

hundred and ten words to the minute without slurring a syllable. She drew up breathing as lightly as when she began. The stenographers finished neck and neck with her but they knew they had been in a race. A pretty match would be between Mrs. Olesen and Doctor Vincent, who used to be the president of the University of Minnesota. He also has the gift of rapid articulation.

Of the other minnesingers there is not much to be said even by the most conscientious of reporters. Of Champ Clark one got the impression that he is through; that he is tired of it all, and ready to call it a day's work. He has never been the same man since the Baltimore convention when he came so close to the great prize. I sat near him during the early part of the evening. His face was set like a mask of destiny, or fate. Only once did he cut his eyes up at Mr. J. Bruce Kremer, of Montana, who

presided at one of the dinners, but I do not know whether the light in his eye was one of amusement or envy. Mr. Kremer is a young man, and he has that sort of crinkly crêpe-de-chine hair that William Faversham had. He is a gifted talker in a party of gifted talkers, and more will be heard of him. As for the others, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Underwood, Mr. Josephus Daniels, Mr. Atlee Pomerene, Senator Owen, Senator Hitchcock, Governor Cox, they came and displayed their wares as arranged, but there were no purchasers and probably will be none until Mr. Bryan indicates a choice.

Everybody went away home in the early morning with the one clear impression that the Peerless Leader was as fit as a fiddle and oh, so interested in the future of the Democratic party and its choice of a candidate. They all knew, too, what that meant.

EDWARD G. LOWRY.

## After the Strike

**T**HE strike has gone, but some things stay. One of them is the Roman Catholic Church.

The strike was a strike so much by Catholics that it could almost be called, in personnel, a Catholic strike.

Certain priests in the Pittsburgh district preached famously against it. If they were not famous before, they became famous then. Some other priests were quite different. I remember hearing one of them say:

"The trouble with us is we ought to strike better. Of course the men are doing their best. In my congregation only three men have gone back to work. The rest are all sticking after being out ten weeks. But it's too slow. We ought to be organized better. This American Federation of Labor way is no good. Twenty-four unions are too much. I never saw an I. W. W., but from what I've read of them I'll say that one of their ideas is right. We ought to have just one union—one big industrial union—just one."

This priest, rather clearly, was more or less for the strike, as well as more for a strike with a swifter punch. He did not become famous. Incidentally, however, it is to be noted that he did not become infamous. He had his collar on.

The Roman Catholic clerical collar seems to be just about the one almost sure-fire license to say what you think in this moment of intellectual terrorism. Newspapers which fall upon the wearer of any other sort of collar and prove him a prodigy

of evil if he suggests any really structural change in existing capitalism were perfectly silent and did not gnash one single tooth when the Bishops of the Administrative Committee of the National Catholic War Council suggested formally and with much circumstance that it would be very well if gradually we should get some industries owned and managed by the workers themselves.

I do not begrudge the Roman Catholic clergy their apparent immunity from being Bolsheviks no matter what they think. I only wish that the priests of my own part of the Church, whose collars after all are clerically just as good, and whose credentials I naturally believe to be apostolically just as good, would go and get the rest of the license from wherever it is got.

By virtue of it my Roman Catholic priest who talked about One Big Union escaped all infamy in the newspapers. He also, by virtue of being in favor of the strike, escaped all notoriety of any kind. The newspapers of his town did not quote him. He remained unrebuked and also unnoticed. He was so unnoticed that even the strike-leaders had never heard of him. Yet he was an extremely important part of the strike in his town. His people came to him constantly to ask him what to do next.

I remember hearing another priest say:

"What we need is shorter strikes and more of them. Send the men back. Let them earn some money. Then call them out for a month. Then let them go back. Then call them out again. And

keep it up, back to the mills and out on strike, till Mr. Gary gets some Christianity into him."

I saw even Protestant strikers going to this priest's church to hear him preach for the strike. "It's pitiful," he said, "to see them trying to cross themselves." As for his own Catholic strikers, they were always at the doors of his parish-house for counsel.

