must be made to feel that it is not a priceless treasure to be enjoyed by its possessors, but a patent medicine of which they are salesmen and saleswomen. Doses of it must be forced upon everybody who does not already take it. If any one calls its merits in question he must be silenced at once and by force.

Whenever our own Government starts, or gets involved in, a war, we are made painfully aware how utterly our educational system fails to supply the historical knowledge which would neutralise in the minds of the people the wild falsehoods given out by our ruling class for the purpose of arousing patriotic fervour. Not with a superior smile, but with a sobering realisation that the council schools of this country are every

day becoming more dangerously infected with the same disease, should we view the universal degradation of teaching in the United States. That realisation is not, however, as some well-meaning sentimentalists would maintain, a reason for disguising the stark facts concerning our American cousins.

Total illiteracy is bad enough, but it is by no means so dangerous to the working class as the semi-literacy which just enables people to read without giving them the slightest power of intelligent criticism or appreciation of what they read. America is a leader in both respects. According to no less an authority than Dr. John J. Tigert, United States Commissioner of Education, speaking at a conference held near New Brunswick, New Jersey, in July, 1921, "one man out of every four in the American Army could neither read nor write," and "the average adult American was very poorly educated." Office managers, looking among the "graduates" of high schools for employés who could read, write, spell, and make simple calculations with reasonable accuracy, have been heard by the writer expressing themselves about the education of the rising generation in the same sense and in language much more nervous and picturesque than Dr. Tigert's.

In such matters it is exceedingly difficult to adduce anything like proof. Impressions vary with the temperaments and environments of observers; but in support of his own conviction that the ordinary product of the American school is inferior in mental stature and stamina to average young people of other countries the writer can refer to nearly seven years' continuous residence in New England, varied by trips west and south, and a pretty extensive acquaintance among men of differing types, hailing from almost every section of the country. The few concrete illustrations for which space can be found in this chapter may be declared by others to be wholly untypical; but they are given because the unsatisfactory condition of affairs to which they point was suggested by almost everything else which one man, at least, heard and saw of the working of the school system.

Parents who have been used to more exacting standards abroad become quite excited at times over the lessons their children receive. One American "school marm" was treated by a lady of the writer's acquaintance to a little free instruction which she is not likely to forget. It had become apparent to the lady in question and her husband that their daughter was making very slow progress in arithmetic; she seemed, indeed, to be learning things that weren't so. Having inherited

from Scottish forbears the keen interest in education which is characteristic of their race, they took the little girl in hand on their own account, supposing that her misapprehensions were due to muddled explanation, rather than sheer ignorance, on the part of her teacher. In particular did they insist that the percentage of profit on a sale was not based on the vendor's selling price but on what the article cost him. Examples worked on that basis were rejected by the teacher, and when the little girl protested that her parents had told her to work in that way, she was given to understand that father and mother didn't know everything. This was more than flesh and blood could stand. Upon mother devolved the duty of enlightening teacher, and the task was well performed. Just what happened at the private interview between the two women is known only to themselves, and matters little, except to the children who were subsequently better taught; the significant thing is that a foreign-born mother had to teach elementary arithmetic to a public school teacher in a country which trains its young people to look down on "ignorant foreigners."

More deep-seated and less easily remediable is the resentment felt by myriads of other fathers and mothers at the demoralisation wrought by the American schools. Far from being congratulated on their opportunity to become bilingual without effort, the children of the foreign-born are taught, wherever possible, to despise the language of their parents. Except with the very best of them the school point of view prevails over that of the home, and boys and girls who might have spoken two or three tongues with freedom grow up with nothing better than a half-command of the Yankee dialect of English. The Lettish community in the United States is the most remarkable group of human beings, both culturally and ethically, of which the writer has any knowledge. A large proportion of the adults write and speak fluently in four or more languages; very many more play a musical instrument, sing, or act, well enough to participate in amateur concerts and theatricals of a high order. Yet even among this gifted people, one may quite often hear the lament that so many of their children become Americanised to the extent of losing all interest in languages other than the Yankee dialect, in music other than "jazz," and in drama other than "the movies."

An Italian friend, not in the academic sense highly educated, but an expert mechanic, and possessed of a fund of practical wisdom acquired in the hard school of working-class struggle,

had a difference of opinion with his American-born schoolboy son, and was informed that it didn't matter much what a "wop" thought, anyway. It is refreshing to be able to record that the youngster immediately had his attention drawn in a very practical manner to another signification of the word "wop" in addition to its slang meaning as an appellation of contempt for Italians. The pity is that the teachers of the school, in which the boy had imbibed such ideas, did not have to share his punishment.

To the writer himself, on the shore of Walden Pond, by the heap of stones that marks the site of the hut in which Thoreau wrote his "Walden," there came an experience which illustrates both the character of the "100 per cent. Americanism" at which the schools aim and the quality of their intellectual training. The occasion was a picnic arranged by the Boston School of Social Science, a group of students organised some years ago to popularise the social sciences and provide a platform for radical speakers who otherwise could not have obtained a hearing. One of the party, an elderly man of German parentage, had brought with him his thoroughly Americanised daughter, a high school graduate. In the course of conversation something was said about the unusual combination of interests attaching to the spot—exquisite natural beauty, literary associations, and also political, inasmuch as the hut had been one of the stations on the "underground route" by which fugitive slaves made their way from the cotton plantations to the Canadian border. "I don't see anything to make such a fuss about," snapped the young "hundred per-center." "We've got just as good a pond at X——." "But hardly so humanly interesting?" suggested the writer mildly. The young lady replied that she knew nothing about this man Thoreau; but X—— was imperishably connected with the memory of Susannah or Sarah Somebody, who had rendered aid of some sort to the revolutionary soldiers "in the war that you Britishers got licked in. Of course you wouldn't know about that."

After this, the reader will not be surprised to learn that an American teacher awarded high marks for accuracy to a geographical essay describing England as, in the main, an agricultural country, and that the belief prevails among young Americans leaving school that the British Government exacts from Canada and the other self-governing colonies a huge annual tribute in return for the "privilege" of membership in the Empire.

The text-books used in the schools, especially in the teaching of history, are constantly being scrutinised and, as often as possible, changed in the interests of warring political factions. Thus, the pro-British elements of the population have lately been making a great noise about alleged misrepresentations of fact in the popular histories dealing with the revolutionary war. On the other hand, the Ancient Order of Hibernians went on record at Atlantic City in September, 1921, to the effect that several well-known professors of history have been guilty of flagrant British propaganda, and that "either by distortion or suppression credit is withheld from the Irish for the part they have played in the nation's crises."

A resolution recently offered by a member of the Boston School Committee, though defeated after discussion, expresses admirably the spirit in which the problems of education are generally approached. The text of the resolution was as follows :—

Ordered, that all histories of the United States, in story form or otherwise, authorised for use in the Boston public schools as text, supplementary or reference books, be examined by a special committee with a view to dropping from the authorised list books whose authors have omitted, garbled or mis-stated the established *and accepted* facts of American history, or who have in any way reflected on the motives or actions of American patriots who served their country in the revolutionary or any other war in which the United States have been engaged; that said special committee shall examine all text, supplementary or reference books with a view to dropping from the authorised list books whose authors have made references of a derogatory nature affecting the religious, racial or political character of any class of inhabitants in this city of Boston; that this special committee shall be of permanent standing, so that hereafter it will not be possible for any books of the kind referred to, to reach the teachers or pupils in the public schools for use in instruction or reference.

Its author explained that he had been shocked by a sentence in one of the school histories: "Samuel Adams was a cold-blooded, scheming politician."

The bill, which came within an ace of passing the State Legislature, for prohibiting the teaching of evolution and the use of books favourable to that theory in the schools of Kentucky, is another example of the way in which "viewpoint" takes precedence of truth in American thinking on the subject of education. So, also, is the protest of the executive council of the American Federation of Labour against the atrociously capitalistic bias of many of the school text-books. Instead of

making a direct, clear demand for the teaching of facts, the council weakly objects to "a total absence of labour's viewpoint" and will be glad to help writers and publishers to what it calls "the true and accurate principles on the subjects of industrial education."

In a yet more ridiculous manner was this reversal of values made manifest by a recent bitter controversy over the colour of George Washington's hair. A history professor had casually remarked, somewhere or other, that George was a red-haired man. Instantly were heard yells of rage from all quarters. It was derogatory to the father of his country to be classed with the red-headed league. George *must* not have red hair; it was offensive to the 100 per cent. American "viewpoint." After much discussion, both written and oral, a decision was reached, and given wide publicity, to the effect that the great Virginian's locks were 100 per cent. auburn.

While teachers and school committees occupy themselves with weighty matters like the foregoing, the pupils receive thorough instruction in patriotic forms and ceremonies. Flag-saluting and flag-wagging are part of the educational routine. All the children know on what days of the year the national emblem should be hung out, and just how men should hold their hats over their hearts when it goes by in a procession. "Exercises" are held on various unimportant occasions, at which the girls all have to dress in a specified way and boys and girls alike are deluged with conventional patriotic slush. This excess of outward observance in one respect closely resembles the discipline of the old religious orders, inasmuch as it tends to produce uniformity and docility among those who submit to it. In the religious discipline, however, this demoralising tendency was often to a considerable extent neutralised by the subjection of appetite and by really humanitarian activities which pulled in the opposite direction. Consequently the stronger minds frequently emancipated themselves altogether from superstitions which they had formerly accepted in good faith. The observances of Americanism, however, are connected with nothing in the nature of self-control. By the elder pupils, at any rate, their Americanism is associated with orgies of eating and dancing, of which we shall have more to say under the head of ethics. The machine-made superstition imposed by the public schools in the interest of American capitalism is a much more efficient instrument of bondage than the old priest-made variety.

Even junior classes are honeycombed with secret societies

which compel their novitiates to perform various silly "stunts" as a "pre-requisite" of full membership. Children attending school wearing one boot and one slipper or with one stocking falling around the boot, are smilingly permitted to remain in that condition as soon as they explain to the teacher in charge that they are being initiated into the Consolidated Order of Little Fools, or whatever the name of the society may be. In this way do the schools prepare the children for membership in organisations of the Ku Klux type.

Such, in essentials, is the character of the American school, as the writer has observed it. Even the two-thirds of the children who do not complete the grammar school course—roughly equivalent to the teaching in the British public elementary schools—stay long enough to receive a thorough grounding in emotional Americanism, and of the 10 per cent. who pass right through high school, it is not unjust to say that a large proportion are more or less shaky on the three R's and profoundly ignorant of almost everything that happened anywhere prior to 1776 and of most things that have happened outside the United States since that date. Those who leave early are standardised emotionally, but given no mental training; those who continue to the end get a few extra facts carefully selected to bolster up the emotional Americanism that they have already acquired.

The universities deserve little more praise, beyond an acknowledgment that, in some of them, valuable specialised technical knowledge is available for students who are very determined to obtain it. The system under which students "elect" their courses frequently produces weird results among those who are admitted without very definite plans for their own future. Unless the writer's memory betrays him, Stephen Leacock is entitled to the credit for immortalising the youth who, in one of his years, "elected salesmanship and religion." The incoherent scrappiness of mind of which that student is the never-to-be-forgotten example, is typical of the American college. In civil service and similar examinations the practice is adopted of awarding marks not only for what the candidate knows but for his "record"; and one constantly sees "fakers" of both sexes, who have never given—perhaps are incapable of giving—any real thought to the subjects they attempt to discuss, successfully pose as authorities on the strength of having attended such and such courses of lectures.

Woe betide the teacher who dares in the United States to believe in and work for independence of thought and its appli-

cation to the problems of to-day! From time to time the teaching institutions of the land of the free are "thoroughly purged"; the wheat is separated from the chaff, and the latter, if not "burned with fire unquenchable," is subjected to every form of persecution which American opinion permits—which is saying a great deal. The few capable and progressive teachers who manage to retain their posts, hold them by virtue of a self-repression which to many is as the torture of hell. Those who suffer thus are nearly all weighed down with family obligations which they can meet only by sacrificing their intellectual integrity. It would be easy to compile a list, containing at least a couple of score of names, of victims within the last few years.

Professor Scott Nearing is a born teacher; he is a master of the art of marshalling and interpreting facts and figures. There is nothing sensational in his methods; his lecture-room manner is quietness itself. But he is not lifeless, and his impersonal expositions never deaden the human feelings of his students. His lectures, and even more his books, are store-houses of information which furnish many of his readers with ammunition for the class struggle. Such a man is naturally a thorn in the side of the capitalists, but that he should, after eight years' successful work as an instructor in economics, be suddenly discharged from the University of Pennsylvania under conditions which made it practically impossible for him to obtain similar work that year in any other university, was going rather far, even for America—in 1915!

Since that time much more astonishing dismissals have occurred. Professor Harry Dana, for instance, of Columbia University, New York, has been dispensed with as a teacher of literature on the ground of his radical opinions. The Dana case attracted a great deal of attention. Besides being a grandson of H. W. Longfellow, the victim is connected by blood with a number of the most aristocratic families of New England. In a good sense his is a clear case of atavism. He manifests that taste for free speech, press and assemblage which, though characteristic of the best New England stock in the middle of the nineteenth century, was generally understood to have become extinct more than a generation ago. He objects to the policy of letting Russian children starve because their parents reject Mr. Hoover's economic opinions, and his idea of making the world safe for democracy is undoubtedly very different from that which found lodgment in the brain of Woodrow Wilson. Yet, although he has never been able to concentrate

his mind so exclusively on the past as to satisfy the "best people" in Massachusetts, he is temperamentally very far from being a revolutionary propagandist. First and foremost he is an expert in imaginative literature, and in that capacity he has proved himself able to set young folk reading on their own account—no mean achievement in contemporary America. Students, however, may not now be introduced to the great masterpieces of literature in the universities of the United States except by tutors carrying a "100 per cent. American" label; to which may be added the remark that a good "hundred per center" will almost certainly prefer the verses of Ella Wheeler Wilcox above any poetry written by ignorant foreigners.

