

## ROOSEVELT FLAYS POLICY IN MEXICO

Nation Made Responsible for  
Some of Worst Acts Ever  
Committed in War.

### AMERICANS ARE VICTIMS

Colonel Says "Futile, Insignificant  
War" Was "Peculiarly Unwise,  
Ignoble and Inefficient," but  
War, Nevertheless.

(Continued From First Page.)

war can only serve to amuse the type of intellect which would assert that Germany has not been at war with Belgium because Germany never declared war on Belgium.

Mr. Wilson's war only resulted in the sacrifice of a score of American lives and a hundred or two of the lives of Mexicans; it was also entirely purposeless; has served no good object; has achieved nothing, and has been abandoned by Mr. Wilson without obtaining the object because of which it was nominally entered into; it can therefore rightly be stigmatized as a peculiarly unwise, ignoble and inefficient war; but it is war nevertheless.

**United States "Guiltily Responsible."**  
This has been bad enough. But the general course of the administration toward Mexico has been worse and even more productive of wide and far-reaching harm. Here again, word-splitters may, if they desire, endeavor to show that the President did not "interfere" in Mexico; but if so they would be obliged to make a fine discrimination between interference and officious and mischievous intermeddling. Whether it is said that Mr. Wilson interfered in Mexico or merely that he meddled in Mexican affairs so as to produce much evil and no good and to make us responsible for the actions of a peculiarly lawless, ignorant and blood-thirsty faction, is of small importance.

The distinction is one merely of words. The simple fact is that thanks to Mr. Wilson's action—and at times his inaction has been the most effective and vicious form of action—this country has become partially (and guiltily) responsible for some of the worst acts ever committed even in the civil wars of Mexico.

**Maximum of Evil Accomplished.**  
When Mr. Wilson became President of the United States, Huerta was President of Mexico. On any theory of non-interference with the affairs of our neighbors, or any theory of avoiding war and of refusing to take sides with or become responsible for the deeds of blood-stained contending factions, Mr. Wilson's action was a clear duty. Mr. Wilson to accept Mr. Huerta as being President of Mexico. Unless Mr. Wilson was prepared to recognize the Mexican President and to establish some sort of protectorate over it, he had no more business in Mexico than a foreigner. Mr. Wilson's selection (which had occurred prior to Mr. Wilson's advent to power) that Mexico would have had to refuse to recognize him as President on the ground that it was not satisfied with his economic policy and moreover sympathized with Mr. Huerta's side of the conflict.

But Mr. Wilson made up his mind to interfere in Mexico—for, of course, the most trenchant type of interference was refusal to recognize the Mexican President—and yet should have notified foreign powers of his proposed action in order to prevent so far as possible his recognition by them. He interfered in this feeble fashion as to accomplish the maximum of evil to us and to other foreigners and the Mexicans. He hit; but he hit softly. Now, no one should ever hit if it can be avoided; but never should anyone be "soft."

**Americans Murdered and Robbed.**  
When Mr. Wilson refused to recognize Huerta, he committed a definite act of interference of the most pronounced type. At the same time he and Mr. Bryan looked on with folded arms and without a protest of any kind while American citizens were murdered or robbed or shot at on the streets in all parts of Mexico by the different acts of banditti who masqueraded as soldiers of the different factions. He maintained for a long time the Mexican President with one set of political adventurers through irregularly appointed diplomatic agents, and he adopted an openly offensive attitude toward the chief of another set, although he was then the de facto head of whatever government Mexico had. By his action in permitting the transmission of arms over the border, Mr. Wilson not only actively aided the insurrection, but undoubtedly furnished it with the means essential to its triumph, while at the same time his active interference prevented Huerta from organizing an effective resistance. His defenders allege that he could not properly have forbidden the transmission of arms to the revolutionaries across the border. The answer is that he did forbid it at intervals. He thereby showed that he was taking an active interest in the arming of the revolutionaries, that he permitted it when he chose to do so and stopped it intermittently whenever he thought it best to stop it, and was therefore entirely responsible for it.

