

Workers' Breadnought

FOR GOING TO THE ROOT.

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WEEKLY

LINES FROM "MASSES AND MEN."

By Ernst Toller.

Group of young working men:

We waste ourselves with words of hate and
fury.
The masters build their palaces, while our
brothers
Rot in the trenches.
Meadows and dancing colours, play,
Blossom about us—in our nights
We read of it and howl to heaven
A craving lives in us for knowledge . . .
But when they took the best of life
It turned to evil. . . .
Sometimes we touch it in the theatres,
So tender and so fine, it mocks
Us with its beauty.
They have destroyed our youth in schools,
Our souls are broken and our lives
Shout want—raw want.
We are the steaming stench of want.
What else are we to-day?
We will not wait!

Group of farm labourers:

We have been hounded off our mother earth.
Rich masters buy the land
As they buy venal women;
Make sport of her—
Our blessed mother earth;
Thrust our rough arms
Into munition factories,
Where we, uprooted, wither.
Joyless towns break our strength.
We want the land!
The land for all!

The Masses in the Hall:

The land for all!

The Woman:

When I passed through the poor quarters,
Where grey drips
Through shingled roofs
And fungus grows on bedroom walls,
A sick man stuttered:
The street is better—almost better—
We live in sties, don't we? in sties!
His eyes were shy,
And I was shamed with him. . . .
But would you know the way, brothers,
The only remedy for us
Weak ones,
Who hate the cannons?
Strike! Not a hand's turn more!
To strike is action.

WAR.

War,
I abhor,
And yet how sweet
The sound along the marching street,
Of drum and life, and I forget,
Broken old mothers, and the whole
Dark butchering without a soul.

Without a soul—save this bright drunk
Of heady music, sweet as hell;
And even my peace-abiding feet,
Go marching with the marching feet,
For yonder goes the life,
And what care I for human life?
The tears fill my astonished eyes,
And my full heart is like to break;
And yet 'tis all embannered lies
A dream those drummers make.

O it is wickedness to clothe,
Yon hideous grinning thing that stalks,
Hidden in music, like a queen
That in a garden of glory walks,
Till good men love the thing they loathe.

ON FOREIGN POLICY.

By Sylvia Pankhurst.

Several readers ask whether there is any alternative to what is called a "British" foreign policy, and to the building up of a balance of power to counter that of France or any government which may seem to threaten the British Empire?

Our answer is: Yes; there is an alternative foreign policy which is the only policy for Socialists, Communists, Anarchists—all, whatever they call themselves, who oppose the capitalist system.

To gain a proper perspective view of the international situation it is essential to realise that the governments of all the powers are contending to secure the advantage. From this cause arose the Great War.

At the close of the Great War the Allied victors contended amongst themselves for the spoils of victory. Undoubtedly the British Government secured at the time the lion's share, in the German colonies, Palestine and Mesopotamia, with its oil. Undoubtedly, too, the British Government got the better of the French in the arrangements made shortly after in relation to oil and other concessions, both in French territory and other parts of the world.

Undoubtedly since that time the French Government has become more and more openly aggressive in its efforts for supremacy. The British Government has stolen a march in regard to oil. The French Government has retaliated by taking possession of the Ruhr coal. It reckes as little how the workers who dig Ruhr coal are affected, as the British cared for the natives of the German colonies.

The guileless pacifist, who is unconsciously affected by the prevailing propaganda of British policy, protests that one cannot compare the natives of African colonies with the workers of the Ruhr. That, however, is not the reason why British policy at once objected to the invasion of the Ruhr. The objection was based on the fear that France, by securing control of the Ruhr mines and iron and steel works, would become both militarily and industrially a greater force than Britain. British policy, perhaps, regretted the starvation of German people, but British policy did not shrink from imposing starvation during the blockade of Germany or Russia, and British policy was not deterred by such considerations of humanity when it invaded Soviet Russia, or when it provided the Czar with funds for a bloody coercion of his people after the 1905 Revolution, and the establishment of the first Duma.