Where a man like Harry Dana is considered dangerous, there is naturally no room for Charles A. Beard, to whose writings reference has been made in previous chapters. This boldest of American investigators is also the possessor of an easy literary style which disarms prejudice. He explores the holy places of American history without anger and without reverence. Standing before some pretentious idol or shrine, he looks it over carefully. "Poor stuff!" we seem to hear him say, "Wonder how that ever got in here." And at his light kick or a well-directed prod or two with his cane the hollow sham falls crumbling to the floor, and there is nothing to do but cart away the remains. "Heaven," said Don Juan in "Man and Superman," "is the home of the masters of reality." Certainly none of them will settle for long in an American university. Columbia, no doubt, felt safer from intrusions of truth when in 1917 Professor Beard withdrew, of his own accord, from its teaching staff.

Western universities are no better than Eastern in the matter of academic freedom. Professor Arthur Fisher is, in the year 1922, being turned out of the law school of the University of Montana because the American Legion does not like his opinions on the subject of the world war. In 1919 Professor Levine, of the economics department of the same University, was removed for publishing, in a study of the taxation of mines, illustrative figures that reflect anything but credit upon the great mining company which dominates Montana. A speedy exit from the University of Colorado was provided in 1915 for the professor of law, James H. Brewster, who had appeared before the Industrial Relations Commission on behalf of the Colorado miners.

Maryville College, Tennessee, in 1915 got rid of Arthur W.

Calhoun, its professor of economics, for no apparent reason other than the gentleman's avowed economic radicalism; and in 1921 the Virginia Military Institute at Lexington dismissed its professor of engineering, Robert T. Kerlin, for protesting, in an open letter, against peonage and torture of negroes by officers of the law in Arkansas.

It is, perhaps, hardly necessary to say that the censorship over the teachers in the grammar and high schools is more rigid than that under which the leaders of the profession suffer in the universities. Changes can be made in the lower schools without much public explanation, and it is difficult to arouse public feeling in the interests of the rank and file. In some States, of which New York is one, teachers are compelled to take an oath of loyalty as condition of exercising their profession in the State schools; and not long since the Cambridge (Massachusetts) Board of Education deprived a lady of the Peabody family of her living as a school teacher because her political opinions were distasteful to Mr. Nathan A. Tufts, who had not at that time been deposed from his district attorneyship.*

Outside the official schools, there is very little educational activity among the American people. The cultural life of the foreign-speaking groups has, of course, nothing to do with Americanism. Neither have schools like the Ferrer School in New Jersey, the Rand School of Social Science in New York, the Boston School of Social Science, or the People's College at Fort Scott, Kansas. All such organisations appeal mainly to the "foreigners," and are constantly denounced as un-American. Even worse is the plight of the Socialist and Workers' Sunday Schools; the teachers are black-listed and denounced to their employers, and attempts are made to terrorise the children by sending squads of police into the sessions. The "best people," the "100 per cent. Americans," hate such institutions, and will stoop to any misrepresentation or trickery if thereby they can bring organisers and instructors into legal trouble.

The "open forum" is a distinctly American institution. It avows itself a platform for the frank and full discussion of social and other problems. When the forums started, radical speakers were welcomed, but as soon as these men and women had served the purpose for which they were invited—in other words, established a reputation for the forums—they began to be dropped in favour of a more reactionary type than had been

* See page 49.

used at all in the early days. After the United States entered the World War, the intent of the promoters was laid bare. The forums were, in the expressive phrase of Professor Charles Zueblin, to draft the minds of the people at large, as the bodies of the young men were already being drafted, into the service of the national administration. George W. Coleman, chairman of the "Ford Hall Folks" in Boston, and the most active propagandist of the forum idea, indicated its purport in another way, when he said that, while they all believed in "free" speech, there must be no "unwarranted" speech. Here, therefore, we have, not unofficial education, but camouflaged Americanising propaganda.

Within the labour unions there has lately become active a group known as the Trade Union Educational League, largely under the guiding genius of William Z. Foster. Foster is one of the very few labour leaders who have achieved high standing in the American Federation of Labour, and who yet understand both the kind of economic education which the rank and file need and the way to interest them in it. This league is at the moment, in its own way, the most promising educational experiment on the North American continent.

As for education in the wider sense—including the development of appreciation for vital poetry, of feeling for what may be called the new art, of capacity for independent thought and criticism upon life—the only characteristically American undertaking of which the writer has knowledge, is that of the handful of writers and artists grouped in New York around the radical Bohemian monthly formerly known as *The Masses*, more recently as *The Liberator*. Prominent among them was the heroic John Reed, who met his death on revolutionary service in Soviet Russia. Max Eastman, Howard Brubaker, Charles W. Wood, Floyd Dell—to mention those of the living whose names spring first to mind—have poured invective or ridicule upon everything for which machine-made Americanism stands. Even more scathing have been the satirical cartoons of Art Young, the fantastic but irresistible sketches of William Gropper, and the sombre, heart-searching, truth-revealing drawings of Boardman Robinson and Robert Minor—the latter of whom, by the way, is almost as great when he writes or speaks as when he draws. Nor could the most thoroughly Americanised gaze upon the unconventional artistry of Cornelia Barns and Lydia Gibson without some glimmer of awareness that there are things not dreamed of in his philosophy; while the austere beauty of J. J. Lankes' wood-

cuts is a standing rebuke to the hideousness of contemporary American life.

Yet there has been something so elusively, yet unmistakably, American about this whole onslaught on Americanism that even a good "100 per cent." jury declined to convict the editors when they were indicted. By the Democratic administration under Woodrow Wilson *The Liberator* was illegally denied the cheap mailing privileges to which American periodicals are entitled; but in the summer of 1921 the excess charges to which it had been put were refunded by the Republican Postmaster-General, Will H. Hays. Was it because Mr. Hays realised that unless social revolution makes an end of Americanism, Americanism will in no long time make an end of *The Liberator*?

VIII

AMERICANISM AND RELIGION

THERE is not, in the United States, anything akin to the religious sentiment with which students of English life are familiar. Glorious architecture, lovely music, and a stately ceremonial, enabling the Established Church to minister to the æsthetic instincts, have undoubtedly associated Christianity, in the minds of multitudes of the English, with the satisfaction of human longings after beauty which were outraged by nearly everything in their everyday life. Nonconformity, notwithstanding its political and economic origins, was conceived by its adherents to be a moral and spiritual crusade. The persecution and social ostracism to which it was so long subjected saved it from the corruptions of popularity, and drove the faithful back upon a mysticism in which the bleak ugliness of their chapels and the general aridity of their lives formed but a background for the imagined splendours of the heavenly kingdom into which they were soon to enter. Changed conditions have now driven the more virile and intelligent elements of the population outside the fold, whether of Anglicanism or Nonconformity. The utter betrayal of their principles by all the Protestant churches during the Great War only hastened to completion a process that was already far advanced.

The influence of the two great currents of religious life in England is still to be seen in a certain reticence and hesitancy of the average Englishman in the presence of the ultimate mysteries of life—qualities for which you may look in vain in the United States. Severed from the moving traditions of Anglicanism, carrying with it the aridity—without the correctives—of Puritanism, American Christianity did not take long to develop forms as unlovely as superstition ever assumed on this planet. The denominational names of the Old World are there, but the spirit is entirely different. At an English Protestant service, for instance, one would be safe in reckoning that something like a quarter of the attendants were there for the conscious purpose of worship; and that quarter creates an atmosphere to which any decent human being, irrespective of

his beliefs or disbeliefs, is instantly sensitive. Yet, though it is still socially inexpedient for an American to declare himself an atheist or an agnostic, you might as well look for devotional atmosphere in a *café chantant* as in a Protestant church in the United States.

Religion in America has become a mere sub-department of patriotism. Catholics and members of the Christian Science group of faiths are in a somewhat different category from the rest and will be dealt with separately ; but of the ordinary American Protestant it is but truth to say that to him the word God signifies only a being in whom all good Americans are supposed to trust. "In God We Trust," he reads on every cent piece ; and, as an enthusiastic citizen once explained to the writer, *apropos* of that inscription, "Over in Europe, of course, there are lots of infidels ; but *every American* believes in God."

The more one thinks of it, the more clearly one sees how it came to pass that religion lost its independent hold on American life. Primitive religion grew out of primitive man's awe and wonder at the works of nature. As time passed, the original conceptions were modified and enlarged, but all the great religions of the modern world go back ultimately to the same foundation. With the doubtful exception of Mohammedanism, not one of them is more than a tradition. Can any one who goes to the record with an open mind pretend that the history of modern Christian Europe shows anything but a determined and consistent rejection of the teachings of Jesus ? Or will any candid person find much trace of the self-abnegating Buddha in the astute, imperialistic Japan of our time ? The same was largely true a century and a half ago, when the United States formed themselves into a nation. In cutting loose from the European tradition they cut loose from all that was left of reality in the Christian religion.

Beset by purely material problems, the American pioneers of the nineteenth century had no more time for a purely speculative and traditional faith than they had for any of the other superfluities of the mind, such as literature or art. Undoubtedly they were disposed to give God a chance "to make good." He had been prominently mentioned in the Declaration of Independence, and was connected in various ways with the "fathers of the Republic." Such considerations would not, however, by themselves have sufficed to give organised Protestantism the position it holds to-day. The churches had to serve some practical need, and they did so by converting themselves into social clubs offering attractions of a cleaner and wholesomer

type than those provided by the saloons. In stories of frontier life the church is always pitted against the saloon, and to this day in the large cities throughout the country you will find people active in the church clubs, who would not think of wasting time on the Sunday services. To this commercial rivalry may be attributed in large measure the general hostility of the American churches to the liquor traffic.

Social clubs under the auspices of religious sects easily developed into "community centres," or preaching stations of Americanism. At the time of the Civil War, the churches had become so completely and admittedly subservient to the state governments that the leading denominations broke into "northern" and "southern" divisions which remain even until now. During the World War practically all the churches were used—on Sundays—for the advertising and sale of liberty bonds. Just what it means to be a Christian in the United States to-day may be judged from the fact that every member of the Ku Klux Klan has to be one. When a clergyman attending a Methodist Conference in St. Mark's Church, Ocean Avenue, Brooklyn, in 1917 dared to say: "If I have to choose between my country and my God, I have made up my mind to choose God. I am an American, but a Christian first," five hundred of his clerical colleagues howled him down and refused to allow him to finish his speech.

The Unitarians from a greater height fell to lower depths of nationalism than any other religious body. These cultured New Englanders had freed themselves to a great extent from the reactionary theology which, as we shall see presently, superimposed itself on the social club type of Christianity. There was nothing sociable about Unitarianism. Rather was it the creed of those whose attitude of intellectual superiority was not unfairly represented in the well-known gibe: "A Universalist thinks that God is too good to damn him, while a Unitarian believes that he is too good for God to damn." Such people, enjoying a well-earned reputation for hardness of heart as well as of head, had no excuse for being carried off their feet by a wave of cheap patriotic emotion. Yet the American Unitarian Association announced that none of the churches to which it gave financial aid must expect a continuance of its grant unless the minister supported the war policy of the administration.

At the annual Unitarian convention held in Tremont Temple, Boston, in 1919, Henry W. Pinkham, of Melrose, the bravest and kindest spirit in its ministry, quoted the text "If thine

enemy hunger, feed him ; if he thirst, give him drink," which scripture was thereupon roundly hissed by the great assembly—several months after the armistice ! For similar expressions at an earlier convention Mr. Pinkham had been publicly told that his soul needed washing in carbolic acid. A little later the Unitarians launched a campaign for new church members, and engaged to superintend it a bond salesman who never wearied of proclaiming that to him religion and patriotism were the same.

Concerning the orthodox, we may be asked how it happened that churches so pre-eminently worldly, almost earthy, in their activities ever came to burden themselves with the frightful creeds which some of them are now trying to force upon liberally-minded divinity school professors. Our reply is that at the time of their adoption these creeds were not taken seriously. A church had to have a creed of some kind, and it was not for the rough and ready children of the West to concern themselves with the niceties of the higher criticism, even if they had heard of that infant movement. In the unimportant detail of religious doctrine, therefore, they took whatever came handiest, and what did come handiest were the old cut-and-dried *formulæ* that were beginning to cause trouble in the older countries. So far is the rigid exclusiveness of the old creeds from governing the everyday practice of the American denominations that several of the writer's free-thinking friends have had the greatest difficulty in getting their names taken off the church rolls of their early belief. The "fundamentalism" which is coming to the fore at the present time is simply a clever adaptation to contemporary political needs of a piece of out-of-date machinery which most people had supposed to be ready for the scrap heap.

One advantage the old theology had from the beginning. It provided an excuse for periodical "revivals" which served as theatrical entertainments, varying in quality with the personalities of the visiting evangelists. This sort of emotional stimulus was of the first importance in a new country which had neither the folk dances and village fairs of rural Europe, nor the concerts, lectures and dramatics of the industrial centres of the Old World. Doubtless most of the evangelists themselves would have been as horror-stricken as their audiences to hear their work thus described ; but that fact does not make the description insulting or untrue. In many instances the revival services did accomplish that purging of human hearts which has been defined as the function of drama at its highest.

Probably the revival was the form of art best suited to the character and circumstances of those who profited by it ; but it was essentially theatrical. From a theological point of view the evangelist had nothing to add to the teaching of the regular ministers ; he was usually less of a student than they. Nor did he make his impression merely by newness—because he was a stranger—as has sometimes been argued. If that had been the case, revivals would have followed regularly upon pastoral changes.