**Local Issues Not Our Affair.**  
The nominal rights which the contending factions championed, and the actual and hideous wrongs done by all of them, were in no sense our affair save insofar as Americans and other foreigners were maltreated. We may individually sympathize, as, for instance, I personally do, with the general purpose of the programme for division of the lands among the Mexican cultivators announced by Carranza, Villa and other revolutionary leaders; but this no more justifies interference on our part than belief in the wisdom of the single tax for the United States by some foreign ruler would warrant his interference in the internal affairs of the United States. Moreover nothing in the career of Carranza and Villa or in the conduct of the Mexican people at present justifies us in any certainty that this programme will in any real sense be put into effect.

However, the interference took place. By the course President Wilson pursued toward Huerta and by the course he pursued toward Villa and Carranza, he actively interfered in the international affairs of Mexico. He actively aided with the factions which ultimately triumphed—and which immediately split into other factions which are now no less actively engaged in fighting one another. Personally, I do not think that the Administration should have interfered in this manner. But one thing is certain. When the Adminis-

LATE PHOTOGRAPH OF EX-PRESIDENT WHO ABRAIGNS  
WILSON ADMINISTRATION FOR MEXICAN POLICY.



—Photo by Underwood & Underwood.  
THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

tration did interfere, it was bound to accept the responsibility for its acts. It could not give any aid to the revolutionaries without accepting a corresponding share of responsibility for their deeds and misdeeds. It could not aid them because of their attitude on the land question without also assuming a corresponding share of responsibility for their attitude toward religion and toward the professors of religion.

**Country Is Made Responsible.**  
The United States would have had no responsibility whatever for what was done to the church by any faction which did not owe its triumph to action by the United States. But when the United States takes part in civil war in Mexico, as Messrs. Wilson and Bryan forced our Government to take part, this country has therefore made itself responsible for the frightful wrong-doing, for the terrible outrages committed by the victorious revolutionists on hundreds of the religious people of both sexes.

To avoid the chance of anything but willful misrepresentation, let me emphasize my position. I hold that it was not our affair to interfere one way or the other in the purely internal affairs of Mexico, so far as the affected only Mexican citizens; because if the time came when such interference was absolutely required it could only be justified if it was thorough-going and effective. Moreover, I hold that it was our clear duty to have interfered promptly and effectively on behalf of American citizens who were wronged, instead of behaving as Messrs. Wilson and Bryan actually did behave, as far as regards our disgrace as a Nation, they forced American citizens to claim and accept from British and German officials and officers the protection which our own government failed to give. But when we did interfere in Mexican internal affairs to aid one faction, we thereby made ourselves responsible for the rights of Americans or of other foreigners in Mexico. But they have interfered as between the Mexicans themselves in the interest of one faction with the result of placing that faction in power. They have therefore bound themselves to accept responsibility for the deeds and misdeeds of that faction.

**Wilson at Mobile Quoted.**  
Not long ago President Wilson, in a speech at Swarthmore, Pa., declared that "nowhere in this hemisphere can any government endure which is stained

by blood," and at Mobile that "we will never condone iniquity because it is most convenient to do so." At the very time he uttered those lofty words, the leaders and lieutenants of the faction which he was actively supporting were driving hundreds of peaceful people from their homes, were looting and defiling churches and treating ecclesiastics and religious women with every species of abominable infamy, from murder and rape down. In other words, at the very time that the President was stating that "nowhere on this hemisphere can any government endure which is stained by blood," he was actively engaged in helping install in power a government which was not only stained by blood but stained by much worse than blood. At the very time that he was announcing that he would "never condone iniquity because it was convenient to do so," he was not merely condoning but openly assisting iniquity and installing into power a set of men whose actions were those of ferocious barbarians.