There had been nothing to choose, morally speaking, between the policies of governments of the great powers, over a long period of years—each has been striving for supremacy—in wealth, in fighting strength, and in the possession of the machinery and raw material from which munitions of war may be produced. The powers have contracted alliances with other nations, not from friendship or the love of peace, but in order to add the strength and resources of their allies to their own strength

Art, thou hast many infamies,
But not an infamy like this;
O snap the life, and still the drum,
And show the monster as she is.

RICHARD LE GALLIENNE.

and resources, in case of war with the great power which they have regarded as their immediate rival. In order to crush Power A, Power B has united with Powers C, D, and E, whilst Powers F, G, and H have been called into alliance by Power A. Power A being crippled, Powers B and C have begun to fear each other. Power B then forms an alliance with Power A, which it lately fought, and all the other powers re-group themselves about the principle antagonists. Again and again repeated, that is the history of modern Europe.

Our correspondents, who still believe in the necessity for a national policy, will go thus far with us. They will agree that the whole mad rivalry for power is an ignoble thing; but they protest that one must take the world as one finds it: "What is one to do?" Living within the jurisdiction of Power B, they worked for peace by negotiation with Power A, protesting with earnestness that they were, nevertheless, as patriotic as any, and were anxious their own country should thereby lose no advantages. They devoutly prayed that should there be a fight to a finish, the victory must, by all means, fall to their own Power B. Now that Power A is vanquished, and Power C emerges as a rival, whilst anxious to maintain the peace, they are determined that Power C shall secure no advantages which might threaten the superiority of Power B. They are eager to heal Power A from its war disasters, both from motives of humanity—and also that it may prove a useful bulwark against the aggressive tendencies of Power C. Their desire to check the growth of Power C they declare to be entirely altruistic. Power B has secured by aggression an Empire on which the sun never sets, and the rulership of the seas. Our pacifist correspondents desire their own Power B to retain these advantages, both in order to assure its national prosperity, and in order that it may have the power of the big stick to prevent the other governments behaving naughtily to each other.

Our pacifist correspondents are aware that the big stick is not an ethical weapon, but they urge that if Power B does not wield it mightily, Power C will snatch it. They reflect that though equality may be best of all, if one Power is to be strongest it were best that it should be the Power within whose borders they happen to reside.

This is why the Socialist Parties of the world supported the late war.

"No," protest our pacifist correspondents; "this case is different! The pretext for British participation in the last war was the invasion of Belgium and the desire of Germany to rule the world. We know that Belgium was never neutral, and that the German Government was no worse than the French; whilst the British was not guiltless. We believe that the late war could have been avoided, or at least ended, by negotiation. Consider," they urge, "the invasion of the Ruhr, and the suffering of the German people; consider the way in which France is subsidising the armies of Poland and other States and the military alliances she is making. We cannot be expected to stand by and see the French Government make itself the military dictator of the world." Moreover, they ask: "What would you have us do? What is your policy?"

Our policy is to stand altogether aloof from capitalist patriotism. So far from approving the maintenance of armies and navies to protect the Empire, we say: Let the Empire be

openly befriended the reformers, and his mother, Louise of Savoy, had shown similar tendencies. When, however, Francis was defeated and taken prisoner by the forces of Charles at the Battle of Pavia, Louise, acting as regent, endeavoured to gain the Pope's support, by attacking the reformers. The Paris University, the Sorbonne and the Parlement were pillars of reaction, and alike opposed to the Protestants. Louise now asked the Sorbonne for advice "how to eradicate Luther's damnable doctrine from their very Christian land." Decrees were issued prohibiting the printing or owning of the Bible in France. A young man accused of heresy had his tongue pierced and was strangled. His body was burned in the *Place Maubert*. A Lutheran, who said there was no advantage in praying for the dead, sprinkling holy water or worshipping images, narrowly escaped death and was sent to prison on bread and water for seven years. A deacon accused of heresy was burned alive in the *Place de Grève*. In 1527 a clerk was buried alive in the same square for blasphemy. In December of that year a boatman was burned there also for Lutheran heresy. A friend of Erasmus, who had translated the *Enchiridion* into French, was strangled and burnt. In 1534 three hundred persons were arrested, and there were many hangings and burnings in public squares. Men were suspended over fires and burnt alive whilst the populace looked on. There were processions of expiation, in which Francis I. walked bare-headed, carrying a wax taper and accompanied by Church dignitaries and nobles. The hangings and burnings continued till Francis found it necessary to come to an understanding with the German Protestants and the Pope, Paul III., thought it advisable that the terror should be stopped. Religious zeal against the heretics then conveniently abated.