The truth is that the successful revivalists relied upon their ability to dramatise a perfectly familiar gospel. Special music and singing evangelists attached themselves as naturally to the revivalist as orchestras to the modern theatre. Moody and Sankey, Torrey and Alexander, Billy Sunday and Rodeheaver, illustrate the growth of conscious theatricality in the typically American profession of revivalism. The missions of Moody and Sankey belonged to the class just depicted. By the time Torrey and Alexander arrived upon the scene, things had changed for the worse—for revivalists. When the writer heard this pair some twelve or fifteen years ago, they seemed themselves to realise that the game was up. Such stage tricks as they were prepared with seemed simply silly to a generation which was beginning to make Ibsen, Brieux and Shaw its prophets. Among the less intelligent, of whom this was not true, our revivalists fared little better, for these others had become accustomed to the variety stage and demanded spicier stuff than was to be found in the Torrey-Alexander repertory.

In Billy Sunday we see revivalism altogether divesting itself of religious spirit and openly competing with the circus. It is true that the advertising agents for his performances have been able to extract large contributions from certain captains of industry, on the plea that Billy diverts the attention of the workers from wages, hours, and conditions of labour ; but so far as the writer has been able to observe, value has not been given for money received on this account.

Big concerns arranged for special trains to take their employés from surrounding towns into Boston to hear Billy when he was in that city ; innumerable factory meetings were held by his subordinates ; “ Sunday ” parties were made up in the principal department stores and offices with much more assistance from the management than would ever be bestowed upon an employés’ theatre party ; special seats were assigned to the firms thus represented and incidental free advertising was given them in the press. In the Middle West Sunday had

been in the habit of announcing that "Unitarians stink," but in Boston, their stronghold, he let them alone; and as their denomination includes many of the wealthiest employers and financiers in New England, the Unitarian ministers as a whole got behind him and urged attendance on his ministrations.

On the platform Billy yells, jumps about and contorts himself like one possessed, and his language is picturesque in the extreme. But it is not with any religious intent that great crowds go to hear those who disapprove of his methods described as "carrion-loving buzzards and foul-smelling skunks," or to listen to him inviting his opponents to "come on, you triple extract of infamy! come on, you bull-necked, beetle-browed, hog-jowled, weasel-eyed, peanut-brained four-flushers, false alarms and excess baggage!" Nor are they nearly as much edified as amused when a man who does not hesitate to describe God as "a good skate" and the Holy Ghost as "a regular guy," speaks in this way of modern thought: "All this blasphemy against God and Jesus Christ, all this sneering, highbrow, rotten, loathsome, higher criticism, wriggling its dirty, filthy, stinking carcass out of a beer mug in Leipzig or Heidelberg!"

Astoundingly large though his audiences have been, his efforts are the death-throes of American revivalism. Charles W. Wood well stressed this point in a penetrating article on Sunday's "Big Show" in New York in 1917:—

After he had preached his gruesome gospel, the old time evangelist used to call for a response: "Will those of you who have accepted the Lord Jesus Christ as your Saviour, and are trying to lead a consecrated Christian life, stand up?" Billy doesn't take any such desperate chance. No, he winds up with a peroration about the American flag, somehow manages to get Jesus into the trenches—Billy's Jesus, I believe, belongs to the Iowa National Guard—gives Rodey a sign to start up the Star-Spangled Banner, and yells: "Now, all of you who are willing to fight for Christ and your country, stand up!"

Moved by the hope of huge profits quite a number of imitators have come into the field, but such a combination of cunning salesmanship and nerve in perpetrating atrocious blasphemy as goes to the making of Billy Sunday does not occur once in a century. The imitators have fallen utterly flat, emphasising by their fall the purely personal quality of Sunday's triumph. The prestige of the master himself has suffered some diminution, for it was not until the great coal strike of 1922 had been in progress many weeks that the plan was mooted

of sending him to West Virginia to help break it. And even then there was nothing like the enthusiastic applause with which the press would have greeted such a proposal five years earlier.

* * * * *

Itself claiming to be the world's supreme government, the Church of Rome does not truckle to national administrations as the various Protestant Churches do ; but the clever statesmen who direct its policies are realists enough to enter into friendly understandings with other powers which they are not strong enough to subdue. Observation will convince any intelligent man or woman that the Catholic Church works hand in glove with the plutocratic rulers of the United States for the suppression of radicalism, and that its connections with the Republicans are now almost, if not quite, as close as those with the Democrats. An anti-Catholic mayor of New York, Chicago, Boston or Baltimore is unthinkable, and the political influence of the Catholic organisation known as the Knights of Columbus is tremendous throughout the country.

At present Catholics number much more than a third of the total church membership (including coloured people) of the United States. The figures of the Bureau of Census for January 1st, 1917, were :—

Total Church Members	.	.	42,044,374
Roman Catholic	.	.	15,742,262

Time certainly is not likely to lower the proportion of Catholics to the whole. It is among the prolific Irish, Italians and the races until recently comprised in the Austrian Empire, that the Roman Church has its most devoted adherents. The Irish are already in control of political machinery in the great cities of the Atlantic seaboard ; they also have great strength on the Pacific Coast. In the years immediately preceding the World War, immigrants were arriving from Italy and Austria-Hungary at the rate of a quarter of a million per annum from each country. Moreover, a steady stream of immigration has set in from French Canada—profoundly Catholic and rich in children. The Poles and Lithuanians, who are not separately tabulated in the official statistics of immigration, form two more important communities largely under the dominion of Rome. Inasmuch as the Catholic Church makes a point of influencing the political and industrial actions of its members, its value as an ally to the employing class in times of unrest needs no demonstration. Win the Church to your side, and at

one stroke you have gained a large measure of control over six very important, and otherwise independent, sections of the working class of the country !

Apart from its key position as the spiritual and moral director of national groups which are separated by language, temperament and historical background, and united, up to the present, only in their common servitude to Catholicism, the Roman Church has characteristics making for strength under the peculiar conditions of the United States. Its international structure preserves it from the orgies of nationalistic hate in which other Christian communions feel called upon to indulge from time to time. In a country populated from so many different national stocks, this is no mean asset ; and while the Catholic hierarchy has undoubtedly profited all the world over from the savage quarrels which have rent asunder the "brethren in Christ" of the "reformed" faiths, nowhere has its restraint been contrasted so strikingly, and at such short range, with Protestant hysteria, as in the United States. Can any one imagine an assembly of five hundred Catholic priests in the year 1917 howling down one of their number for proclaiming his determination to be loyal to his God rather than to his country ?

Much more important, however, than its reputation for quiet strength is the way in which its ecclesiastical institutions dovetail into American political institutions. Only in Catholic churches will you find rich and poor worshipping together in masses ; no other priesthood is so easy of access to the sons of the poor or offers ability so fair a chance of rising to the top. This social mingling of classes without real community of interest, together with the claim of equality of opportunity for brains and energy, is of the very essence of political Americanism. Equally well do the two systems agree in such matters as the "economy of truth," under which misinformation is imparted to the masses "for their own good." The Catholic custom of making spiritual benefits, whether for the living or the dead, dependent on the payment of hard cash, is right in line with ordinary American dollar-worship. It also fits in admirably with the corruption of political life for it encourages the idea that the corruptest politician can set himself right with God if he can afford God's price ; and once he has bought himself into good standing with his Creator, his fellow creatures have no call to be censorious.

So far, therefore, as the second part of his prophecy is concerned, Archbishop Quigley, of Chicago, was not guilty of mere

idle boasting when he said, in an address a few years ago to the children of the Mary Sodality in the Holy Name Parish School:—
 “ Within twenty years this country is going to rule the world. . . . When the United States rules the world the Catholic Church will rule the world.”

* * * * *

Christian Science is *par excellence* the religion of the American salesman. It is spreading to other lands along with American business methods and in circles to which those methods appeal. Its church organisation resembles the autocratic centralisation of a business trust. The mainstays of its power are (1) its American nativity, (2) its commercialisation of mental healing, (3) its concentration of financial and doctrinal control, and (4) its peculiar adaptation to the needs of salesmanship.

Mrs. Eddy's "Science and Health" is the one American book which has attained the dignity of being widely read in church every Sunday on an equal footing with the Christian scriptures. In every Church of Christ Scientist there are two "readers" who, instead of delivering sermons, read, in alternation according to a pre-arranged plan, short passages from the Bible and from Mrs. Eddy. To any person possessed of the smallest regard for elevation of thought or of the slightest feeling for literary beauty, it is a nerve-racking experience to hear some fine piece of poetry or some closely-knit argument from the Bible suddenly broken off in the middle, and the voice of the other reader chiming in with a string of poorly-written incoherences from "Science and Health." As an agnostic the writer holds no brief for any Biblical doctrine as such; he finds it personally impossible to reconcile the New Testament with itself, or its fundamental Theism with the facts of human history. Many of the scriptural writers, however, cannot be denied great powers of expression and remarkable clarity of mind. Even those who cannot accept their premises or agree with their conclusions can catch the drift of their argument or appreciate the magnificence of their poetic imagination. But Mrs. Eddy lacks both matter and style. What she *means*, only those can understand—so the writer is informed by an intellectual "scientist"—to whom God has granted spiritual vision. Her disciple admits that a critical study of her text is useless as a means to discover what she was driving at, and the wisdom of this admission will be apparent even to those who have not dipped into her pages, when it is mentioned that she flings around such terms as "Mind," "Being," "God," "Good,"

“Atomic Force,” etc., etc., without feeling any obligation to use them consistently in the same sense, but in fact irresponsibly changing them about as suits her momentary purpose. To the average American middle-class mind, careless of exactitude, save when dollars and cents are involved, and absolutely dead to considerations of beauty and to the distinction between spirituality and cloudiness, there is something wonderfully attractive in the thought of an American scripture, and there are doubtless many thousands who were first drawn towards the new religion by nationalistic pride.

The development of mental treatment for nervous and functional disorders induced by the wear and tear of modern life has, without question, helped the Christian Scientists greatly. The congregations that assemble in their costly church buildings are thoroughly well-to-do, just of the class which suffers most from neurasthenia and other ailments associated with “business worry,” with high living and low thinking. It is unnecessary—indeed foolish—to impute mendacity to those who testify at Christian Science experience meetings. No doubt thousands have been cured, and have had their cures surrounded with a halo of “spirituality” that is very flattering to their vanity. But the bitterness with which they denounce physicians and others who get similar results by what are to the unprejudiced observer exactly the same methods, with Mrs. Eddy’s magic incantations left out, shows conclusively that the Eddyites know a dangerous rival when they see one.

Mark Twain, in his book on Christian Science—an essentially serious work illumined in places by its author’s irrepressible humour—has traced step by step the beginnings of a great financial trust within Mrs. Eddy’s church. His predictions received striking confirmation in the recent quarrel in Boston between the directors of the Mother Church, who control the general activities and resources of the denomination, and the trustees of the Christian Science Publishing Company, responsible for its huge business in books and periodicals. After long drawn-out legal proceedings, a court decision has been reached which unites the whole of the profit-making operations of the body under the church directors. The Christian Science communion is already a millionaire many times over, and its harmony with less spiritual forces in finance is shown by action taken when the bankers decided that the profitable moment had arrived for the American people to get into the World War. Every young church member who objected to going into imaginary trenches to kill imaginary Germans for the pur-

pose of making it easier later on for imaginary American banks to collect imaginary debts from the Allied countries was expelled forthwith from the body of Christ (Scientist).

Every one who is at all familiar with the voluminous literature of American salesmanship will remember how continuously and insistently it impresses upon the salesman that he must "believe in" his goods, and that he must consider himself, in relation to prospective customers, not as one seeking their favour, but as a heaven-sent benefactor bringing them something they need, and entrusted with the sacred duty of dispelling their ignorance if they are still unaware of what is good for them. This sort of cheek "goes"—as they say—in the United States and in many other places. Christian Science furnishes it in unlimited quantities.

We may dismiss as of little moment the question whether it is his conviction that all matter is unreal which enables the believer to flick aside, without a blush, what the rest of the world regards as "reality" in describing material things, or whether it is his disbelief in the "reality" of frowns, rebuffs and denials which buoys him up under discouragement, thereby increasing the number of his calls and his chances of doing business. The fact is that Christian Science will help the salesman, and all others in whose line of business "nerve" has a cash value. As the purchase price of that "nerve" they are asked only to surrender their intellectual integrity, if they have any; and few indeed are the business men who are not prepared, under existing hazardous conditions, to make that small sacrifice.

* * * * *

Into the mysterious differentiations between the "New Thought," the "Higher Thought," and similar movements, it is almost impossible for one who has never joined one or other of them, to enter. From inspection of the literature they offer for sale and from conversation with devotees the inquirer gleans that they jointly occupy a vague territory between the Christian Scientists on one side and the Spiritualists on the other. They dabble to some extent in mental treatment, and astrology flourishes among them. Their literature is little more intelligible than "Science and Health," but their writers understand better than Mrs. Eddy the art of stringing words prettily together. Ladies of leisure who for one reason or another have fallen out with life seem to find great relief in such cults.

Spiritualism, Rosicrucianism, and various other forms of occultism have a considerable vogue, but they have never set themselves to organise in really business-like fashion, as Christian Science has done. They are taken very seriously by quite a few, and provide comfortable livings for a number of "psychics" and their like; but they belong to the decorative side of American city life. As forces or tools in moulding the thought and practice of ordinary people, they are negligible.

