

why their faith or hope or spiritual consolation should stand or fall with the truth of the reported miracle.

There is no room, and it would be an invidious task, to single out individual pamphlets of special significance from the huge selected pile before me. Mr. Henry James is, however, so unexpected a passenger in this galère that I cannot forbear mentioning the striking little tribute he has paid to England in the leaflet called "The Question of the Mind." It ends with the characteristic passage: "The mind was so drenched with the character, in opposition to the examples in which the character was drenched with the mind, that all one could at the very best feel (though goodness knew indeed it quite sufficed!) was that the value finally run to earth was a value which would do for everything"—the interpretation of which I take to be that England has shown an unsuspected but very efficient fund of strength and resource. Another very striking pamphlet is "The True Pastime," by Mr. Alexander Gray. This is substantially an epitome of "Der deutsche Chauvinismus," a little book by Otfried Nippold, a German professor, published in 1913. Professor Nippold's object was to impress his countrymen with the danger to the peace of Europe involved in the chauvinistic utterances of German newspapers, societies, and prominent individuals. He gives the text of no fewer than 127 of these; and this list, along with Herr Nippold's own remarks, gives Mr. Gray the material for a very significant and arresting brochure. Another recent tractate that Americans might (and should) read with interest is "The Neutrality of the United States," by Prof. J. Shield Nicholson. This opens by explaining that our disappointment over the fact that the sympathy of the United States has not found a more forcible expression in our favor, is largely due to a want of appreciation of the difference between national interests and national sympathies. It closes with something approaching a demonstration that the real ulterior interests of the United States are not (to say the least) incompatible with sympathy for England and her allies.

No less than a million books (chiefly seven-penny novels) and magazines have been distributed to the soldiers in the camps and trenches by the Camps Library alone; and there are other organizations doing the same kind of work. It is impossible to say how many of them belong to the category of pamphlet; but within the last week or two a new series of pamphlets has been produced expressly for the use of the army and navy. These so-called "Times Broadsheets" consist of "a selection of the best passages, grave and gay, from English verse and prose, printed on fly-leaves or broadsheets," suitable for enclosure in letters and sold for 1d. per set of six. Those already published range from selections from the Bible and Shakespeare to "Bob Acres's Duel" and "Mr. Mantalini at Breakfast," and furnish a most tempting bill of fare to those whose taste or circumstances demand a diet of titbits. The sale of the first series of these broadsheets reached the figure of one million within a week.

In conclusion, it may be noted that the British Government has not disdained to issue penny booklets on such topics as "Why We Must Save, and How"; but possibly this sort of thing may be done even better by the French Government, whose "Livres roses pour la jeunesse" (1d. each) form a quite admirable channel for putting the real issues of the

war before the rising generation. Let us hope that the efforts of the "German Bureau for the Enlightenment of Foreign Countries" (e. g., in its "A Dozen of English Sins Against International Law") may be less successful.

#### VATICAN NOTES—M. LATAPIE'S INTERVIEW—THE POPE AND THE BELLIGERENT POWERS.

By HOMER EDMISTON.

ROME, September 17.

As a consequence of the now famous interview with Benedict XV, by M. Latapie on June 13, which was mentioned in the *Nation's* Summary of the News of July 1, I was afraid I should have to take back all I had written about the Pope's generally benevolent disposition towards the Allies. It will be remembered that this Latapie is a correspondent of the *Liberté*, a Clerical newspaper of Paris, and that among the other strange utterances which he attributed to the Pope were the assertions that the blockade, which has for its object the starving of Germany and Austria, is no more humane than the sinking of the Lusitania; that, as regards the destruction of Louvain and of the cathedral of Rheims, the German apology that the inhabitants of Louvain fired on the German troops and that there was a military watchtower on the roof of the cathedral, must be borne in mind; and that, to a question in regard to the violation of the neutrality of Belgium, he could only reply that this had happened during the reign of his predecessor.