Loyola approved these atrocities, and had nothing to say against the ambitions of their unscrupulous perpetrators. He interceded with the Apostolic See to get the fearful Inquisition set up in Portugal to please King John of Portugal.

The inconsistency of the founder of the Jesuits is plainly instanced by his attitude towards begging. He lived for many years by it himself, and, indeed, was ostentatious in his parade of begging his food to show his poverty. He criticised the "Teatini," an order of monks, founded shortly before his own, because they were not allowed to beg for food, but had to wait till it was given them.

Nevertheless, on returning to his native place in 1535, he procured the passage of an ordinance to punish begging. He boasted of this in his memoirs. The ordinance provided that the sheriffs and other officers should choose two citizens, one a cleric, the other a layman, to collect alms for the poor. These alms they should distribute amongst the poor "according to their needs and qualities." Only those poor who had been investigated and listed as unable to work should be entitled to alms. No alms were to be given to mendicants from outside the jurisdiction except those who were unable to work, or who were on a pilgrimage, and even such as these might only be harboured one night in the city.

"No alms gatherers or solicitors from any hospital, house, or Church, whether in this province or out of it, shall dare to ask any alms, whether from door to door or in any other manner."

Breach of the ordinance was to be punished in the case of the beggar by imprisonment and strokes of the cat; in the case of the donor by fines. Directors of hospitals, who admitted into their hospitals beggars from outside the jurisdiction or persons capable of working, were to be imprisoned and fined.

Strange regulations these from a man who was supposed to be living by door to door begging at the time!

Loyola is supposed to have walked from his native place to Venice, where he lived a year, waiting the arrival of the nine disciples he had enrolled in his new order. Meanwhile, he studied at the University, and prayed at the

bedside of incurables. Isabel Roser, who frequently befriended him, provided the means for his support. In the following spring the Jesuits went to Rome, and procured the consent of the Pope to the charter of their order, which most particularly expressed its allegiance to the Pope, "The Roman Pontiff" and "Vicar of Christ." The Pope, Paul III., fresh from subduing riots caused by his own salt taxes, expressed his approval on September 3rd, 1539, and about a year later a "bull of confirmation" was issued.

The Society of Jesus pledged its members to unquestioning obedience to the Pope, and also to its General, whom they were to "acknowledge and reverence" as though he were Christ, "present in person."

Loyola it was who drew up this provision, of course, intending that he would be the General of the order. Later on, after he had become the General, he drew up the constitution of the order. It was here stated that the members must obey the Superior in everything on the mere indication of his will, and that they must "think as the Superior thinks," and believe what he ordains is right, "laying aside, in blind obedience, their own opinions."

After the Pope had approved the order of Jesuits he appointed its members to teach the boys of Rome. The teaching can hardly have had other than bad results, the doctrines of the Society and its founder being so morbid and terrible. Loyola was excessively jealous of his authority, and fierce in his punishments. He advocated flagellation and fasting and mortification of the flesh for young people. He liked to see them neglectful, even dirty in person, regarding this as proper to the young. A youth who found it distasteful to work in the dirty kitchen of the monastery rolled himself in filth, in the hope of overcoming his repugnance to dirt, and in this state returned to his labours in the kitchen. Loyola commended his act.

Father Rodriguez, one of the first members of the order, when journeying with his companions, was offered a bed in which the sheets were dirty and spotted with blood. He went to another hostel in disgust, and afterwards blamed himself because he had not accepted a dirty bed as an exercise in humility. Soon after he was offered sheets which, he was told, had been placed under the dead body of a man who had died of the "lousy disease." He eagerly accepted these sheets, because he saw great lice upon them, and hoped, by suffering the vermin to bite him, he would atone for his previous pride. The lice, it is recorded, did their part in punishing him for his previous pride.