* * * * *

Reference has already been made to the *rôle* of the churches as schools of patriotism. In the modern world patriotism means devotion to the existing order and the property "rights" of capitalists. It had been the writer's intention to dilate at some length upon this aspect of American religion, but on reflection it seemed that nothing he could say about them would be so illuminating as what American Christians say about themselves.

Before the two conclusive statements with which this chapter will end, a word is due on the subject of the "fundamentalist" movement which aims to crush freedom of inquiry in the divinity schools. This movement is usually represented as a theological reaction to the "fundamentals" of the Christian faith, the old-fashioned doctrine of the atonement, the second coming of Christ, etc., etc. Attachment to these doctrines in the American churches is about as deep and sincere as the attachment of American politicians to the principles of democracy or the attachment to law and order of the Ku Klux Klan. What is really hateful to the fundamentalists is the liberalism which dares to think for itself on any subject, and more particularly on social and economic problems. A man or woman who begins to be interested in, and to question, the orthodox statements of Christian doctrine very frequently treats orthodox economics with even less respect. It need only be added that fundamentalist fury is whipped up by resort to devices that are part of the stock in trade of professional politicians.

Now for our two authoritative pronouncements on American Christianity. The first emanates from Roger W. Babson, of Wellesley Hills, Massachusetts, who is almost as eminent a churchman as he is a business expert :—

The value of our investments depends not on the strength of our banks, but rather upon the strength of our churches. The underpaid preachers of the nation are the men upon whom we really are depending rather than the well-paid lawyers, bankers

and brokers. The religion of the community is really the bulwark of our investments. And when we consider that only 15 per cent. of the people hold securities of any kind and less than 3 per cent. hold enough to pay an income tax, the importance of the churches becomes even more evident.

For our own sakes, for our children's sakes, for the nation's sake, let us business men get behind the churches and their preachers! Never mind if they are not perfect, never mind if their theology is out of date. This only means that were they efficient they would do very much more. The safety of all we have is due to the churches, even in their present inefficient and inactive state. By all that we hold dear, let us from this very day give more time, money and thought to the churches of our city, for upon these the value of all we own ultimately depends!

And the second is like unto it. Here is an appeal issued by the National Committee, Northern Baptist Laymen, with headquarters at 200, Fifth Avenue, New York City:—

INVEST IN A PREACHER TO-DAY

RETURNS GUARANTEED

Why, man dear, there are thousands of preachers working day and night to make your city and your employés better, who are getting less than a thousand dollars a year. Your business would be in a fine way, wouldn't it, if it were not for the stabilising influence of the church and its preachers, who put ambition and determination and love of honest service in the hearts of your working-men?

Now, then, no unbusiness-like delays; write to-day and get the facts about this great investment from business men. Think of the good workers who will receive no pay envelope to-day or to-morrow—unless you remit "for services rendered."

We are waiting to hear from you.

IX

AMERICANISM AND ETHICS

MR. ROGER W. BABSON, whom we quoted at the end of the previous chapter, maintains a statistical bureau and institute for the enlightenment of those who can afford its service upon market prospects, labour problems and commercial matters generally. One of the officers of the Babson Bureau, a Mr. Homer G. Denison, was reported in the *Boston Herald* some months ago as observing at a noonday service for laymen in Washington that "if Christ were elected president of one of our big railroads and the twelve apostles were the board of directors, it would surprise most people how little change in the management would take place." Seldom has the case for economic determinism been more aptly stated. Under a system which compels you to earn dividends on watered stock and to maintain friendly relations with big business, it matters not how splendid your character or how humane your intentions; you are simply helpless. Only a change in the entire system can remedy the situation.

The truth here enunciated by Mr. Denison needs to be kept constantly in mind if we are to avoid censoriousness and hypocrisy in considering the facts of American life; and nowhere do we need to be more consciously on our guard than in dealing with American ethics. It is not because of any special national tendency towards the contemptible, but because they have been reduced to subjection by particularly strongly organised capitalist groups under conditions peculiarly favourable to capitalism that the majority of "100 per cent. Americans" are what they are to-day.

A distinction must also be drawn between corporate and personal ethics. It by no means follows that every participant in acts of mass blackguardism like lynching and tarring and feathering, is a cruel brute when left to himself. And it is more than likely that exceedingly corrupt officials may be quite good fellows in certain of their private relations. The hellish, and quite gratuitous, cruelties of fox-hunting, stag-hunting, and coursing with beagles may be enjoyed in England by people

who are not as completely dead to the claims of human decency as their tastes in sport might suggest. Abominations that are taken for granted are everywhere practised by men and women who are very far from being the worthless human material they appear when seen at their worst by some one who has a different background.

Recognition of these facts will not, however, deter a realist from observing that Americanism is almost as baneful in its effects upon private as upon public ethics. We may at once strike out of the account the characteristics which are inevitable in young communities where the average of wealth is comparatively high—wastefulness in the use of resources, recklessness of human life, and open-handed personal hospitality. That the last-mentioned survives with the other two, in spite of the narrowing, hardening propaganda of Americanism, is of interest as proving that there was a lot of good stuff in the uncorrupted American.

What is most distinctive in the ethical outlook of the ordinary citizen of the United States is connected either with the salesman psychology which pervades the entire life of the country, or with the unwholesome precocity which is deliberately encouraged in the public schools.

It is no uncommon thing to see capable and highly-trained American professional men abandoning engineering, chemistry, the pulpit, or the consulting room for one of the higher walks of salesmanship. "To sell service" is regarded as his function by the engineer, the chemist, or the physician who observes most rigidly the etiquette of his profession. Both secular and religious leader-writers have of late years devoted a good deal of attention to the inefficiency of the clergy, who are not "selling Christianity" to their congregations as efficiently as they would if they studied the principles of advertising. On August 11th, 1921, for instance, the *Boston Herald* ran an editorial headed "Selling Sermons" and commending the *Christian Register* for its campaign in favour of the application of up-to-date sales methods to religion. The *Herald* concludes thus:—

We do know that the advertising business is attracting many able young men, for it is a growing business and increasingly influential. We hear that everything must be "sold" these days. The President has to "sell" his policies; the colleges have to "sell" their instruction; art has to "sell" its creations; not merely do merchants have to sell their wares. Some of the finest and cleanest philanthropic enterprises in the world are

experts in advertising. Why not apply the idea to the sermon? Preachers must "sweat blood" in the production of good sermons, then "sell" them to the public.

Many enthusiastic exponents of the doctrine of salvation through salesmanship maintain that efficient sales organisation can only exist in conjunction with excellence of the product or service to be sold. This is open to question, and the writer has known at least one extremely clever advertising man who loathed his business, because in his experience the goods which did not readily "sell themselves" on their merits were precisely those which stood most in need of the attentions of salesmanship. As to the effect produced upon the average man or woman by the exaltation of selling ability to a high place among the virtues, there can be no doubt. The beautiful imaginings of a few sales experts avail nothing to root out of the minds of the rest of men the conviction that salesmanship is the art of "putting things over"; that it consists mainly in keeping up appearances and exploiting momentarily favourable impressions; that the most successful salesmen are those who hypnotise themselves as well as others.

Certain it is that contemporary America looks to a future in which the super-salesman shall occupy the place assigned by Nietzsche to the mere superman, and that its preparations for this "good time coming" have been accompanied by a marked retrogression in the humanities. In this respect, we may parenthetically observe, the United States are only a little ahead of the rest of the capitalist world. A system under which the dominant motive for production is not the satisfaction of human need, but the accumulation of profits on sales of commodities, tends inevitably to glorify salesmanship at the expense of the useful arts; and no society which adheres to capitalist production can hope for long to avoid this, along with the other evils of Americanism.

To know his goods is a great help to a salesman, but a man may know his goods from A to Z, and yet remain a mere taker of orders. Skill in salesmanship, as the experts have been reiterating ever since the post-war depression set in, consists in the ability to lure customers into purchasing against their own will and judgment; and success in this direction depends almost as much upon the salesman's limitations as upon his more positive qualities. Colossal egoism, however cloaked by urbanity of manner, and a mind so pliable or so ill-furnished as to be capable of "believing in" his goods, are the prime requisites of a good salesman. In nine cases out of ten the

customer's own judgment of his requirements will be better than that of the salesman ; if it be a question of buying the product offered by A—— in preference to a similar product manufactured by B——, the salesman of either is obviously the last person in the world to pass an unprejudiced opinion. Yet unless he can bring himself to believe that it is a commendable thing for him to attempt to force his will, for his own profit, upon another ; unless he can really make a fetish of the particular goods or service he happens to be selling at the moment he will never be a great salesman. A thorough-going cynic may play the game for a while, but his understanding of the process will in time rob him of the " sincerity " which Americans prize so highly.

This excursion into the ethics of salesmanship was necessary to explain the almost total absence among Americans of what the Old World knows as " honour." As was made clear in our criticism of American notions of education, the children of the United States are early taught to subordinate principle to " view-point," and the evil is brought to fruition by their later worship of salesmanship. Economic interests, of course, determine political and industrial policies the world over ; but outside the United States prejudices which are survivals from Feudalism and Puritanism still force even governments and employers to look round for " principles " by which to justify their scoundrelly acts. Where so much is conceded by the holders of power we naturally find among the rank and file of the people a great deal of attachment to principles which, whether right or wrong, are usually followed regardless of personal gain.

A few illustrations will show what is meant. Personal truthfulness is regarded by millions of Europeans as a desirable habit on principle ; and unless there is some definite motive for lying, it is a fairly safe assumption that if an average European makes a positive statement on a matter of fact, he has some ground for believing it to be accurate. With an American it is quite different. Unless the matter under discussion is one with regard to which he has a definite interest in accuracy, he will, deliberately and without a thought of personal degradation, give utterance to any fancy which occurs to him as likely to please the person with whom he is talking or to stimulate further conversation if that is what he desires at the moment. " What's the Constitution between friends ? " as the popular saying runs. When such is their attitude towards what they hold most sacred, little imagination is required to guess how badly such abstractions as veracity and integrity

fare among our trans-Atlantic cousins. The writer's experience, covering a considerable variety of professions and trades over a pretty wide range of territory, has forced him to the view that no merely verbal statement, even by an officer of the Federal Government appointed to furnish information upon matters within his jurisdiction, can be safely relied upon without verification in writing.

Nor is it merely in the form of a light and casual regard for truth except when it will serve his immediate purpose, that the ordinary American has taken over the specialised morality of salesmanship. He has also the "drummer's" gift for being all things to all men. That gift may in some circumstances be a valuable human asset, but in one who is already accustomed to "believe in" whatever comes handiest at the moment, it leads to his becoming all things to himself as well. Thus in relation to any specific question he never knows himself where he stands, and seldom remains in one place long enough for any one else to locate him. There are those who—mostly from a distance—praise this mobility and call it by fine names, like resourcefulness and quickness of intelligence; but at close range it is seen to be mere undependability. It leaves its marks upon the faces of its victims, and in a crowd it is usually easy to distinguish the native-born and native-trained among the younger men.

Self-respect is almost impossible to a people so unstable, and as a matter of fact it is rarely found. Principles, which are one of the bases upon which a code of honour may be erected, are treated in America as mere playthings; social usages, which may also serve as a basis in countries where they include standards of conduct in important matters, affect in America only such duties as that of taking off one's hat to the national flag and of changing from or into summer clothing on the proper date. If you see a man give up his seat to a woman in a public conveyance the betting is all in favour of his being a foreigner, while to see the fighting that goes on around the doors of American street and subway cars during the rush hours is as good as a wild beast show to any one who has been brought up in effete Europe. Having no code, either of an internal or an external character, by which conduct may be judged, Americans are on the whole wonderfully tolerant of every sort of blackguardism. The only unforgivable sin is to seek to improve upon existing American institutions. Any temporary heat that may result from the most caddish trick soon disappears and the perpetrator is on just as good terms as before with his old associates.

Just about the time the writer arrived in New York in 1915 a police officer named Becker was awaiting execution for arranging the murder of a professional gambler who had not only refused to pay the "graft" demanded by custodians of law and order for permitting him to pursue his calling, but had actually threatened to make public a number of their connections with the New York underworld. A great fight had been made to save Becker's life, and when efforts to secure a last moment reprieve failed, the condemned man issued a denunciation of the Governor of New York State which was "featured" in newspapers as though it had been an attack by a political opponent.

Perhaps the following extract from a press dispatch, dated November 9th, 1921, from Boise, Idaho, will give an even better idea of what one might call the "unmoral" atmosphere of the country:—

BEGINS SENTENCE FOR KILLING FOURTH HUSBAND

Mrs. Lyda Southard, convicted of killing her husband, Edward F. Meyer, arrived here late this afternoon from Twin Falls, to begin her sentence of from ten years to life. Sheriff Sherman, of Twin Falls, drove the convicted woman and a Mexican prisoner to the Idaho capital by automobile. . . . She chatted with newspaper men and appeared little concerned over her entrance into prison. "Oh, I feel fine now," she smiled, as she was greeted by Warden W. L. Cuddy at the prison gates. "I know you and I are going to get along great together."

(If the writer remembers correctly, the difference between the lady's name and that of the murdered husband was due to her entrance upon a further matrimonial venture subsequent to the crime.)

* * * * *

Sentimentalism and prudery abound in the United States, as they always do where sexual ethics are conventionalised on a low level. In large measure the prevailing conditions may be traced to the erotic stimulation which characterises school and college life. Boys and girls are educated together, a procedure about which there is plenty of room for honest and intelligent difference of opinion. There can, however, be little doubt that the socials and dances which are everywhere arranged as part of the high school activities are profoundly demoralising. In February, 1922, high school dances were banned, for the remainder of the school year, by the School Committee of Fall River, Massachusetts, "because the shimmy and the toddle

and the Washington Johnny were supplemented at intermission with moonshine excursions to remote parts of the city."