The fact is that the priests who rose in such fame to save their parishioners from the strike and Old Nick Lenin were altogether negligible in comparison with the priests who simply quietly accepted the strike or else industriously and fervently supported it. The fact is further that not by one pastoral letter did the episcopacy condemn the strike. The Church as a Church, unlike the Steel Corporation as a Steel Corporation, did not see in this strike a grave danger to Christian morals. And the fact is finally that the Church's own declared Catholic principles are a continuing nursery for the next strike.

Those principles, as declared by the Bishops of the National Catholic War Council, began to be much on the lips of Catholics even in this strike. There was an occasion, for instance, when a sermon by a priest against the strike was brought to the desk of another priest for answer. The fact of the sermon was notorious, but the answering priest was bland.

"Ah, my friends," said he, "this is terrible. Let me read to you out of the Bishops' 'Social Reconstruction Program.' You see that these Bishops are for collective bargaining; and then, beyond collective bargaining, they are for greater representation of Labor in the industrial part of business management; and then, beyond representation in management, they are for working toward an effort to have some industries in which the workers themselves will be the owners. And the rest of the hierarchy has never said one word against these bishops and their program. So you can see for yourselves! You've made a terrible mistake. This sermon was written by some Protestant with a name just like the father's. You must go and apologize to him. And now just remember for yourselves. This strike is so far within the Catholic Social Reconstruction Program and so far short of its full spirit that I'm almost ashamed of it."

The bishop who headed the Administrative Committee of the National Catholic War Council is now heading the Department of Social Action in the re-organized National Catholic Welfare Council. He is Bishop Muldoon of Rockford. His Department will address itself continuously to the issues between Labor and Capital. And his special technical adviser will be Father Ryan, of the Catholic Uni-

versity at Washington, who is certainly a most special technical authority on those issues, and who did not fail to follow them in the steel strike.

He thought that the strikers ought to have heeded President Wilson and ought not to have struck in advance of the meeting of the Industrial Conference last October; but he also thought, in the Catholic Charities Review, editorially, that the "insidious propaganda" in the steel strike—and in the coal strike—was a propaganda for taking "the unrest and agitation of Labor" and for taking "the insignificant revolutionary varieties of unionism" and for "playing them up as a deep and wide conspiracy against our institutions" in order that the propagandists might so be able to execute their purpose of "discrediting all unionism," including "conservative unionism"—a "diabolical purpose," says Father Ryan—and a purpose which "by many indications" seems to have been "deliberately fostered by the bourbon elements among the employing classes."

Now Father Ryan has written more arguments against Socialism, I suppose, than almost anybody else in America; and as for Bishop Muldoon, I have never met a man more averse to wreck and ruin and more inclined and determined toward stability in the world. But Bishop Muldoon is determined also, or therefore, toward actively spreading the principles of the Social Reconstruction Program before the eyes of priests and laymen; and so is Father Ryan.

I now make my little journalistic guess that millions of Catholics (members of a religion which has a great knack of scattering its services through all hours of the day and night and of scattering its feasts and fasts and commemorations through all the days of the year and of constantly interfering with one's diet and sleep) will increasingly know, with a week-day knowledge, the saving essence of the indubitable tradition of historic Catholic Christian economics.

The Catholics in steel mills will increasingly know it. They will know it better this year than last. They will know it better next year than this. Year by year, month by month, of its own motion among them when not by instruction, they will know it better and better. And no matter how successful the United States Steel Corporation may be in abolishing the civil liberties of the state of Pennsylvania, it will have more difficulty abolishing the Roman Catholic Church.

And, besides, it would be sorry if it did abolish it. There are several things besides the Roman Catholic Church which have survived the strike. There is, for instance, the I. W. W.