If this is not true, it has been set down as true by the Jesuit chroniclers.

Later on the same Rodriguez became head of the Jesuit Mission in Portugal. It is not surprising to learn that, under his influence, such excesses were committed in the Jesuit College there, that responsible persons protested. For an exhibition of humiliation, to which they had not been ordered by Rodriguez, two students were boycotted by his command, no one being permitted to speak to them. To placate Rodriguez, one of them entered the refectory bare foot, his hands tied and a cord round his neck, to which his tongue was tied between two sticks. The other delinquent came in stripped to the waist, a rope round his neck, and a scourge in hand. These acts of penitence were unacceptable to Rodriguez, because they had not received his permission.

Another lad, whom Rodriguez had refused admission to the college, overcame the denial, by walking through the streets, carrying a skull, and asking the crowd of boys which followed to kick him and throw stones at him. One of the students went through the streets, ringing a bell and shouting: "Hell for all those who are in mortal sin!" Another went out half naked, and tying himself to a pillar in the town, stood there some time, crying: "O Lord Jesus, who for our sins wast tied to a pillar in Pilate's house, forgive the sins of this city!"

Though it was clear that Rodriguez was

causing trouble in Portugal, Loyola retained him there for some time, because Rodriguez had become a favourite of the King.

Some curious incidents are recorded of the visit of the Jesuit fathers to Ireland, in 1542. Henry VIII. was then endeavouring to secure his own recognition as the temporal and spiritual head of Ireland and to stamp out Roman Catholicism there. The three strongest Irish princes had been summoned to Dublin to pledge their allegiance to Henry, and two of them had already obeyed. The mission of the Jesuits was to establish peace between the princes of Ireland, in order that they might unite against Henry. They reported their failure, declaring the disease of internal feud to be incurable.

Whilst in Ireland the Jesuits granted pardons for bastardy and incest, of which they wrote there was "a vast amount." They explained the matter thus:

"Many of these pardons we gave gratis for love of God. From a few we collected some money, but not much, because the country is incredibly poor and we did not wish to get their money, but to lift them out of sin; for, pardon or no pardon, they would go on doing the same way till the day of their deaths, as ample experience testifies. But all the money collected we gave away publicly to the poor or to some pious charities, to the great astonishment and edification of the bishops who saw it, and of others who heard of it."

The italics are ours. It is interesting to observe that the Jesuits assumed incest to be harmless, once they had given a pardon for it.

Humanity has travelled some little distance in enlightenment since the sixteenth century; but the Churches are still playing their part in fostering superstition. The following passages from Bishop William Montgomery Brown's "Christianism or Communism?" form a fitting conclusion to this review:

"Knowledge is the Christ of the World. The saviour-gods of the supernaturalistic interpretations of religion are symbols of this one.

"Ignorance is the devil of the world. The destroyer-gods of the supernaturalistic interpretations of religion are symbols of this one.

"Knowledge consists in knowing facts and truths. Every real fact or truth is a word of the only gospel which the world possesses.

"The desire and effort to learn facts, interpret and live them constitute morality."

SPICE.

HERRIN AGAIN.

Do not imagine that the Ku Klux Klan war in Williamstown County, Illinois, U.S.A., is about Prohibition. It is a continuation of the bitter Labour struggle which has been going on between the miners and the employing class there for a long time.

FOR EXCESSIVE BRUTALITY.

To Sir John Butcher, a peerage.

THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Mr. Baldwin has created five more Privy Councillors. On reflection, what a terrible body the Privy Council must be!

LORD CHELMSFORD.

Mr. Maxton, M.P., believes that Lord Chelmsford was taken into the Labour (7) Cabinet because "the Sea Lords put down their foot."

COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT Meetings.

Sundays, 3 p.m., Hyde Park. N. Smyth and others.

Sunday, March 2nd. 7.30 p.m. Hamilton Hall, 375, High Road, Willesden Green. Sylvia Pankhurst and others.

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