

ITALY DESPITE HER REVERSE HAS DONE WONDERS IN WAR

Casper Whitney Exhaustively Summarizes Situation in that Kingdom—Country has to Contend with Anarchists and Pacifists at Home and with Insidious Teutonic Disseminators of False Socialistic and Pacifist Doctrines Calculated to Weaken Morale of Army—What Italy and Her Gallant Men and Women are Doing for Freedom's Cause.

Special to N. Y. Tribune and St. John Standard.
(By Casper Whitney.)

Paris, April 16.—Because ignorant peasant boys, the victims of Italian pacifists and German propaganda, were tricked by Austrian Socialists at Caporetto and a disastrous break in the Italian line resulted, it is asked with implied distrust in her bona fides and future integrity: "What has Italy done in this war?"

Well, in the face of the great and pressing problems I have recounted and despite the opposition of the strongest elements in her political, social and religious life, she came in at a time when her decision meant much to the Allied cause and she has stayed in notwithstanding a reverse calculated to break her spirit and drain her last ounce of resistance. Her troops sent up into mountains, fighting their way out of valley after valley into one waterless top after another, over an exhausting and hazardous campaigning country as an offensive was ever made on, building splendid roads and lines of aerial cable transports for munitions and establishing a line of communication through terrain suited to the explorer rather than the soldier.

A Difficult Line.

Here she maintained by far the most difficult line of all the Allies, resisting insidious influences behind the line which sought to destroy her morale, and keeping well occupied a million, more or less, Austrians, who otherwise would have swelled the Hun host against the Allies on the west front.

This is recited not to exalt Italy's horn, for what she did was no more than her duty and interest to do, but merely to show that her part in the war game which has cost her about half a million killed, required skill, courage, endurance, and that none of these qualities has she lacked.

The calamity of Caporetto has weighed heavily and somewhat unjustly upon her. True in part, it was a disgraceful debacle and called for courage, endurance, and that none of these qualities has she lacked.

Italy Regains Poise

Units of the splendid body have failed their comrades in other armies before and since Caporetto, in this and in other wars. Italy paid a top price for her misfortune, has regained her poise, and now merits and really needs evidences of faith in her virility and the moral support of her allies, especially America, to whom she is bound by ties of blood and labor and looks naturally for intelligent sympathy.

Italy has shown her mettle on the line, but her really great achievement has been behind the line in the successful combat with conflicting and embarrassing influences and in her remarkable industrial development.

The spirit of the new Italy shines in her unmanufactured expansion despite the obstacles of local unfrictionality and German taint; but it fairly radiates through the loosening grip of the clerical and the lessening of "official" or anarchistic Socialism.

No Anarchy.

Socialism of the anarchistic I. W. W. brand, which places self and individualism above property and nationalism in the war in Italy.

As in America, the most eloquent advocate of constructive socialism, Charles Edward Russell, abandoned its disloyal, discredited ranks on our entering the war, so in Italy another enlightened missionary of its broad principles, Leonida Bissolati, turned his back on his unpatriotic fellows to lead a new interventionist party or organized to fight for the war and Italy.

Bissolati, who is Minister of Penalties in Premier Orlando's cabinet, is a strong, honest, simple man of action, doing effective work to show his people how vital to their future is the defeat of Germany.

Many Socialists of the original party have followed him and organized as national or reformist Socialists, who are against the war.

During an interview in Rome I asked him why he, a Socialist, was for this war.

"Because this war is for my country and for freedom," he replied, without hesitation.

"But I thought you Socialists were internationalists and therefore patriots of no country. How can you reconcile patriotism and Socialism?" said I.

Defend Fatherland.

"I will put it on paper for you," replied Bissolati and turning to his desk he wrote in Italian what follows in literal translation:

"To understand the fundamental reason why Socialists, Reformists and Syndicalists of Italy decided to join the war it is enough to remember the 'Varaerts' answer to the Bolsheviks when they complained of having been deceived and crushed by Germany after accepting peace at Brest Litovsk and demobilizing their army. The Ger-

man Socialist answered the Russian Socialist:

"You are wrong in complaining. The fault for what happens is yours, because you have forgotten your first duty was to defend your fatherland."

"These words have a bloody irony for the Russian Socialist, but contain and reaffirm the reasons that justify the attitude of the Socialists of other countries who adhered to the war against the Central Powers."

