

VAUGHAN IS BITTER ON SOCIALIST STATE

**Jesuit Father Assures Catholics
Massed in the Cathedral That
It Means Bondage.**

IT WOULD SLAY INITIATIVE

**Church, Too, is Against Evils of
Capitalism, but a Wide Gulf Yawns
Between It and Socialism.**

If St. Patrick's Cathedral was crowded on Sunday before last, when Father Bernard Vaughan talked on "Socialism and the Papacy," there is no word to describe the immensity of the congregation which gathered there yesterday morning to hear him take up the second of his four Lenten conferences on Socialism. Whether it was that the subject, "Socialism and the State," gave occasion for greater reference to the Socialist philosopher than to the Pope in Rome, or whether it was because the flood of anonymous letters poured on him during the last week served only to deepen and intensify his convictions, certain it was that in this second conference the English Jesuit gave freer expression to his scorn for Socialism.

"Why, my brothers," he cried, "the apotheosis of the State would lead you to suppose that the State is some God, or, at the very least, the ideal superman. Now, as a matter of fact, what is the State, I should like to know? When it is robbed of its war paint and stripped of its stage clothes, isn't it just a muddlesome, meddlesome group of public officials, a co-operative body of political office-holders with an axe to grind and a purse to fill, and whose motto might well be 'We are the State'? That is what I find it to be in England, and that is what the Germans find it to be in Germany. What you find it to be in this country is not for me to say, but I do say that many of you have come here to this land, this bright republic, that you might be freer where the State is less muddlesome and less meddlesome."

But before taking up the theme of the day Father Vaughan recapitulated the first of his conferences, in which he set forth the Pope's claim to at least a hearing in this struggle between classes by virtue of the Papacy's centuries of championship of the toiler and the downtrodden.

"There has some times been heard in this city the criticism that this is the church only of the working classes," said Father Vaughan. "Oh, my brothers, I should be very much inclined to suspect a church that was the church only of the leisure classes. It would be a very queer kind of a church, it seems to me, especially when the founder was glad to be regarded as the reputed son of a carpenter, and who was treated very shabbily by these same leisure classes. After the four mock trials it was the leisure classes that hung him up, so to speak, at the top of Fifth Avenue to make a show."

Father Vaughan said that at first sight there would seem to be much in common between Socialism and Catholicism. Both protested against the evils of modern capitalism, of fierce individualism, of iniquitous competition, and of colossal wealth in the hands of the few. But there was a yawning chasm between them. To begin with, they both held conflicting views about civil society and about the origin and destiny of man.

"Socialism is based on a materialistic theory of evolution. Socialism is a philosophy of human life, a theory of human progress that is born in materialism. Some Socialists, the idealist who is a Socialist, the Christian Socialist, will deny this, but I am speaking of the man in the street who is a Socialist, the dyed-in-the-guard Socialist, the Socialist off his guard. I judge it by its classics; I must judge it by the books displayed in its shop windows. I will not be misled by the kaleidoscope Socialism, the Socialism that is like an accordion. They pull it out, or they compress it, but it is all there; and I repeat that as a living, going concern, Socialism is not a mere economic principle, not a mere politico-economic principle, but a growth deeply rooted in a philosophy repudiated by every Christian man. True to its philosophic temper, Socialism wants to establish a State without reference to God. It has no use for God. Some may cry out, 'Nous avons changé tout cela,' but, my brothers, Socialism is founded on a philosophy which denies the existence of God."

Then he poured his scorn on "the old biological analogy, masquerading in the dress of a reality," for, he said, the communal life is as real to the Socialist "as the life of an organism built up of many living cells." He was led to characterize the arguments along this line as "quite pre-argument as twaddle."

"The being that persists, that develops, is society," he quoted from one Socialist writer. "The life upon which the individual draws that he himself may have life, liberty, and happiness is the social life."

He explained that the likeness between society and an organism like the human body was regarded as complete "in so far as society is the total life from which the separate cells draw their individual life." He summed up the whole Socialist position in the dictum, "Man is man only in society," which he did into other English as "The State is everything." Father Vaughan said those brave statements about the State reduced man to the position of a mere function, a cell, a muscle or nerve centre in the body politic, with no personality, initiative, or enterprise of his own.

"But 'a man is a man for a' that,'" he cried, and plunged into his dissection of the Socialist's State, pointing out first of all that this biological analogy was only an analogy, and no identity. Man was not made for the State, but the State for man. Man was prior both in nature and time to the State. It was his definite mission on earth to carry out the will of his God. Life here is preparatory for one to come, not the terminus, but the journey only; not the landing stage, but the outward voyage. Man is complete in himself, so that, even were he to find himself on a desert island, he would be a self-determining being, responsible to God.

"Such a Socialist State as they picture would be a very house of bondage, where a man would not be able to choose his own occupation, where he would not be able to employ labor nor to put by a bit for his old age or for his children, where he could not obey the injunction to multiply his talents. Oh, it is quite foolish to start a race where one of the rules of the game is that one must not outrun the others."

"Suppose, in this Socialist State, a man were injured by some State official. What redress would he have? All the lawyers would be State officials. All the dailies would be official newspapers, and his letters of protest would not be printed. He could turn only to that resort and privilege of the fool, knave, and ass—the anonymous letter."

"By the way, during the last week I have been pelted with anonymous letters. Let the writer who disagrees with me put his name to his opinion, so that we can know where we are. Is this your Socialism—that you are afraid of signing your own name? If there be any 'comrades' here to-day, I would have them believe that I am speaking from a sincere heart, that I am uttering my own."

As he closed, Father Vaughan said that there were two volumes which he would like to see in the hands of every Catholic American citizen, in one hand the encyclicals of Leo XIII., and in the other the Constitution of his country.

"With these two works to guide and uplift and to inspire you, you will become a power in the New World for the propagation of those principles of truth and liberty and justice before which Socialism with its all-absorbing State will vanish as the night before the day, as the darkness before the light of God."

After the sermon it was learned that the anonymous letters that have come to Father Vaughan in response to the first of his conferences have been rough in tone, but hardly threatening. They have assured him, in various tones, that he did not know what he was talking about, and some have advised him to depart from these shores with all dispatch.

The next conference will be "Socialism and the Family."