The I. W. W., in addition to having a certain

idea about organization (an idea which moderate people can easily hold), has also certain other ideas which are quite well-known to afford great difficulty to moderate people, but especially to owners of industrial enterprises, including mills. In western Pennsylvania, during the strike, certain I. W. W.s issued a real I. W. W. manifesto. It attacked the strike. It warned the strikers not to trust the American Federation of Labor. The American Federation of Labor would fail. Then the I. W. W. would show them how to go at the United States Steel Corporation.

Well, the American Federation of Labor can hardly claim that it won. There is a vacancy. Several I. W. W.s will hasten into it. They will endeavor to hasten into it in many places. They will mean more vigils for Mr. Gary, more detectives, more reports of detectives, more mystification in mill-offices caused by reading the reports of detectives, and the growth in some mill-workers' cottages of a spirit much fiercer than the spirit of the last strike.

And then there is the organization called the United Mine Workers. It is an earnest organization, and disciplined; and much of it lives quite adjacent to steel-mills and is greatly interested in organizing steel-mills, because non-union steel-mills are seen owning non-union mines and in order to organize the mines one should organize the mills. I noticed that the United Mine Workers had their organizers very numerous present in this last strike in the mills; and I heard miners a hundred miles from any mill say: "Now! I'll tell you what we ought to do. We ought to take all the money that Judge Anderson has saved for us in the treasury of the union and spend it on the steel strike."

The union of the mine-workers can be regarded as a country lying on the flank of the country of the steel-owners and ready to give considerable support to any internal rising against those owners at any time.

And then, again, in Pennsylvania, in the capital state of the steel-owners, there is the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor and Mr. James H. Maurer, its president. They are not so placid as they might be if they liked a government in Pennsylvania by one class and by the class that now governs.

They are not placid at all. They are imitative. Seeing that they live under a class-government which has turned even free speech into the exclusive private property of the members and supporters of its own class, the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor and Mr. Maurer are well on their way toward having a political class-organization for Labor likewise. They have been taking a refer-

endum, local union by local union, man by man, on the Labor party, Yes or No. I learn that up to date 106,166 unionists have now voted in this referendum. Only 324 of them have gone No. All the rest have gone Yes.

Now it is going to be difficult for the United States Steel Corporation to prevent the Labor party from soliciting votes in steel towns. And it is going to be difficult to prevent a steel-worker who has joined the Labor party from wanting to join a union. The Labor party of Pennsylvania will be a hostile province within the country of the steel-owners and at the very ears of its subjects.

And there is still the American Federation of Labor, and its committee for organizing the steel-workers, and the new chairman of that committee, Mr. Brown. Mr. Foster retires, and he is succeeded by a man who struck me as being no better than Mr. Foster in notions about the life and end of man.

I am confirmed in my view of him by an answer I hear he made to a difficulty which was brought up before a committee—a committee, I think, of the Inter-Church World Movement. This difficulty was keenly felt by the mill managers. An eight-hour day would not suffice for the production of all the steel the country was demanding. Mr. Brown reflected and said: "Then we shall have to use some wood."

This man would cut down our production of steel on behalf of the physical and mental health of steel-workers. He will be laboring in steel districts, along with his committee and his committee's agents.

Above all, though, there will be the fear and hate in the hearts of steel-workers for the absolutism of mill-foremen and mill-superintendents. I shall never forget the scream of mockery of laughter that followed a certain narrative glancing at foremen in a mass-meeting of strikers at Johnstown.

The owners of the business of Johnstown had forced certain strike-leaders to leave town not on any charge whatsoever of violence or other illegality but on the specific charge of being "outside agitators." They had then imported on their own account a certain minister from New England named Campbell. This Mr. Campbell was introduced to Johnstown by the "Johnstown Leader" as "the noted traveler and reasoner." In the "Johnstown Leader" he reasoned from point to point as follows:

"All strikes have been broken up by non-union men. We are, I wish to emphasize it, a God-fearing country."

I therefore came near crediting the narrative I



heard about him at the mass-meeting. A striker rose and said that at a certain hall he had heard Mr. Campbell say:

"The only place where your wages can be raised is the mill. Go back to the mill with a heart full of love for your foreman."