These statements were not disavowed so soon, nor at first so completely, as the Allies and their sympathizers had hoped, though it afterwards became known that the reason for this was the absence of the Secretary of State, Cardinal Gasparri. As soon as he returned, which was just a week after the first publication of the interview, he gave an audience to a representative of the *Corriere d'Italia*, a liberalizing Clerical journal of Rome, in which he asserted that Latapie had not in a single point faithfully reproduced, while in some instances he had completely falsified, the Holy Father's meaning. He cited, for example, the Pope's saying, according to Latapie, that he had had a letter from von Bissing, the German Governor of Belgium, containing the assurance that the Germans had committed no act of violence against the Church or its ministers. Cardinal Gasparri said that no such communication, direct or indirect, had ever been received in the Vatican. He also denied the absurd reply to the question about the violation of the neutrality of Belgium, that it all happened in the reign of Pius X, and reproached Latapie for not keeping his promise to submit the text of the interview to the Secretary of State before publication.

But the incident did not end here. On June 28, M. Fernand Laudet, editor of the *Revue Hebdomadaire*, of Paris, and formerly secretary to the French Embassy to the Vatican, had an audience with the Pope in which he was assured that the Sovereign Pontiff loved with a constant affection the "eldest daughter of the Church," and that his neutrality was far from meaning indifference. Laudet also reported him as having said—and his statement met with no subsequent correction or denial—that, although every one knew that

the Germans had been guilty of atrocious conduct, it was too much to expect the Pope to condemn explicitly what he knew but vaguely. And about two weeks later Dr. Van den Heuvel, Belgian Minister to the Holy See, not satisfied with Cardinal Gasparri's denials as published in the *Corriere d'Italia*, sent him a memorandum asking for a more definite statement on certain points. Gasparri's reply was given in part to the press, and gave complete satisfaction to the Belgian Minister and to the Allies generally.

"Concerning the question of the neutrality of Belgium," his Eminence wrote, "I am bound to assure you in the most positive manner that the Holy Father did not make the reply which M. Latapie has ventured to invent for his article. The fact of this matter is the following: The Chancellor of the German Empire, Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg, declared in open Parliament on the 4th of August, 1914, that Germany by invading Belgium violated its neutrality in a manner contrary to the law of nations. Whereas, therefore, in this present conflict, one side usually accuses and the other denies, and for this reason the Holy See, being unable to verify the facts, finds it impossible to pronounce a judgment, in this case the German Chancellor himself admitted that by the invasion of Belgium a violation of neutrality was committed in disregard of international law, in spite of his attempt to justify it by military necessity." As to the maltreatment of Cardinal Mercier and other Belgian ecclesiastics, the Secretary of State averred that, while it was not true that Mercier had, strictly speaking, been put under arrest, he had been interfered with in the exercise of his ministry, whereupon the Holy See had promptly, by diplomatic means, secured the restoration of his liberties; and that after the shooting of the Belgian priests, the destruction of Louvain, and similar barbarities, it had solemnly protested, at the same time doing its utmost to alleviate the condition of the suffering populations.

Finally, the Pope himself has lately sent a letter, published on August 17, to Cardinal Luçon, Archbishop of Rheims, in which he says: "It has been a pleasure and a consolation to us to learn that the commotion produced in France by a newspaper article that has had too wide a publicity, which represented neither our thoughts nor our sentiments, and of which some passages were entirely fictitious, has subsided, that uneasy suspicions have been dispelled, and that peace has been restored to anxious hearts."

Nothing more need be said about this incident except that, curiously enough, the editors of the *Liberté* thought they were doing the Papacy a service by publishing the interview. Their notion was, as appeared from a statement in their issue of June 24, that, owing to the lack of a French diplomatic representative at the Vatican, the Austrian and German Ambassadors could make what statements they chose without fear of contradiction. The object of the publication was to create another argument for the resumption of diplomatic relations between France and the Holy See, and this preoccupation may partly account for the slight accuracy with which the interview was reported.