As to the shimmy, the jazz, the turkey trot, and similar modern dances, to which no objection is taken so long as they are "drily" danced, it may be observed that those who defend this sort of exercise base their argument on the contention that it is a safety valve for repressed emotions and that, notwithstanding its excessive eroticism, it is less harmful racially than the other vices through which human nature seeks relief from the inhuman drabness imposed upon the world by capitalist civilisation. The opponents of the American type of dancing maintain, on the other hand, that it does not serve as a substitute for yet more undesirable practices, but co-exists with them and, in fact, encourages them.

Whichever side holds the balance of truth in the above-mentioned controversy, those who claim that the dances are cleansing display an acute consciousness of the very temporary character of the effects thus produced. The laws and ordinances designed to protect standards of purity indicate that a glimpse of a girl's toes may cause an American to fall headlong from his pinnacle. At many bathing beaches, women who do not wear stockings while swimming expose themselves to legal proceedings. Books so instructive and high-minded as those of Dr. Marie Stopes are excluded from Uncle Sam's mails and libraries on the ground that they might tarnish American innocence. And the year 1921 witnessed attempts in *fifteen* of the States to make it illegal for ladies to wear dresses which leave more than (a variable number of) inches of stocking in view or which are open more than (a variable number of) inches below the chin!

Yet alongside all this prurient regulation of morals are permitted exhibitions so disgusting and so silly that they would not be tolerated by public opinion in most other countries. Take this from Coney Island, New York, in a community which has distinguished itself by unusual rigour in the matter of bathing costume ordinances:—

Coney Island has a million "amusements," each of them the only one of its kind on earth, and the greatest educational feature ever presented. . . . But at the one old stand, every Coney Islander gets his money's worth. That is Steeplechase Park. Steeplechase Park is called the funny place. Everything to give you the giggles. . . . The central attraction is "Comedy Lane." And the central attraction of "Comedy Lane" is a spot where a current of wind is suddenly turned on beneath the skirts of each woman who passes. . . .

The "Lane" was on a stage, entered from the rear. The entrants were unaware that they were to appear on a stage, before an audience of several hundred men; the attraction was listed on their combination tickets, and they just naturally took it in. As they passed across the stage, however, the big surprise was sprung. Twenty or thirty of them every minute, each having her skirts blown skyward by that sudden mighty wind.

At every extra gust a yell of delight arose from the audience.

The description is taken from a scathing article contributed by Charles W. Wood to *The Masses* in October, 1917. Although this humorous American idea may only now and then be exploited so realistically as in "Comedy Lane," it is toyed with from time to time by popular cartoonists.

The writer well remembers the first moving picture show he saw in the United States. Shorn of trimmings, the story was this. An American girl, the daughter of a wealthy man, is indiscreet enough to get lost in a low resort which she insisted on visiting in a town near the Mexican border. She is locked up by a couple of Mexican "greasers," who, when they come to take her away, are encountered by a drunken American blackguard who fights them for her, and—of course—wins. He drags her off, struggling wildly, and rides into the hills. Two or three other Mexicans follow him; a second shooting affray takes place, and the American again wins, though slightly wounded. A second desperate struggle takes place between the girl and himself, but when he faints she helps to pull him round, the moral apparently being that it is better to take your chance with a native desperado than to risk being captured by foreigners. When he "comes to," he has a change of heart, apologises, takes her back as near as he dare go to the place where he found her, and departs. Then follow showy pictures of luxurious city life in the midst of which the girl constantly dreams about the "virile personality" of the abductor. In the meantime the latter has somehow or other made his pile, and appears in New York, noble-mannered and expensively dressed. He seeks out the heroine, repeats his apology, and she falls into his arms!

It was something of a surprise to note the enthusiasm with which a large mixed audience greeted this exposition of "virile personality" and the tastes of American girls; but a subsequent experience made the surprise seem rather absurd. On the latter occasion it was as one of a committee, composed mainly of engineers, that the writer went to see a well-known New York actor by way of relaxation after a hard day's wrestling with

charts and figures. His companions were all family men of what is called "good standing"—one of them shortly afterwards was elected trustee of a famous theological school. Their choice was a native play, as boring as it was unclean. A couple had gone through a marriage ceremony in which, unknown to them, there was a legal flaw. By a constant succession of interruptions, apparently intended to be funny, they were prevented from consummating the marriage in the room in which they were exposed in night attire on the stage—or at least that was the situation when the writer left, after about the tenth interruption. A large crowd of New Yorkers of both sexes were thrown into paroxysms of delight by this sorry stuff, and probably there were not half a dozen in the whole building who would not have turned purple in the face if it had been suggested that they had something to learn in sexual ethics from the foreigners who in their clubs off the mean streets of many a great American city were constantly staging the great masterpieces of European drama.

One does not, however, have to go to the theatre to find evidences of a grossness of mind that is very different from the superficial coarseness of European street slang. The existence of dens of infamy not unlike those described in the murder trial of Harry Thaw some years ago, is every now and then made known in criminal cases which receive only local publicity. Lynchings are not infrequently attended with brutal public indecencies which make one wonder what can have come over a nation whose womenfolk stand around at such exhibitions and laugh—as authentic reports and photographs show that they do. Despite the moral deterioration induced by the World War, it may be doubted whether, within two months of the date on which their country became involved, soldiers other than those of the United States would have used, even against such of their countrywomen as still belonged to peace societies, the threat that the latter would be "raided and raped." Such, however, was the delicate language in which American militiamen addressed the ladies in charge at the Emergency Peace Federation Headquarters in Washington in May, 1917.

Of the country in which such things happen, Henry M. Morgenthau can declare that it dominates the world by moral suasion and that "the United States to-day is the great moral giant of history." But the voice of Mr. Morgenthau is that of an ex-Ambassador. A poet, however, like Claude McKay, who loves his country despite the indignities it has put upon him

for his coloured skin, has reached from within a conclusion not unlike that which is given in this book by an alien observer. It is true that Mr. McKay recognises another type of American, in whose emergence he finds the beginnings of hope, but this is what he wrote in a review of John Dos Passos' "Three Soldiers" :—

And everybody between Key West and Puget Sound should recognise Chrisfield from Indiana, who stands clear as the highest composite type of the United States civilisation. A strong, sentimental ape-man who refuses to use his intellect under any circumstances and touches everything that is fine in civilised life, friendship, sex, duty, with the hand of the brute. In him is embodied the new war-strengthened America that means to trample on all the cultural values of life, in the West Indies, the Philippines, Europe and the East, armed with Yankee bluff and money-power. He is the terrible vital soul of lynching, mob chivalry, the posse, rough-house movies, Billy Sundayism, strike-breaking firms, state constabularies, election campaign thugs, the American Legion, pulpit pimps, the Hearst headlines, the trusts and Wall Street.

* * * * *

And here, rather than in some prefatory note which many readers might skip, the writer wishes to pay his tribute to the splendid fighting minority which has risen superior to its environment, which holds aloft, despite the hostile armies of Americanism, the banner of internationalism ; which, in face of the most savagely unscrupulous employing class in the world, has never faltered in its loyalty to the cause of the toiling masses of all races and creeds ; which has welcomed light and truth from whatever quarter and has risked all that it possessed—goods, freedom, life—that others might share its vision. No individuals can be mentioned, no groups indicated, for to name any would but increase the perils and difficulties under which they carry on their great work. That minority is fighting the cult of Americanism with superb courage and steadiness where the danger is greatest, and it is entitled in the history of human welfare to honour as high as that won for themselves by the pioneer revolutionaries of Russia under the Tsardom.

X

AMERICANISM AND THE ALIEN

To listen to some people talking about "the melting pot" one might imagine that in the United States people of all races, including those whose forefathers arrived more than a generation ago, mingled on an equal footing, exchanged ideas and experiences, and, most important of all, by interbreeding were engaged in evolving a new racial type. Any such fancy is far removed from the fact.

Americanisation does not mean the fusion of races, nor the welding into a common civilisation of contributions from many sources. It means the taking of young children of different nationalities and hammering them into a uniformity based on a common ignorance, a common faith in certain falsities, a common paralysis of all the finer and more delicate powers of perception and imagination. Americanism in the public schools has exploited to the utmost the truth discovered by the Jesuits long ago, that whoever can get hold of the children need worry little about the adults. It has sometimes occurred to the writer that it might be well for those who maintain that heredity is almost everything and environment almost nothing, to give more consideration to the products of Americanism. For practical purposes at any rate, there is less difference between an Americanised Jew, an Americanised Finn and an Americanised native than between any of them and the stock from which he sprang. The scion of an old American family who had the good fortune to be born before the machinery of Americanism was put in operation and who has not felt any patriotic call to Americanise himself later in life, is a type as far superior to the general run of his countrymen as the immigrant usually is to his American-born children.

The children, of whatever parentage, can hardly help themselves, but all that is best in the adult immigrant population can, and does, resist the propaganda of Americanism. The Americans are willing to take under their patronage such as are willing to cast away, or prostitute to anti-social uses, every valuable human possession, other than material goods, which

they brought with them from the Old World ; and there are in every racial group some who are willing to degrade themselves into tools of the American machine. These often rise to the top in the base service to which they are committed, for the broader outlook which they acquired in Europe, their freedom from American provincialism, and the keen and supple intelligences which they inherit unspoiled from ancestors whom they dishonour, have endowed them with subtler powers of corruption than the American-trained can ever hope to acquire.

Otherwise, the foreign-born stand for the most part outside the main current of American life. It is true that, according to figures published by *American Industries*, the official organ of the National Association of Manufacturers, they constitute a majority of the workers in each of a number of important industries, as follows :—

	Per cent.
Iron and steel manufacturing	58
Slaughtering and meat packing	61
Bituminous coal mining	62
Woollen and worsted manufacturing	62
Cotton goods manufacturing	69
Clothing manufacturing	72
Furniture manufacturing	59
Leather tanning	67
Oil refining	67

A large number of these are unskilled or semi-skilled, and partly as a result of the brutal opposition of the employing class, partly because of the indifference of the American Federation of Labour, it has been difficult for them to organise. Those that are organised are, with the exception of the clothing workers, divided among various craft unions which have so far been kept well in hand by the central machine controlled by "100 per cent. American" officials whose hostility to foreign workers is only less than their affection for native employers. The clothing workers, as we saw in a previous chapter, have a strong union (excluded from the American Federation) which celebrates May Day and has been branded as revolutionary and dangerous by all the patriotic investigating and Americanising agencies.

In all the non-industrial relations of life the racial groups keep wonderfully separate. The Finns, for example, have a series of club-houses and well-stocked co-operatives in quite a number of the larger towns of Massachusetts. A large proportion of them speak excellent English, and although they natur-

ally conduct the business of their organisations in their mother tongue, they have quite often arranged for English speakers to lecture in their halls in the hope of interesting the natives in cultural activities similar to those which they are already carrying on in Finnish. But the audiences at such lectures have always been overwhelmingly foreign.

Efforts of the same sort have been made with the same lack of success by the Lithuanians, the Russians, the Poles and the Letts. Occasionally one will find a drawing together of two foreign groups, as in one instance known to the writer, where the Lithuanians and the Italians ran a single co-operative store, assigning separate counters and assistants to the commodities demanded exclusively or almost exclusively by one or other of the associated nationalities.

What is true of the spoken word applies also to music. The Americans are as unmusical a people as exists on the face of the earth. Hardly any of them even know how to sing at all—to say nothing of singing well. Yet among the Letts, the Finns, the Lithuanians and the Russians fine amateur choirs and orchestras abound, constantly giving their own people concerts of classical, modern and folk music. If any inter-mingling worthy the name occurred in “the melting pot,” the Americans would be as noted for the richness and variety of their musical appreciation as they now are for jazz.

With regard to dancing the story is no different. Nowhere else in the world can one enjoy with so little expense and trouble so many forms of the poetry of motion as in the folk dances preserved by the foreign-born groups in the United States. Young America, however, including too many of the American-born children of aliens, is deaf to the beauty of the old music and blind to the grace and dignity of the old movements. The home-invented exercises are worthy of their names—the shimmy, the shimmy-shake, the bunny hug, etc. Allusion has been made to their regrettable effects upon high school adolescents; and their value as art may best be illustrated by the anecdote of the French dancing-master who, having been invited to an American dance, was suddenly asked what he thought of the performance. The poor gentleman smiled, shrugged his shoulders, and spread out his hands, vainly searching his mind for appropriate comment. Then a light broke over his countenance, and he said, with obvious relief: “But of course zey will marry ze ladies?”

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Much undeserved credit is given to the United States for

their alleged readiness to extend the privilege of citizenship to persons of all nationalities. So far as the yellow races are concerned, this is no longer even theoretically true; and the citizenship of negroes is generally reduced to a mockery which benefits them not at all, but renders them liable in war-time to serve in the trenches while their white masters are busy at home upon work of national importance. There has also been manifest in recent years a tendency to make it extremely difficult for other foreigners to apply for citizenship; and to impose humiliating conditions upon those actually admitted. During the World War an agitation was started in favour of sending all foreign-born male citizens and the sons of the foreign-born across to France before drafting the rest of the eligible fighting men. The argument was that this procedure would enable the victims to demonstrate their "gratitude" to America and would test the reality of their Americanisation. Almost equally offensive to a decent mind is the suggestion, made by a very well-known clergyman at a meeting attended by the writer, that naturalisation should take the form of a public ceremony to which each applicant should be required to bring the flag of his native land, casting the same to the ground when the stars and stripes were raised.