"Socialism is for a reapproachment for the production and distribution of wealth. In the present historic period the tendency of every group or nation is to produce collectively and distribute equally. Therefore, between men and parties that express this tendency in various nations there is established an understanding determined by analogy, but such international understanding does not take from any national group the right of free independent development."

"Socialism instead demands that to the liberty and independence guaranteed the individual in the breast of every national group should correspond the liberty and independence of every group or nation in the breast of humanity."

"Therefore, it is wrong to think Socialists, just because they are Socialists, are short of the right to defend their country or are relaxed from their duty to their fatherland."

Betrayed Socialism.

"It is evident the European war was wanted and prepared by Germany, but the German Socialists who were united in assailing Europe to make it a German colony, really betrayed Socialism, which imposes the defense of one's own fatherland, but also respect for the fatherland of others."

"What was then the duty of the Socialists belonging to the nations attacked by Germany? To resist and fight. So some Italian Socialists have done, thereby accomplishing a duty towards their country and towards Socialism."

Bissolati is a sincere and patriotic figure in the Italy of today, but the refinement of the Socialist creed is not sufficiently clear to the world which judges the party by the speech and acts of that majority as we know its seditious, destructive efforts in America, as we see it through the catastrophic collapse of Russia, as we saw its hand at Caporetto, and view the reasonable activity still manifest in Italy among the official Socialists whose secretary and leader, Costantino Lazzari, has but recently been sentenced to jail for circulating anti-war propaganda.

No Anarchy Wanted.

Socialism must divorce itself from the anarchy of the I. W. W. and from that internationalism which defies human progress before it can assuage the suspicions of people now justly alert and make them believe in its sincerity or admit it to the body politic on level terms.

As socialistic influences in Italy weaken the war spirit grows, belatedly enough it must be confessed with a background of three years' fighting. The flame of the reorganization which blazed through the struggle for independence from Austria is rekindling as the people begin to realize that the present is a fight to escape humiliation even more dire and servitude double exacting.

This spirit is not literally sweeping the country and there are districts and cities which are lukewarm or even hostile to the war.

Or still, there is opposition. But the vision of what Italy stands to win or lose in this war is patriotic Italy, who are doing their utmost to bring the reality home to the unthinking mass not intellectually equipped to reach the truth and with no opinion other than that made ready for them.

Seeds of Disloyalty.

Of such fertile, unresisting soil the

pacifist and defeatist Socialists have taken full advantage, sowing the vicious, fecund seeds of disloyalty. After faltering timidly, except for Sonnino, who has always been clear and stout, the government is now committed to carry on to the limit of its power, vigorously backed by the strongest newspapers in Italy, namely, the "Corriere della Sera," "Liberal," and the "Secolo." Radical, both of Milan, and "Il Popolo Italia," National Socialist, of Turin, and by all the industrial centers where lie the present strength and future material for the country.

German Propaganda.

Turin, the home town of Giolitti, and the north of Italy, are the bases of the German propaganda. But Turin is neither the sole criterion nor a credit to the traditions of Piedmont, the cradle of the House of Savoy and resistance to the Austrians, whose soldiers were native to the soil, because the Royalists put their sons in the army while other foreign ruled Italian provinces resorted to mercenary troops.

Yet Piedmont has its quota of soldiers on the Italian front who, Irish-like, are among the best in the trenches. Turin, speaking in a practical business sense, is unique, being the one important manufacturing city not intelligent enough to recognize that the business life of Italy depends on her success in this war.

In a political sense, Turin is the slums of Piedmont, hence quite appropriately the headquarters of Giolitti. But even Turin is not hopeless. The untiring efforts of patriots are gradually reclaiming it; slowly, however, it must be said, for German money is showered generously upon the Socialists, among whom cupidity outweighs patriotism.

Must Push the War.

Nonetheless, Turin's leading men held a conference three weeks ago and afterwards made public a statement that "Italy, if she is to be free and prosperous, must push the war to a finish."

That such a sentiment should come out of Turin is a hopeful sign. The new spirit will dawn sluggishly, for we must remember that Piedmont is naturally cold. Along in sunny artistic Italy, she has given birth to no great artist, no great man whom at the moment I can recall, save Cavour, and his parental nativity is not certain.

From Lombardy to Sicily there is an artistic characteristic to each province, but none carries the Piedmont arms. Florence, of Tuscany, lives on art and tourists, and the former languishes now for the absence of the latter and she is short of corn and the fibre of her illustrious forebears.

Milan is for the war morning, noon, and night and Milan is Lombardy and as goes Lombardy so goes Italy.