A significant utterance occurred in the Pope's invocation for peace on the first anniversary of the outbreak of the war. After noticing the historical fact that "nations do not die, but, if humiliated and oppressed, bear unquietly the yoke imposed upon them, while

conspiring for the recovery of their liberties, and hand down from generation to generation a gloomy heritage of hate and vengeance," he goes on to ask, "Why not from now on consider with a clear conscience the rights and just aspirations of nationalities? Why not in a willing spirit begin a direct or indirect exchange of views in order to take account, as far as possible, of those rights and those aspirations, and thus make an end of this terrible conflict, as has already happened in similar cases?" Thus, without mentioning names, the reproof strikes in very high quarters, while it is perhaps worth noting that "just aspirations of nationalities" was precisely the phrase used by the Italian Prime Minister Salandra in setting forth the reasons why his country took part in the war.

In my letter to the *Nation* of December 10, 1914, I had occasion to allude to Pius X's reform of the Roman congregations. "One of the most notable of these changes," I then wrote, "and the one that has perhaps commended itself the least, was the enormously increased importance of the Congregation of the Consistory, which became invested with the nomination of bishops. Before that time the suggestion of candidates for vacant sees, and the collection of information concerning them, was the duty of an officer called Uditore di Sua Santità, who was a titular archbishop residing at the Papal court. This office, naturally left vacant under Pius X, will probably be restored by Pope Benedict."\*

This office has indeed been restored in the person of Mgr. Nicolò Marini, Secretary of the Tribunal of the Segnatura, which is the Papal Court of Cassation, made famous by Raphael's frescoes in the room of the Vatican in which it formerly was held. It should be observed that the Court itself was restored by the reform of Pius X, to which I have alluded, and that anciently its Secretary was always Uditore di Sua Santità, or Uditore Santissimo. His function was originally a purely legal one, and it was only by degrees that he came to have the other duty of adviser to the Pope in the nomination of bishops. With the extinction of the Tribunal of the Segnatura, the office remained for this latter purpose alone, and was continued by all the Popes up to Pius X. Benedict XV has for the present invested Mgr. Marini with only the legal attributions of his office, but there is little doubt that he will soon take the nomination of bishops from the Congregation of the Consistory and restore it to the Uditore.

Of the late Cardinal Serafino Vannutelli, Dean of the Sacred College, it may be recalled that after the death of Leo XIII he was considered the most likely candidate for the Papacy after Rampolla. The poor showing he actually made in the Conclave is attributed largely to the injudicious zeal of his friends. Personal jealousies and antipathies are rife in the Roman Curia, and the Cardinals of the Curia were tired of Vannutelli's candidacy before the first ballot was taken.

The diplomatic mission lately sent by Benedict XV to Switzerland had a double object. In the first place, the Vatican feels the need of corresponding more easily and securely with the nunziatures and episcopates of the belligerent Powers; and, secondly, the mission is intended to render effective the Papal initiative for the maintenance of the invalid prisoners sent by the various warring states into Swiss territory. It should be observed that the Italian Government made no ob-

jection to the sending and maintenance of this mission.

In regard to the prevalent rumor of an early Consistory, I have good authority for saying that none is likely before November, and that if it takes place then it will probably be private, and will not be signalized by the nomination of either foreign or Italian Cardinals.

#### UNITED STATES OF EUROPE—POOLING THE ISSUES.

By STOLDARD DEWEY.

PARIS, September 25.

The United States of Europe was a favorite dream of Revolutionists of 1848. Not more than the lifetime of a man has passed and long ago the dream faded utterly. Now the disunion of states has broken out worse than ever before. Perhaps the salutary reaction from excess of evil may bring about a revival of the dream and its fulfilment in part.