While the law does not yet go so far as the prophets desire, federal judges do their best to exclude the intelligent and self-respecting. Minute inquiries into the theological and sociological belief of the applicant often provide excuses for refusal. In April, 1922, Judge Charles P. Orr, sitting at Pittsburgh, denied final papers to two qualified but striking coal miners, unless they would go back and scab. And it is clear from a host of other decisions that in legal circles the opinion prevails that foreign blacklegs are the class best fitted to associate on equal terms with the citizens by birth.

Let it not be supposed, either, that it is an easy matter for an alien worker to file a petition for citizenship. Prior to filing he must have lived for at least a year continuously in one State—a condition almost impossible of fulfilment by workers in seasonal industries and one which bears hardly on all industrial toilers in a country in which labour is as mobile as it is in the United States. Then he must produce affidavits and at least two witnesses, themselves citizens, who have known him over a period of five years in the United States and who are prepared to testify as to his character and opinions during that time. The cost of this procedure makes it prohibitive in numberless instances, where the witnesses cannot afford to travel long

distances and attend in court unless their expenses are paid and they are recompensed for lost time.

If he fails to become a citizen, the foreign workman is told that he has no right to express any opinions in the United States. If he becomes naturalised but does not readily sink to the intellectual and ethical levels on which American social and political enterprises are conducted, he is liable to be told by Billy Sunday to "get back to the kennels he came from," or by persons whose standing in the Christian Church is not so high that "if he doesn't like this country he can get out."

At the very mildest the good 100 per cent. American feels that the foreigner should realise that even the good things he brings over with him are not quite as good as similar articles which have been, or can be, produced in the United States. Mr. James Mackaye, a prominent Boston Fabian, is a beautiful example of this lofty, though kindly, condescension. In Chapter I. of his book "Americanised Socialism: A Yankee View of Capitalism," he writes, under the heading "Socialism Made in America":—

I find wherever I go among old time Americans that the essentials of socialism are understood and accepted, often with enthusiasm. . . . The old time American, of whom I just spoke, and those like him all over the United States make nothing out of the orthodox socialist lingo. It is all Greek to them. It may be all right in Europe where the democratic tradition does not generally exist, but in this country men think in terms of the traditions common to the country, and to them the reasoning which leads to socialism is much shorter, clearer and easier than that furnished by the Marxian philosophy. . . .

That the reader may understand how important a contribution to world thought this American brand of socialism is, it should be added that in the very section from which we quote, Mr. Mackaye explains that it means the setting up of a few more Government departments like the Post Office.

* * * * *

So long as they remain unnaturalised, aliens are prohibited even from thought except along lines approved by Congress. Frank R. Lopez, a philosophical anarchist against whom nothing is alleged except that he was active in promoting classes and lectures at which study of the writings of Kropotkin, Ferrer, Tolstoi, Marx and others was encouraged, is under order of deportation on that ground alone, and would probably have

been deported long ago, but that he was required as a material witness for the defence in the Sacco-Vanzetti case. He has been in the United States about twenty years, is a family man, is a member of the American Federation of Labour, and has not a single black mark against him, except his enthusiasm for ideas.

The writer and his wife were arrested in the great "red raids" of January, 1920, when federal agents, private detectives and volunteers "out for a lark" swooped down in droves upon meetings of socialists, communists, and co-operators like, and picked up any alien they thought they could make a case against. In this particular instance, both the arrested had been active in the Socialist Party and in the "left wing" movement of the rank and file which culminated in the formation of the Communist Party of America in 1919. It was not suggested either by the Department of Labour which ordered them deported, or by the Department of "Justice" which had to fight the proceedings in the courts, to which the case was taken as a test, that their propagandist efforts had given legal ground for a prosecution for sedition. Their offence, as described by the Federal District Judge before whom the first trial was held, was that "they are, and frankly avow themselves to be, convinced and enthusiastic Communists," and on that showing they were awarded a free trip back across the Atlantic.

Reactionary though the courts and legislatures are, it is still usually necessary for an American citizen to be guilty of some overt act—or for professional liars to be hired to bear false witness against him—before he can be prosecuted. Before he can be convicted he is yet entitled to something bearing a remote resemblance—no more—to a fair trial. Aliens, however, accused merely of holding opinions, are arrested, tried and judged by the Department of Labour acting through the Bureau of Immigration. Warrants are secretly obtained for their arrest, and, although a deportation proceeding is admittedly civil, and not criminal in character, they find themselves taken into custody without notice and brought one by one before an immigration inspector for a secret hearing.

The prisoners are asked such questions as the inspector sees fit to put, regardless even of such rules of evidence as are followed in the American courts; and only in the case of those who are in a position to resist the bullying of petty officials and to refuse to answer questions until they have such meagre protection as the immigration law allows them, is a lawyer

permitted to be present. When present, counsel may not take more than a watching part until the inspector has finished his rigmarole, which generally includes inquiry concerning the church, if any, attended by the alien, together with other objectionable irrelevancies. Defendant's counsel may then add questions of his own, and prepare a brief for submission to the Secretary of Labour. The immigration inspector also transmits his recommendations through the usual channels to headquarters, and the fate of the alien suspected of holding opinions is determined by the Secretary of Labour on the documents in the case. The Secretary's findings on matters of fact are final, but it is sometimes possible to challenge the procedure on technicalities, and in that way bring a decision before the courts for review.

It will be seen therefore that aliens who are not prepared to prostrate themselves before the natives should not anticipate a happy initiation into Americanism. Since the new "quota" law came into operation, under which only a certain number of immigrants, based upon the arrivals in past years, are admitted from each country per month, there have been some remarkable rulings. Thus at New York in January, 1922, a Polish mother of four was admitted with three of her children, but as that completed Poland's quota for the month, the youngest, aged three months, was excluded! In this instance sufficient public attention was attracted to cause a change in the ruling, but that it was ever made is in itself an indictment of the service which could make it.

The present Secretary of Labour, J. J. Davis, who, by the way, was born at Tredegar, in this country, is now planning to add to the functions of this inhuman bureau "a helpful system of registration of aliens" by which "trace could be maintained of their progress in Americanisation" and which "would aid the alien to learn our ways." In plain, unofficial language, aliens are to be under constant surveillance.

When strike-breakers are needed or when scarcity of labour is sending wages up, immigration is welcomed by the "100 per cent. American" employing class; but let the newcomer show any disposition for working-class education or organisation and the bosses will open upon him the flood-gates of patriotic fury. He will look in vain for a brotherly greeting from the "100 per cent. American" Federation of Labour, for if he comes off the land, that organisation despises him as a "rube" and a potential scab, while if he has come from a European industrial centre where the Amsterdam International is not regarded

as a dangerously revolutionary body, it hates him as a Bolshevik.

The Government will put him out if he is caught thinking ; and if he does not think, he will be ground down and broken in pieces by an employing class compared with which the one he left behind him will seem the soul of honour and generosity.

XI

AMERICANISM AND WORLD DOMINION

THAT the era of aggressive Imperialism has now set in, is recognised by all candid students of the recent history of the United States. The truth can no longer be concealed that the Spanish-American War of 1898 was forced upon Spain and that the idealistic pretensions of the American Government were simply a cover for other motives connected with sugar plantations and colonial possessions. From that time on, the Americans have been grabbing whatever territory they considered it wise and safe to grab, with a ferocious disregard for the rights of others which is worthy of the British Empire at its worst.

A convenient decision of the Federal Supreme Court has established the "principle" that the constitutional safeguards, such as they are, do not apply outside the continental United States. "Dependencies" are entitled to nothing more than the federal authorities choose to give them, which nowadays is usually a military dictatorship. After they acquired the Philippines from Spain, the Americans had to wage bloody war from 1899 to 1902 in order to induce a recalcitrant native population to accept their benevolent rule. They have been compelled to brandish the big stick even at their dear young *protégée*, the Republic of Cuba, on more than one occasion when she seemed unduly careless of American investing interests.

In 1903 the Americans engineered a revolution in the Panama section of the Republic of Colombia; protected the rebels against the Colombian Government; and deprived the latter of its richest asset. The excuse for these measures was that the order to build the Panama Canal through Colombian territory had been pronounced illegal. American financial interests being involved, President Roosevelt's comment on the situation was "Damn the law! I want the canal built." That the existence of a Panama Canal for the use of all nations is desirable, there can be no question. It may, however, be very seriously questioned whether such a canal maintained by the American Government in the interests of its own capitalists to

facilitate the operations of its navy and to discriminate against foreign ships, will be by any means an unmixed blessing. In this connection it will be recalled that a vacillating policy has been pursued with regard to America's international pledges of fair treatment for ships of all flags passing through the canal. Apparently the authorities have been unable to make up their minds whether or not it is expedient to follow in their administration the same ethical standards which were deemed satisfactory when the Canal Zone was torn from Colombia.

From the Canal to the islands covering it is a natural transition. Cuba and Porto Rico have been in American hands since the Spanish War, though the former retains a nominal independence. In the latter it is interesting to note that American enthusiasm for democracy has recently led to restrictions on the franchise which have disqualified no less than 60 per cent. of the former electorate. But between Cuba and Porto Rico lies the important island of Hayti or Santo Domingo, inhabited mainly by coloured folk who, until the United States stepped in, had the audacity to govern themselves in two separate republics. So long ago as 1905 the Americans had obtained a footing in the eastern part of the island, occupied by the Dominican Republic. In that year a sort of receivership was instituted for the collection of debts alleged to be due from the little government to its foreign creditors. It was not, however, until the World War had been in progress for some time that the imperialists at Washington disclosed their intentions with regard to the whole island.

We all know—or should know—that the great power of the British Empire was built up by encouraging other peoples to fight until they had had nearly enough, and so could not prevent the British Government from grabbing whatever new territory it had set its heart upon as a desirable acquisition. This is an old and well-tested method of empire-building, and all intelligent empire-builders employ it when they get the chance. The ruthlessness with which the United States seized the opportunity presented by the World War to extend the American Empire in Hayti is one of the evidences that Cousin Jonathan has profited by the experience of John Bull. In 1916 the receivership in Santo Domingo was converted into a military dictatorship, and in 1917 American marines invaded the western portion of the island and made an end of the Haytian Republic which had been in existence for more than a century. By this move the American Government completed a chain of island possessions in the Caribbean Sea. It now holds Cuba,

Hayti, Porto Rico, and the St. Thomas group, purchased from Denmark in 1917, between which lie the main approaches to Jamaica, the Central American ports and the Panama Canal.

There is now some talk in Washington of an evacuation of Santo Domingo, as soon as "it can be ascertained whether it meets with the approval of the majority of the Dominican people." We have no reason for supposing that the Government of the United States will be easier to convince than other imperialistic administrations that it is not wanted by "inferior" peoples. In the unlikely event of a formal decision to withdraw, the usual unexpected obstacles will probably be found to necessitate indefinite delay in carrying to completion the policy decided upon. At worst a self-sacrificing withdrawal from the eastern half would vindicate the purity of the motives which dictate a retention of the strategically more important western end of the island.

Mexico is still an independent country, thanks mainly to the mountains, the climate, and the general suitability for guerilla warfare, of the territory left her after the United States had robbed her, between 1840 and 1850, of the best part of a million square miles of her richest land. Long experience in revolutionary turmoil has qualified the Mexicans to make things exceedingly unpleasant for any invaders from the north. It is, however, beyond question that the mysteriously financed uprisings which have afflicted recent administrations in their efforts to free the Mexican people from the serfdom to foreign investors instituted under the infamous rule of Porfirio Diaz, have been used by powerful interests in the United States as an argument for intervention. In a circular to its members, dated May 28th, 1920, the National Association for the Protection of American Rights in Mexico referred more than once to its "aggressive work," the concluding paragraph reading as follows:—

The Association at the present moment is in close touch with events—watching developments—analysing motives—hoping that stable, effective government will be established in Mexico, and ready at any time to resume its aggressive work if American lives, rights or property are placed in further jeopardy in that Republic.

Another Mexican war is expected sooner or later by most intelligent Americans.

Over the little republics of Central America the Government of the United States exercises a much more effective lordship than over Mexico. Nicaragua, in particular, has been the

object of more than avuncular solicitude on the part of Uncle Sam. The reader will remember that at one time there was considerable discussion over the relative merits of the route finally chosen for the Panama Canal and an alternative which would have utilised Lake Nicaragua. Perhaps in order to console the Nicaraguans for the loss of the canal, they have since been favoured with a prolonged occupation by United States marines. Honduras and Costa Rica also have good cause to remember the guidance and correction which their great uncle is ever ready to supply.

With regard to South America, the position of the United States is, to say the least, ambiguous. The practical effect of the famous Monroe doctrine was stated by President Wilson in an address to a joint session of Congress on December 7th, 1915, from which we quote extracts:—

There was a time in the early days of our own great nation and of the republics fighting their way to independence in Central and South America when the Government of the United States looked upon itself as in some sort the guardian of the republics to the south of her as against any encroachments or efforts at political control from the other side of the water: felt it its duty to play the part even without invitation from them. . . . But it was always difficult to maintain such a *rôle* without offence to the pride of the peoples whose freedom of action we sought to protect and without provoking serious misconceptions of our motives. . . . Our concern for the independence and prosperity of the States of Central and South America is not altered. We retain unabated the spirit that has inspired us throughout the whole life of our Government, and which was so frankly put into words by President Monroe.

The speech also contained rhetorical outbursts about "the new day in whose light we now stand," in which the purpose of the United States is "better understood" and "known not to be a selfish purpose"; but those who are accustomed to the declamation of British statesmen concerning their unselfish intentions in India, South Africa, and elsewhere, will be more concerned to note that there is no retraction of a doctrine which, for all practical purposes, gives the administration in Washington rights of suzerainty over the States of Central and South America, at least in their relations with foreign powers.