Unhappy Venice.

Unhappy Venice, with her factories and shops closed under the bombs the Vandals have rained upon her historic, wonderful beauty, is sending away her unemployed to work inland, but keeps her valiant spirit at home.

Genoa has both patriotisms and the mightiest munition plant in Italy.

Turin turns out more munition than the remainder of the country combined. But Lombardy is progressive, industrial and has a fighting backbone, and Milan with her 700,000 people, represents despite her Socialist Mayor the new spirit of Italy in war as commerce as no other centre. Her citizens have given 18,000,000 lira to war relief, subscribed one sixth of the recent successfully floated national loan of 6,000,000,000 lira, and with Venice she has given birth to the only church of Rome pulpits I heard of from which war sermons are delivered.

Viva Italia!

The old gondolier who ferried me to my departing train at Venice exclaimed impressively as I left him at the landing: "Viva Italia! Viva America! Viva Italia Libera!" A peasant farmer I met in Padua, who had lost all he ever possessed in the get-away from Udine, where his home had been, only regretted his years which kept him out of the army, and he was strong for going on with the war until Austria was beaten. A porter in Verona, a water-carrier on Mount Grappa, a mule train driver on the Asiago, a road worker on the Brenta, a woman at Ala, fifteen kilometers inside the Austrian frontier—all chosen at random on my journeying—in one way or another expressed their hope for victory and a desire to be free of Austria.

Even in Rome, the great white way of Italy, where the surface frivolities appear to be shadowed by the thoughtless, spiritless Boche sword that hangs over their national head, the same sentiment was expressed by laundresses, vegetable hucksters, station porters, and waiters that I sounded.

Rome Generous.

And her in the midst of this clerical center, five hundred women workers in a soldiers' clothing factory contributed 250,000 lire to Italy's last war loan.

Naples, itself usually indifferent to questions not directly connected with daily existence, rose with enthusiasm to D'Annunzio's moving address at the commemoration of the liberator Garibaldi's sailing from Quarto for the conquest of Sicily, which resulted in the overthrow of Bourbon power in Italy, of which Naples had been the capital and strength.

Throughout all the north country, where burns the true fire of the war spirit, posters, reading the Austro-crimes and design call on the people to rally to their country's flag, while the leading newspapers bombard Socialism with the fatal example of its ruinous workings in Russia.

Philip Scheideemann.

The *Corriere della Sera* delivered recently a staggering blow by reproducing the speech of Philip Scheideemann,

leader of the German majority Socialist, made in Paris in 1912, when he exhorted the French not to support the military, declaring that there never would be a war, and if the demand came in Germany, he pledged himself and his followers to prevent it. Scheideemann's 1912 speech and his present intimate association with the German military government point indubitably to the utter trustworthiness of Socialist propaganda and the principles of internationalism which have never been respected in Germany or elsewhere.

Patriots are looking ahead with hope for at heart the Italian is liberty-loving, as his history suggests, and we of America know. The untutored peasant and the Clerical Socialist behind him are Italy's liability, in the liquidation of which she is making headway.

The industrial development is her stabilizing asset and guarantee of future solvency and potential affluence. Reckoning only those establishments concerned with war work, there were six months after Italy entered the war 124 under military control, employing about 113,000 hands. Two years later this number had increased to 1746 factories and 603,000 hands. To-day, including two thousand factories not fully

militarized and others under entire private ownership, there is a grand total of 4,000 establishments employing 800,000 people, of whom 150,000 are women and 50,000 are miners. And to feed the shops with expert workmen, training schools in Milan, Genoa, Turin, Rome, Naples, Messina, and Palermo, engaged mostly in tool making, last year delivered 2,000 licensed graduates.

These factories supply the army with war necessities from great guns to revolvers, from caps to shoes, from airplanes and motor trucks to piping and wire for the transmission of grifting water to the trenches beyond the roads and for telephones or aerial cable lines which carry supplies and ammunition to the otherwise all but inaccessible points of the mountain positions.

Here is capacity enough and to spare, but the shortage of iron and coal limits the output of projectiles and arms, especially heavy cannon, and makes a serious condition of which the Allies must take swift cognizance.

Another expansion of considerable importance, but in another direction, has been the growth of a small bolognese slaughter house into a packing plant which last year turned out one million

cans of beef and forty-five million of pork, some of which proved a great blessing to the army retreating from Caporetto.