**Two Women From Iowa Assassinated.**  
Remember that I am not engaged in defending the factional opponents of these victorious wrongdoers. There is no evidence sufficient to decide which of the many factions behaved worst. But there is ample material to decide that they all behaved atrociously. Apparently the Administration took the ground that inasmuch as Mr. Huerta and his followers were bad men, it was our duty to condone the evil committed by their opponents. Father B. J. Tierney, of New York City, an entirely responsible man, informs me that when (in company with two other gentlemen whose names he gives me) he called upon Mr. Bryan to bring to his attention the abominable outrages committed on certain nuns by the followers of Carranza and Villa, Mr. Bryan informed him that he had information that "the followers of Huerta had committed similar outrages on two American women from Iowa."

This sentence has been read to Father Tierney, who states that it describes the truth exactly.

The original of the affidavit hereinafter quoted is in the possession of Father Tierney, 59 East Eighty-third street, New York City, and he gives me the following by showing to me a reputable person. Apparently Mr. Bryan believed this disposed of the situation and relieved the revolutionaries of blame.

**Bryan Exacts No Retribution.**  
Surely, it ought not to be necessary to say that if the facts as thus stated to Mr. Bryan (and if there were any doubt immediate investigation as to their truth by the Government was demanded), then the way to get justice was not by treating one infamy as wiping out the other but by exacting the sternest retribution for both and effectively providing against the repetition of either. Even assuming for the moment that the attitude of the Administration had not so committed the Government that it was its duty to interfere on behalf of the nuns thus outraged, Mr. Bryan's statement to Father Tierney shows almost incredible callousness on his part to the most dreadful type of suffering, to acts far worse than the mere murder of any man. It seems literally impossible that any representative of the American Government in high office could fail to be stirred to his depths by such a story, or could have failed to insist on the immediate and condign punishment of the wrongdoers and on the amplest safeguarding against all possible repetition of the wrong. Apparently the only way in which it occurred to Mr. Bryan to take any action against the faction whose adherents had perpetrated these hideous wrongs on the two American women was by encouraging another faction which he must have known in advance and certainly did know after the event would commit and had committed wrongs equally hideous.

**Anti-Catholic Decree Cited.**  
I have before me a copy of El Heraldo de Toluca of September 12 last. It contains a manifesto on behalf of the victorious revolutionists of the party of Messrs. Carranza and Villa, dealing with the "conditions" under which the Roman worship will have to be practiced. (I translate into English.) Among the preambles is the following: "That the ministers of the Catholic worship circulate doctrines

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which are not in accordance with the principles of the true Christ; 2, that on account of the learning that these ministers have acquired they cannot in the minds of those who possess equal or greater learning (but who differ from them in opinion) pass as sincere believers in the doctrines they preach and that they thereby exploit the ignorance of the ignorant masses; 3, that inasmuch as this conduct harms people by frightening them with the fear of eternal punishment and thereby tends to make them subservient to the priesthood, and inasmuch as all kinds of people, from workmen to capitalists, give too much money to the churches, and because of various other or similar facts, the decree in question is promulgated.

This decree includes the forbidding "of any sermons which will encourage fanaticism," the proscribing of any fasts or similar practices; the prohibition of any money being paid for christenings, marriages or other religious ceremonies; the prohibition of the soliciting of contributions (that is, the passing of the plate); the prohibition of celebration of masses for the dead or the celebration of more than two masses a week; the prohibition of confession and with this object in view the closing of the churches excepting once a week, the hour of the mass; and, finally, the prohibition of more than one priest living in Toluca and the requirement that he when he walks in the streets, shall be dressed absolutely as a civilian without anything in his costume revealing the fact that he is a priest. The decree is limited to exercise the functions thus limited, the priest is required to affix his signature of acceptance to the foregoing regulations.