As a result of its astute policy during the World War, the American plutocracy finds itself in a uniquely favourable position to exploit other countries—provided that capitalism remains as firmly established throughout the world as it now seems in the United States. About South America the

financiers are in no special hurry ; rather are they anxious to make the most of such opportunities as may present themselves in the Far East or in Europe.

In neither direction are the prospects entirely reassuring. China, with its teeming millions, is, of course, in some respects a most attractive field for exploitation, and already American financiers have much at stake in that country. But the Yankee investor cannot forget the existence of the island empire, Japan, with which there is more than a possibility that his own country may in the not very distant future be in armed conflict. The Japanese have already gained control of more Chinese territory than America cares to see in their hands. In the event of an American-Japanese War, the precipitating cause of which might easily be a clash of interests in China, is it not quite likely that many American *entrepreneurs* in the Far East might be ruined ? And then there is the question of contact between China and Soviet Russia. Suppose that, under the influence and with the support of the terrible Bolsheviks, the Chinese themselves should begin to take an effective interest in the disposal of their country, what then ?

Turning toward Europe, what does the American capitalist see ? The National Association for the Protection of American Rights in Mexico, to which we have already referred, gives us some idea in a pamphlet bearing its imprint and entitled " The Abandonment of American Citizens Abroad." This association, it will be observed, has outgrown the narrowness of its original interests, as might have been expected from an organisation sponsored by men high in the counsels of the Standard Oil, the Morgan banking interests and other large corporations. Deprecating " the wretched treatment of our citizens abroad," the pamphlet asks :—

Is it any wonder that splendid opportunities for American control of great industries on the Continent of Europe, for example, are permitted to pass into English hands ? We are indifferent because our capitalists know that they would not receive support from our Government in guaranteeing continuance of the conditions under which they were led to invest. . . . If we really want foreign commerce, our people must travel ; they must enter into foreign industrial development ; they must by their activities abroad provide the business that will keep our ships employed ; they must be able to invest their money in foreign lands and stay near to manage the industries in which they become interested, with the certainty that both their lives and their property will be zealously protected, without quibble or hesitation, by the swift and powerful arm of a sympathetic Government at home.

Reading between the lines of this document we are better able to understand why the Government of the United States stands uncompromisingly for the repayment of war loans, and yet holds aloof from all the attempts of capitalist Europe to reconstruct itself. It feels that shattered Europe is still strong enough to refuse a yoke such as American capitalism is accustomed to impose upon its victims ; and it hopes that if it continues its attitude of watchful waiting long enough, the situation will become so bad that the once powerful countries of the Old World will concede anything, even accept complete industrial feudalism, to prevent utter collapse. Then it will be able to fulfil the programme outlined for it by the National Association for the Protection of American Rights in Mexico.

In one sense the Americans must be more conscious of Soviet Russia when they look toward Europe than when they direct their gaze across the Pacific ; but they trust that famine and non-intercourse will have destroyed the Workers' Republic by the time they are ready to use their " swift and powerful arm." They argue that the destruction of Russia will administer to the whole revolutionary movement in Europe a set back from which it will not recover before they have introduced all the up-to-date machinery of suppression and perversion to which attention has been directed in the foregoing pages.

Time alone can show whether they are right.

XII

HOW TO RESIST THE ONRUSH OF AMERICANISM

Do not imagine, reader, that the purpose of this book is to make your flesh creep. It is more than possible that within the next ten years all the facts here given, and more like them, will be used with that intent by patriotic politicians seeking to arouse your enthusiasm for a war against the United States. These same politicians in 1914 were preaching "a war to end war," which leaves the world burdened with more men under arms than before, with active and expensive departments at work developing the possibilities of poison gas, and constructing noiseless, invisible airplanes for dropping bombs upon cities without notice.

Do not be misled, either, by the sentimentalist who tells us that we should not direct attention to unpleasant phenomena, particularly when these can be seen more clearly at a distance than at home. Wilful blindness of this sort may make some people feel virtuous and loving, but it does not help us a whit toward solving the problems which confront mankind.

What we need is to give the facts our earnest consideration while we can still do so dispassionately; to trace them to their causes; and to understand how they affect our own life. Then, while we are yet normally rational beings—as distinct from whirling dervishes in the throes of patriotic ardour and saintly fanatics determined to be conscious only of "wrong within"—we must set ourselves to find a policy which will, as far as lies in human power, counteract or destroy the evils we fear.

Preceding chapters have given us the picture of a country in which democracy has become a synonym for machine politics; in which liberty, if not dead, is at any rate hibernating; in which "law and order" walk hand-in-hand with the foulest corruption; in which the working-class is deprived of what are elsewhere regarded as elementary human rights; in which the schools and colleges are definitely given over to the task of preparing the young to accept these conditions without complaint; in which religion avows itself a mere bulwark of invested capital; in which the prevailing ethical standards are

dictated by the requirements of salesmanship, and cheap sentimentalism stands cheek by jowl with almost unbelievable grossness ; in which the natives suppose themselves a chosen people and reject with contempt whatever of good is brought to their shores by aliens ; and in which the capitalist class is now more powerful than anywhere else in the world.

Can we afford, in a world which all recent experience has shown to be interdependent, to disregard these portents ? Are we such fools, after our late experiment in the abolition of an old militarism by creating a new and more powerful militarism, as to believe that any good will be accomplished by a nationalistic offensive against the United States ? Only a lunatic would answer either question otherwise than in the negative.

Prussianism was a symptom, not a cause, of impending war. It was capitalism organised by the people who, prior to the war, had the clearest understanding of the requirements of that system of production. Although their enemies were able, by terrific exertions under extremely favourable conditions, to defeat the Central Empires, they had to choose between adopting the methods of Prussia or abolishing the economic system on which Prussianism was based. In the countries in which capitalism still lives, recourse is had to-day to practically all the repressive measures of Kaiserdom. In America, where capitalism is strongest, the terror against militant members of the working-class exceeds anything known to the old Germany.

All this gives us food for most serious thought. In England things have not yet reached such a pass as in the United States. The population is more homogeneous ; the workers have been better organised ; the capitalists are less sure of themselves and of what their wage-earning fellow-countrymen will tolerate at their hands. None the less we can see a steady drift in the direction of Americanism. Under the *régime* of Lloyd George, who is far more like an American professional politician than any other man who has held the British premier-ship, the House of Commons has been reduced almost to the status of the Federal Congress as a registry for the decrees of big business. New restrictions are being placed on liberty at home, such as used to be reserved for the dependencies in which British rule was established to save the natives—*from* themselves and *for* British exploitation. We, too, are beginning to scrutinise with care the political opinions of our school teachers, and to introduce meaningless sentimentalities like the observance of Empire Day. If our churches still hesitate to express

themselves as crudely as do their American brethren, they have, on numerous occasions, given themselves badly away. Our ethics, being mainly dependent upon our social and economic institutions, are moving in the same direction. The alien problem is not acute here as it is in the United States, but hundreds of thousands of our people can be instantly prejudiced against any idea or method which is plausibly accused of foreign origin.

In several respects we may observe similarities in what is happening in the labour movements of the two countries. Information was received in America in December, 1921, by the editor of the *Mine Workers' Journal*, that the coal companies of the United States had been making extensive inquiries in Great Britain after the defeat of the Miners' Federation, and that every assistance had been given them by British coal-owners in the preparation of plans for crushing the United Mine Workers of America. The great miners' lockout of 1922 has fulfilled very closely the predictions made in the letter communicating the news of the employers' investigations. It is interesting also to notice how the American "open shop" drive has been followed by the engineers' lock-out on this side of the Atlantic. Side by side with the extraordinary decisions recently given in the United States Supreme Court to the detriment of organised labour, may be set the attempt now in progress to destroy the British Labour Party by legislation which would impose upon it an unworkable system of finance.

The duty before us is, therefore, two-fold—(1) to resist to the utmost at home all the forms of oppression and exploitation which have been most thoroughly developed in the United States and which are known in that country as Americanism, and (2) to do everything in our power to frustrate the plans of the great American capitalists for reducing the entire world into bondage to themselves under conditions similar to those which they are fastening upon their own country.

With regard to the first there is not a great deal left to be said. It does not need the terrible example of the United States to arouse most of those who will read these pages to the importance of preserving freedom of teaching and propaganda and the right to organise; of exposing corruption wherever it exists in public and official life; of checking all attempts on the part of financial and industrial interests to create private and irresponsible police forces with which to crush working-class movements; of retaining sufficient sanity to judge ideas and policies on their merits without first inquiring where

the propounder's parents were living at the time of his or her birth.

The terrible inroads of the American capitalists upon the liberties and well-being of the workers of the United States would not have been possible but for the special circumstances making for disunion among the working-class forces. In so far as the British workers hold an advantage, they are indebted to good fortune, rather than to superior enterprise and intelligence. Unless they are as ready as the British capitalists to profit by the lessons of American experience, they will assuredly lose what advantage is still theirs. Mr. Walton Newbold has shown in a recent number of *The Communist Review** how close is the co-operation between "the City" and "Wall Street." Modern Americanism is an expression of the domination of the United States by "Wall Street." Only as the allies of Wall Street in this country are deterred by fear of probable consequences, will they refrain from trying to impose "Americanism," of the type described in the foregoing pages, upon the working-class here. The only way to keep that fear alive, and to increase it, is to close the gaps in labour's ranks and to insist upon the necessity of united action whenever any sector of the workers' lines is attacked. Many of our brothers in the American labour movement are now fully alive to the urgent necessity for such united action in their own land, and, in face of tremendous difficulties, they are putting forth heroic and unceasing efforts to achieve it. The battle cry which they are using in the fight against Americanism in its strongholds at home is that under which the British workers must fight against its extension here: "For the Worker: One Fight! One Foe! One Front! One Victory!"

Nor, in this connection, must the workers of Great Britain forget that this doctrine of the united front applies not only to themselves and the workers of the United States, but to the whole world, including especially those down-trodden and most savagely exploited workers with coloured skins who inhabit remoter parts of that Empire which the British workman is taught to consider "his," when it is to be fought for or when its expenses are to be met.

We now come to the problem of frustrating Americanism on the international field. At the very beginning of this chapter we referred to the likelihood that in the not very distant future the well-authenticated misdeeds of American capitalists would be quoted to incite the British workers into support of an Anglo-

* Issue of June, 1922, page 69, "Politics in 'The City.'"

American War. And some one may here interject " Well, if all you've said about America is true, doesn't it deserve to be fought ? " To which question the writer would reply with two others. " Are, or are not, the workers of all the lately warring countries of the civilised world (exclusive of Soviet Russia) now confronted with the struggle of their lives to secure pre-war standards of living against the onslaughts of the capitalists, victorious and ' conquered ' alike ? And are not these same capitalists—whose fighting was done far behind the battle lines on each side—now getting on very well together in spite of their late unpleasantness—Krupps of Germany in close friendship with the Schneider-Creusot group of France, as before, and the English and American bankers quite willing to help the German captains of industry ? "

The rivalries of different groups of capitalists are sufficiently bitter, but they are rivalries of detail—as to who shall get the loot, or the lion's share of the loot. But let the vast exploited masses of the world put the question " Why thould there *be* any loot ? " and the rivals forget their little differences on the spot. Desperate though the hatred raised in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71, the German imperialists had no hesitation in offering aid to the French *bourgeoisie* for the destruction of the Paris Commune. The story of Russia since 1917 teaches the same truth. When the workers and peasants of Russia determined to put an end to the loot system, the capitalist governments of their supposed allies turned upon them as savagely as the overlords of the Central Empires.

A war between capitalist Britain and capitalist America could be but a struggle to decide which of two rival groups of exploiters should usher in an order of industrial feudalism. Each group would resort to the usual patriotic appeals to induce its own people to give it new powers, so that, win or lose abroad, it would emerge from the conflict relatively stronger at home. The workers on both sides, having nothing really at stake but a change of masters, would be killed and maimed by the hundred thousand while the fighting lasted and would have, between them, to foot the bill when it was over.

It does not, however, follow from this interpretation of the situation that we should wish to see the present governments of the two countries in close accord. Collusion between them to exploit the rest of the world would be a disaster of the first magnitude. Yet a *rapprochement* could mean nothing else, for, as we explained at the very beginning, American policy is based upon an understanding of the facts that by plunging into

the World War our civilisation has committed suicide, and that we cannot save it even if we would. In a contact between two governments, one possessing this realistic outlook and the other still possessed by a blind faith in conferences which achieve nothing, in budgets which do not balance, in reparations which can never be paid and "reconstruction" which leaves things just as they were, the views of the former would assuredly prevail; and Great Britain would become, as some American radical writers have already predicted, a mere agency for the imposition of Americanism upon the whole of Western Europe.

The only way in which the workers of Great Britain can foil Americanism on the international field is by lining up consciously on the side of the government which the administration of the United States hates and fears more than any other on earth, to wit, the Soviet Government of Russia.

It may not be agreeable to many fastidious souls to have to choose between two policies neither of which greatly appeals to them, but the laws of social evolution unfortunately pay very little attention to the preferences of fastidious souls. This is not the place for the writer to treat at length of the free and equal society which he believes is the natural sequence of a transitional proletarian dictatorship such as has been established in Soviet Russia. It has been his task in this book to put before British readers, in the plainest possible way, the kind of tyranny which is in store for them and the citizens of other European countries if they fail to grasp the real significance of what is now taking place in our world. He trusts that his work may be of service in aiding to a right judgment some who would otherwise hesitate when confronted, as in no long time they will be, with the necessity for taking their share in one of the most momentous decisions in the history of mankind.