Before the war Italy imported prismatic binoculars from Germany and automobile magneto from wherever they could be secured. Now she makes them at home. In all such factories, Italy has introduced a system of allowances to help cover the extra food cost, allowances to soldiers' families where the workers' living expenses have increased through being sent away from home insurance against accident and old age with a fund to which industrial firms must contribute.

That there have been no strikes is eloquent evidence of the fair treatment and congenial surroundings which have predisposed excellent discipline and healthful bodies.

Outside of the militarized industries, wages have increased but not proportionately with the cost of food, and allowances are general although the workman in Italy has not shared industrial prosperity to the extent which have his confreres in England and America, which is somewhat explained by the fact that Italy was just beginning to make a little money when the war came upon her, since when she has had practically no export

trade. But the manufacturers, speaking at least for the North, are progressive and mindful, ready to meet the demand and the desirability of improvement, because they believe in it, as they have already in many instances given evidence through co-operative supply stores, bathing, recreation and eating facilities.

The government itself is the workman's severest taskmaster through taxes, direct and indirect, as with the salt monopoly which absorbs about one-third of his normal earnings. All Italy, of course, is rationed and the government has wisely fixed the price of bread. Meanwhile, another of the people's main food staples, beans, has advanced five fold.

Italy offers immense industrial possibilities and great opportunities for American capital in financing and development, especially in harnessing the abundant water power, so much needed to free her dependence on coal, of which every ton must be imported. The trade which was firmly fixed in Germany's hands may be America's if her business men make an intelligent effort to get it, which means to reconstruct preconceived notions of Italian responsibility, come to the country and study its conditions and requirements and learn the language.

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BIBLE READING

Bishop Richardson World—Claims Readily be Tamed

His Lordship Bishop Richardson, of the Diocese of Fredericton, has sent the following communication to the Rev. J. L. Stewart, publisher of the Chatham Weekly Standard, regarding the school in the school:

My Dear Sir:—By the courtesy of your subscribers, I am privileged to read the leading article upon Religion in the School upon your issue of April 1st. In view of the fact that the school is a religious body, I refer to it as such. I recently took by the Diocese of Fredericton in regard to the school, you will find in my letter, to say a few words. If I do so, it is not with a view to enter into a newspaper controversy upon the subject, but in order to make a little more clear certain facts which you would appear to have overlooked.

I need not refer to any of your statements as to the present system of the school, that it is difficult to doubt the spirit of the compromise to refer, if indeed, not its actuality, by virtue of which certain privileges were granted to one religious body, has been disregarded. When, as you point out new schools are established, the claim advanced for them would seem to have been realized as readily as it has been advanced, that not only shall the system, but that the interest in the erection of new buildings shall be to the purpose of the school, one begins to understand how fully elastic in its interpretation compromise can be. But for me I am content to let the matter rest.

I must claim the privilege, of correcting you upon two important points. Your two powerful forces working our common school system, which desires separate schools, which its doctrines may be taught, whilst the other wants common schools objectionable to the people by having the read and expounded in the quite true that from the one is the expressed desire of the people, and even as was made quite clear by an statement upon the subject, pressed determination to so soon as circumstances change the law position. Sir, there has been no demand on the other side to have the expounded in the public schools, which is absolutely true. It might have been to ascertain the facts, such an assumption of the charge against the Catholic bodies. It is true, some two years ago a resolution, and not to be remained in the Church of England alone, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists all province—to have made a reading of selected passages of Scripture, together with the use of examination upon portions, but that was all to be no exposition.

The point is of considerable importance, for it makes quite a questionable fact that the memorial in question imposed no new disabilities on one. As the law stands at the present time, the teacher is at liberty to read the Scriptures and expound them, but he is at liberty to his own selection of passages. Under this provision, that I am right in saying, the greatest majority of school teachers are read with more than the introduction of the Bible, for that the Bible is a book of great extent is a fact, but to make a reading of the Bible and thus to place the Word least upon a like level of with the subjects of secular studies that are upon the curriculum, the judgment of the people in itself would have been it would at least tend to danger that under pressure does undoubtedly exist, in the child's mind, that the Bible is a book of great extent is a fact, but to make a reading of the Bible and thus to place the Word least upon a like level of with the subjects of secular studies that are upon the curriculum, the judgment of the people in itself would have been it would at least tend to danger that under pressure does undoubtedly exist, in the child's mind, that the Bible is a book of great extent is a fact, but to make a reading of the Bible and thus to place the Word least upon a like 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