**Oppression of Church Ordered.**  
Now, in various South American countries there have been bitter contests between the Clericals and the anti-Clericals, and again and again the victory has been won by the anti-Clericals which in the eyes of sensible Americans of all religious creeds are intolerable. There are in our own country individuals who sincerely believe that the Masons or the Knights of Columbus, or the members of the Junior Order of American Mechanics, or the Catholic Church or the Methodist Church or the Ethical Culture Society represent what is all wrong. There are sincere men in the United States who are in order to be convinced their fellows belonging to one of the bodies above mentioned (and to any one of many others) that they are mistaken, either when they go to church or when they do not go to church, when they "preach sermons of a fanatic type" or "investigate against the behavior of the various secret societies or sit on the mourners' bench or practice confession. According to our ideas all men have an absolute right to exercise their sympathies, and above all, not the duty of the Government to help some other government which acts against these great principles; with which we sympathize. Messrs. Wilson and Bryan by their actions have assumed a certain undoubted responsibility for the behavior of the various faction in Mexico which has just taken the kind of stand indicated in the proclamation above quoted; a stand, of course hostile to every principle of real religious liberty, a stand which if applied logically would mean that no minister of any church could in public wear a high-crowned waistcoat or perhaps even a black frock-coat and which would put a stop even to such commonplace actions as the passing of the plate in any church to encourage home missions.

**Appalling Outrages Related.**  
But this attitude is only one of the offenses committed. Catholic schools almost everywhere in Mexico have been closed, institutions of learning sacked and libraries and astronomical and other machinery destroyed, the priests and nuns expelled by hundreds and some of the priests killed and some of the

nuns outraged. Archbishop Blenk, of New Orleans; Father Tierney, editor of America; Father Kelley, president of the Catholic Church Extension Society; Mr. Petry, one of the directors of the Catholic Church Extension Society, and a Mexican bishop whose name I do not give because it might involve him in trouble, came to see me at my house; and in Chicago I saw other priests and refugees from Mexico, both priests, nuns and lay brothers. The statements and affidavits, submitted to me in the original and copies of which I have before me as I write, set forth conditions which are literally appalling and for which, by it remembered, the actions of Messrs. Wilson and Bryan have made this country partly responsible.

For example, Archbishop Blenk submitted to me an affidavit by the prioress of the Barefooted Carmelite Nuns of the Convent of Queretaro. This sets forth from the personal knowledge of the prioress how the churches have been profaned by soldiers entering them on horseback, breaking statues, trampling on relics and scattering on the floor the sacred hosts and even burning the bodies of the dead. She says how in some churches the revolutionists have offered mock masses and have in other ways, some of them too repulsive and horrible to mention, have profaned the churches. She says that the French Revolution behaved in the churches of Paris. How, for example, St. Anthony's Church at Aguascalientes has been made into a legislative hall, and the Church of St. Joseph at Queretaro and the great convent of the Carmelites and in maternity hospitals, how the church property has been sequestered and the archives burned, and the men and women in cloistered communities expelled without being allowed to take even an extra suit of clothes or a book of prayer.

**Many Nuns Among Victims.**  
The prioress states that she has herself seen in Mexico City nuns who have been "victims of the passions of the revolutionary soldiers," and some whom she found in their own homes, others in hospitals and in maternity houses, who in consequence are about to be delivered of children. She deposes that she has seen soldiers dressed up in chaussees, stoles, mantles and cloaks, with copes and altar linen, and their women dressed up in albs, surplices, and corporals used as handkerchiefs. She has seen the sacred vessels profaned in a thousand ways. She describes meeting seven nuns who had been outraged, who she directed to a maternity house, and who had abandoned themselves to utter despair, saying "that they were already damned and abandoned by God and they cursed the hour of their religious profession." She describes how she escaped from Queretaro with nuns who had been obliged to hide in private houses in order to escape being taken to the barracks by the soldiers. She describes how she had daily to beg the food necessary to sustain the 24 sisters with whom she escaped.

In Chicago I saw a French priest, Father Dominic Fournier, of the Congregation of the Passion, who had just escaped from Mexico with two young Spanish students from the priesthood. He had escaped from the city of Toluca with nothing whatever, not even a

rosary. He and the two novices described to me their experience in Toluca. The churches and religious houses were sacked and confiscated and the soldiers and their women in-

duced in orgies before and around the altars.  
One of the lay brothers named Mariano Gonzales tried to save some of the and the soldiers and their women in-

(Continued on Page 8.)

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