INDEX

- ADAMS, John Quincy, 21
 Adams, Samuel, 113
Agents provocateurs, 66, 76, 93, 97,
 104-5
 Agricultural workers, 75, 82
 Alabama,
 Ku Klux Klan in, 68
 picketing illegal in, 94
 Aliens, 8, 11, 17, 127
 children of, 111, 144
 in industry, 87, 88, 145
 naturalisation, difficulties in,
 45, 147. See also *Finns*,
 Italians, &c.
 Allen, Atty.-Gen. J. Weston, 49,
 50
 American Federation of Labour,
 39, 82-6, 113, 119, 145, 149,
 150
 American Legion, 63, 117
 Ames, Fisher, 22
 Anarchism, 14, 17, 85
 Anderson, Judge Geo. W., 65, 66,
 67
 Arizona,
 deportations in, 65
 peaceful picketing in, 45, 93
 Arkansas,
 strike against Coronado Co.,
 95
 treatment of negroes in, 118
- BABSON, Roger W., 45, 107, 132,
 134
 Baldwin-Felts Detective Agency,
 104, 105
 Baptist laymen, Northern, 133
 Beard, Charles A., 20, 77, 80, 117
 Birth control, 38, 40
 Blocs, political, 46
 "Blue Laws," 37, 40
 Boston, Mass.,
 May Day parade fired on, 70
 municipal administration, 16,
 25
 Boston, Mass.—*continued*.
 municipal elections, 25
 public library, 43
 school committee, 113
 social exclusiveness, 32
 Bourquin, Judge, 65, 66, 67
 Boycott and blacklisting, 91, 92,
 94
 British Empire, 5, 52, 112, 153,
 159, 161
 Bryan, William Jennings, 64
- CARPENTERS and Joiners, United
 Brotherhood of, 92
 Chicago,
 and Ku Klux Klan, 69
 Court of domestic relations,
 58
 Child labour, 37, 62
 Children, American, 37, 74, 85,
 114, 115, 139
 under-nourishment of, 74
 China, U.S. and, 156
 Christianity, American, 24, 123
 and big business, 45, 125, 132,
 133
 and salesmanship, 135
 Christian Science, 122, 129-31
 Civil Liberties Union, 39, 65
 Clothing Workers, Amalgamated,
 83, 145
 Coleman, George W., 119
 Colombia, U.S. and, 152-3
 Colorado,
 Ludlow massacre, 104-5
 university of, 117
 Communism, 1, 2, 3, 24, 31, 66,
 96, 97, 149, 161
 "Community Centres," 123
 Coney Island, 140
 Congress of U.S., 23, 46, 71, 159
 Connecticut,
 restrictions on freedom in, 40
 Constitution of U.S., 10, 18 *et seq.*,
 39, 44, 77, 137

- Constitution of U.S.—*continued*.
 amendment of, 23
 fourteenth amendment to, 77
 "free press" amendment to,
 39, 41
 Constitutional Convention (1787),
 20 *et seq.*
 Conventions, political, 28, 29
 Coronado case, 95
 Costa Rica, U.S. and, 155
 Courts, American, 22, 45, 47-52,
 57, 58, 66, 70, 81, 89-96, 147,
 149
 Cox, Gov. Channing, 55
 "Criminal Syndicalism." See
 Syndicalism.
 Cuba, 152, 153

 DANA, Harry, 116-7
 Danbury hatters' case, 94
 Dances, American, 106, 114, 139,
 140, 146
 Declaration of Independence, 10,
 18, 19, 23, 31
 Democracy, 13, 15, 17, 18, 23, 24,
 27, 31-3, 62, 75
 Democratic Party, 25, 26, 28, 46,
 60
 Deportation,
 local, 65
 of aliens, 148, 149-50
 De Silver, Albert, 68
 "Direct Primary." See *Elec-*
 tioneering.
 District attorneys, 37, 42, 48-51
 Dorchy, August, 45

 EDDY, Mrs. Mary Baker, 129-31
 Electioneering in U.S., 25-31
 Europe, U.S. and, 7, 14, 156-7,
 161-3

 FEDERALISTS, 18, 21
 Feudalism, 15, 31, 76, 79, 81, 97,
 137. See also *Industrial Feuda-*
 lism.
 Finns in U.S., 88, 144, 145, 146
 Florida, Ku Klux Klan in, 68
 Ford, Henry, 60
 "Forums," 118-9
 Foster, William Z., 80, 86, 119
 "Frame-up," The, 98 *et seq.*
 French Canadians in U.S., 88, 127
 "Fundamentalism," 124, 132

 GEORGIA, treatment of negroes in,
 68
 Ku Klux Klan in, 71
 Gerry, Elbridge, 21
 Gerrymandering, 21

 HAMILTON, Alexander, 21
 Hanna, Marcus, 79
 Harding, Warren G., 46
 Harwood, Fred, 57
 Hatters, United, of N. America,
 94
 Hays, Will H., 42, 120
 Hayti, U.S. and, 153-4
 Hibernians, Ancient Order of,
 views on education, 113
 Hillquit, Morris, 26 *n.*
 Honduras, U.S. and, 155
 Howat, Alexander, 45
 Hurlburt, Henry F., 50

 IDAHO,
 "protection" of ranges in,
 100
 Illinois,
 and Ku Klux Klan, 69
 indictment of Governor Small,
 54
 picketing illegal in, 93
 Immigrants. See *Aliens, Finns,*
 Italians, etc.
 Immigration, Bureau of, 149-50
 Independence. See *Declaration*.
 Industrial Feudalism, 2, 76, 97,
 157, 162
 Industrial Relations Commission,
 73-5, 90, 92, 103, 117
 Industrial spies. See *Agents pro-*
 vocateurs.
 Industrial Workers of the World,
 66, 82, 83
 Iowa, activities of Ku Klux Klan
 in, 69
 Irish in U.S., 26, 113, 127
 Italians in U.S., 83, 85, 86, 88,
 102, 111, 112, 127

 JAPAN, U.S. and, 156
 Jefferson, Thomas, 18
 Jews in U.S., 83, 144
 Juries, American, 41, 42, 47, 48,
 99
 "Justice," U.S. Dept. of, 65-7,
 102, 149

- "Justice," U.S. Dept. of—*contd.*
 as a propaganda agency, 65,
 67
 participates in mob violence,
 66
- KANSAS, union labour in, 45, 91
 Kentucky,
 anti-evolution bill, 113
 anti-syndicalist law, 40
 King, Rufus, 22
 Ku Klux Klan, 62, 67-72, 97, 98,
 115, 123, 132
- LABOUR, U.S. Dept. of, 100, 149,
 150
 Landis, Judge Kenesaw M., 90 *n.*
 Lansing, Robert, 60
 Lawrence, Mass., 84-6
 League of Nations, 2
 Letts in U.S., 111, 146
 Liberator, The, 83, 119-20
 Libraries, censorship in, 43
 Lithuanians in U.S., 127, 146
 Lloyd George, David, 159
 Lopez, Frank R., 148
 Lynching in U.S., 15, 34, 62, 65,
 97, 134, 142, 143
- MACKAYE, James, 148
 Madison, James, 21
 Marriage laws in U.S., 37
 Marshall, John, 22
 Marshall, Thomas R., 44
 Marx, Karl, 64, 148
 Massachusetts,
 federal district court, 66-7
 in constitutional convention,
 21-2
 prohibition, enforcement in,
 55, 57
 quarrels among State officials,
 49, 59
 religious intolerance in, 9, 17,
 37, 44
 Shays' rebellion in, 9, 19, 20
 Socialist Party of, 24 *et seq.*
 McKay, Claude, 142-3
 Methodists in U.S., 123
 Mexico, U.S. and, 154, 156
 Mine Workers, United, 45, 95, 160
 Miners, Western Federation of, 99
 Minnesota, red flag law, 17, 38
 Minor, Robert, 101, 119
- Mississippi, suit against Governor
 Russell, 54
 Mob under direction of U.S. Dept.
 of "Justice," 66, 67
 violence in U.S., 15, 34, 62,
 64-70, 72, 105
 Monroe Doctrine, 155
 Montana,
 federal district court, 65-7
 mob violence in, 105
 university of, 117
 Moody and Sankey, revivals, 125
 Mooney, Thomas J., 98, 99-102
 Morgans, The, 74, 78, 156
- NATURALISATION in U.S., 45, 147
 Nearing, Prof. Scott, 78, 116
 Negroes in U.S., 15, 16, 20, 37, 51,
 62, 68, 69, 77, 118, 147
 Nelles, Walter, 39
 Nevada, Smith-Preston "frame-
 up," 98-100
 Newberry, Truman H., 60
 Newbold, J. T. Walton, 161
 New Jersey,
 courts of, 51, 57, 93
 municipal officials in, 57, 72
 "New Thought," 131
 New York,
 birth control meeting broken
 up, 40
 Columbia University, 116, 117
 municipal affairs, 16, 26 *n.*
 Tammany Hall, 25
 New York State,
 administration of "justice"
 in, 51, 58
 in constitutional convention,
 21
 oath of loyalty in schools, 118
 Nicaragua, U.S. and, 154-5
 "Non-Partisan League," 69
- OFFICIALS, American, 5, 16, 17,
 38, 39, 48, 49, 53, 55, 56,
 57, 58, 61, 67, 70, 75, 138
 control of, by big business,
 67, 75
 order "tarring and feather-
 ing," 72
- Ohio,
 and Standard Oil Trust, 79
 and union labour, 91

- Oklahoma,
and Ku Klux Klan, 70, 71
and union labour, 91
indictment of Governor
Robertson, 54
- Oneal, James, 26
- "Open shop" campaign, 85, 160
- PANAMA Canal, U.S. and, 152-3,
155
- Peace Conference, 1, 59, 60
- Pelletier, Joseph C., 49, 51
- Pennsylvania,
free speech in, 39
steel strike in, 86
university of, 116
- Philadelphia, municipal corrup-
tion, 25
- Philippines, 152
- Picketing, legal decisions concern-
ing, 45, 93, 94
- Pilgrim Fathers, 8, 43
- Pinckney, Charles, 22
- Pinkham, Henry W., 123-4
- Plutocracy in U.S., 4, 11-13, 15,
35, 76-81, 90, 96-107, 151, 155,
159-61
- Poles in U.S., 127, 146
- Police, American, 37-9, 41, 61,
67, 70, 71, 94, 105, 139
- Politics, American, 23, 46, 49, 52,
53, 63, 128. See also *Elec-
tioneering*.
- Porto Rico, U.S. and, 153-4
- Press censorship, 41 *et seq.*, 140
- Profiteering, 19
- "Prohibition" in U.S., 23, 37, 45,
55, 57, 58, 62, 63, 64, 123
- Prussianism, 3, 5, 159
- QUAKERS, persecuted in New
England, 9
- RAILWAY Union, American, 92
- "Reds," persecution of, 15, 16,
63-7, 98, 118, 149
- Reed, John, 119
- Republican Party, 25, 26, 28, 46,
59, 61
- Revolution, American, 9, 19, 112,
113
- Rhode Island,
founding of, 9
textile strike in, 84
- Rockefeller, John D., 24, 74, 79
- Roe, Gilbert E., 95
- Roman Catholic Church, 25, 43,
56, 122, 127-9
- Roosevelt, Theodore, 152
- Russia, Soviet, 1, 96, 119, 156, 157,
162-3
- Russians in U.S., 88, 146
- SACCO-VANZETTI case, 50, 98-9,
102-4, 149
- Salesmanship, 115, 129, 131, 135,
136-7, 138
- Santo Domingo, U.S. and, 153-4
- Schools, American, 13, 56, 74, 75,
87, 108-15, 118, 139, 144
- Scientific management, 106
- Shays' Rebellion, 9, 19, 20
- Slavery, chattel, 4, 10, 20, 22, 69
- "Socialism, Americanised," 148
- Socialists, 24 *et seq.*, 69, 70, 83,
118, 149
- South America, U.S. and, 4, 155
- South Carolina in constitutional
convention, 22
- Spanish-American War, 152
- Spies, industrial and political.
See *Agents provocateurs*.
- St. Thomas Islands, 154
- Standard Oil Trust, 79, 80, 156
- Steel Trust, 81
- Stopes, Dr. Marie, 140
- Strikes in U.S., 39, 45, 83, 84, 86,
91-5, 104, 105, 126
- Sunday, Billy, revivalist, 125-7,
148
- Syndicalism, 98
Kentucky law against, 40
- TAFT, William H., 90, 91, 93
- Tennessee, Maryville College, 117
- Texas and the Ku Klux Klan, 68,
70
- Textile Workers, Amalgamated,
84
- Textile Workers, United, 84, 86
- Thoreau, Henry David, 112
- Torrey and Alexander, revivalists,
125
- Trade Union Educational League,
80, 119
- Tufts, Nathan A., 49, 50, 51,
118

- UNITARIANS, 123-4, 126
Universities, American, 115-7
- VANDERBILTS, The, 74, 79
- Vermont, conviction of ex-Governor Graham, 53
- Versailles, Treaty of, 1, 18, 59, 60, 96
- Vigilance committees, 16, 72
- Virginia,
and Ku Klux Klan, 71
in constitutional convention, 22
military institute, 118
- Virginia, West,
Baldwin Felts agency in, 104, 105
coal strike in, 127
- "Wall Street," 161. See also *Plutocracy*.
- Walsh, Frank P., 73
- War, the Great, 1, 33, 64, 121, 123, 130, 142, 147, 153, 155, 158, 162, 163
- Washington, D. C., 55, 62, 71, 142, 155
- Washington, George, 18, 19, 20, 114
- Whitman, Walt, 36
- Williams, Roger, 9
- Wilson, Woodrow, 1, 18, 42, 44, 59, 60, 116, 120, 155
- Women,
legislation concerning dress, 140
suffrage, 23
torture of, in U.S., 65, 68
- Wood, Charles W., 119, 126, 141

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