President Eliot, looking forward from the start, pointed to the extension of the Federal system as a safeguard when war should be over. Last Sunday, John Hodge, Labor member of the House of Commons, spoke to French Socialists of the many things that matter here and now. And these "militants of the Federation of the Seine," as they style themselves, answered with pregnant resolves:

"We hail the grandeur of the military and civil effort of the English nation and its labor class to help France and martyred Belgium repel the invader;

"We affirm the full and entire solidarity of the French proletariat and the English proletariat in the impious war let loose on the world by German Imperialism;

"We declare that we are decided to struggle with our own and other allied nations until German militarism and imperialism have been reduced to impotence and until there are realized the conditions of a just and durable peace which, without annexation or conquest, shall assure the independence of all nations and make possible, in democracy and fraternity, the constitution of the United States of Europe."

Deputy Cachin, of the French Parliament, in the name of his constituents of the Socialist Federation, added that the united action of the two proletariats would outlast the war and grow. In our days of democracy, proletariats and states are one and the same. Dr. Vaillant, also a Deputy, was presiding. He was in at the beginning of the old Internationale. He recalled his first acquaintance with the Englishman who was now interpreting, Adolph Smith, during the storms of the Commune. From the French interpretation, I retranslate a few words of plain-speaking Labor-member Hodge, setting forth his idea that a union of states and peoples is already going on:

"I am a pacifist, but I am not disposed to let myself be crushed by my enemies. They attack me, I defend myself. And, defending ourselves, all civilization rises up together against the menace of barbarism. We do not wish a premature peace, but an entire peace—not conquest, but the liberation of all oppressed peoples. If it must be, my Socialist friends and I will accept compulsory conscription." Then the order of the day was voted with unanimous acclaim, "Affirming the

union of English and French proletariats and their resolution to keep on to the very end."

So history repeats itself. Those who forced the issue of secession on our own United States brought about the emancipation of slaves which they most wished to avoid. Those who have planned to profit by the disunion of Europe are welding together against themselves United States of Europe.

It is not Labor Federationists alone who welcome the coming change. At Como, on Friday of this same week, Signor Luzzatti, who is *bourgeois* enough to have set the Italian State on its financial feet in the past, spoke to the French delegates of the Congress for an Economic Entente words prophetic of the future:

"There are moments in history that create new moral forces, moments of great emancipations when peoples give themselves up to sacrifice and death and cast off all their dross and clothe with sunlight splendor whatever is purest and most heroic in their soul. Such moments of grandeur we also know. This war has for its mission to secure the independence of nations, the liberty of nations that are oppressed. But, colleagues of France, before we leave, allow your old friend to offer a counsel which may work as efficaciously in your country as in ours.

"Only lately, German newspapers expressed the cruel hope that our rivalries in the Mediterranean would be for ever the smouldering centre of enmities. We ought here to take the solemn engagement that France and Italy, united with England, have the duty to persist in these beginnings of Mediterranean concord, which are destined to give new splendor to civilization and to traffic new force. France and Italy and England hold like property in the Mediterranean, each with fullest independence occupying herself with the part which interests her in this sea of fate. To this living truth we have given today consciousness more substantial by our conference. Besides the Economic Entente, our international committee shall keep watch assiduously and strike without pity those who try to renew those Mediterranean dissensions which have always spoiled everything. We shall meet again in Paris, we shall meet again in Brussels freed."

In the great days of Transcendentalism, Alcott, who was mainly a talker, defended himself. "Let an idea loose and it will take care of itself!" The Federal idea—United States—had been a care to so many in the past that it was all but given over. Perhaps henceforth it, too, will take care of itself, having been let loose anew by the logic of events.

European peoples are being prepared for it and for the common-sense union of classes which is needed beforehand. Soldier laborers have discovered that their *bourgeois* officer is a *chic type*—and he that they are worthy comrades. French soldiers and British soldiers, since they have been dying together, have learned that they like each other living. Kitchener combines policies with Joffre and Joffre talks momentously with Cadorna. When war is over, public opinion among all these allied peoples will be ready-made to keep on together.

United we stand, divided we fall—

I remember seeing this copybook line embroidered on a prize counterpane at some country fair during our Civil War. It was commonplace and it served a better turn

\*See also my letter to the *Nation* of January 7, 1915.