The laughter that followed, the quality of it, the toothed edge of it, was plentifully instructive. And I heard that laughter again whenever the "company union," belonging to the steel plant in Johnstown, was mentioned.

The men thought of it as belonging to the plant. The motion of their thinking was in the depths of changeless instincts. The company union was made by or in or around the plant. The plant was not theirs. They had no control of ownership in the plant. Their instinct of ownership recoiled away from the plant to the possession of some working organization elsewhere surely theirs, theirs surely and wholly.

Now the Cambria Steel Company is victorious. Now the United States Steel Corporation is victorious. Now amid fear, hate, I. W. W. organizers, A. F. of L. organizers, United Mine Workers looking and waiting, members of the Labor party walking to and fro, Catholics filling the mills, and Catholic economic principles filling the air, the United States Steel Corporation goes forward on its historic mission of trying to keep this half-union country half non-union.

There is only one certainty in that mission—trouble.

In the hour of trouble the Roman Catholic Church will again lay her hand on the hands of the faithful. The strikers in this last strike had hands tempted by every human device to every human response. These strikers were Catholics, practicing Catholics; and for being foreigners, and degraded, and vicious, and savages, they were reviled and spat upon by the world and scourged in blood by the authorities. Bullied, provocatively and bloodily bullied, on peaceful streets and in the cells of jails, they made their response. I think the Roman Catholic priests of Pennsylvania, on behalf of their parishioners, ought to ask the authorities of Pennsylvania to issue just one more statement:

A list of names and addresses of all strikers actually judicially tried for actual violence and actually judicially convicted.

It will be enough. I entertain the superstitious belief that no mass of men will ever come so close to the counsel "Resist not evil" without the presence of the author of that counsel. The Roman Catholic priests preached Him. They preached Him. They preached peace on earth. They preached peace to the hands of men, and I hope

they were right in preaching "Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord."

But in the hour of the trouble to come I will say with lay lips that the Church will do something more, and will already have done something more, if her duty is done, than to preach peace. She will have preached that the doctrine of the United States Steel Corporation is monopoly and absolutism and that the doctrine of the religion of God is the access of man to the earth and access to it in competent freedom by whatever institutions at any time are necessary to secure that access and to establish that freedom, individualist or collective, in the collectivity of the following of Jesus Christ. The final Christianizing of Christendom is the making of institutions which by an act of faith presume and bring it about that Christendom is Christian. If the preaching of that faith, if the preaching of the doctrine that mankind can today regain access to the earth only through representatives of its own very choosing, if such preaching, if the declaring by bishops of the bishops' doctrine of collective bargaining is resisted, is refused, then those who refuse and resist are those who in the eye of eternity declare the war. The trouble is theirs. They are of those who live on this earth to verify Jesus Christ's knowledge of men and knowledge of his own teachings when, besides bringing peace, he said: "I came not to bring peace but a sword."

WILLIAM HARD.

## Carvings of Cathay

All the world was near today . . .  
The waves were carvings of Cathay  
Thrown and broken at my feet,  
And these old desert-sands were sweet  
With dead pagodas, buried tiles  
And ocean-grass for miles and miles.

Every little tuft of green  
Was a brush-stroke on a screen,  
Mounds and dunes made a redoubt  
For keeping all the Tartars out,  
And a temple-cloud was dim  
On the sea's imperial rim.

This, the ocean I was on,  
Confucius witnessed from T'ai-Shan,  
The knees of Buddha made the sign  
Of calm that I composed with mine,  
And as many as the sands  
Were Kwan-Yin's mercies and her hands.

I could hear a dragon-whelp  
Mewing in a maze of kelp,  
Gulls, with turnings, flashes, flares,  
Filled the wind like paper prayers,  
And capping me, like Him, from sun,  
The snails of thought crawled, one by one.

WITTER BYNNER.