

*It Seems to Me*  
by  
**HEYWOOD BROUN**

J. GRESHAM MACHEN, a clergyman of Philadelphia, has written a letter of rebuke to Franklin D. Roosevelt, and he is sufficiently proud of it to forward a copy to the New York Herald Tribune, where it is printed. The first four paragraphs of this extraordinary communication read as follows:

"In reply to your letter of Sept. 24, addressed to me in company with other ministers, I am obliged to say very frankly that I am opposed to the social security legislation just enacted and to other distinctive features of your program."

"I am opposed to these things because they are inimical (1) to liberty and (2) to honesty."

"In the first place, they are inimical to liberty. We are living in a time of great distress. Instead of simply relieving that distress, as humanity dictated, you have used the distress of the people in order to sell them into slavery by placing them under a permanent system of government supervision and control."

"If I may interrupt for a moment, I had assumed up to this point that J. Gresham Machen was making the wholly justifiable complaint that the security legislation which has been enacted is all too insufficient, but I step aside to let the man of the cloth continue:

"The true function of government is quite different. It is to assure the individual citizen that if in good times he lays by a store, for himself and for his family, against evil times to come, such savings will be kept intact, and the direction will never be obliterated between the man who has saved and toiled and the man who has not."

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*What of the Christmas Spirit?*

I DO not know the precise faith to which J. Gresham Machen holds. The parting of the name suggests an ear for evidence found generally within the Established Church. And yet there is a note of stern doctrine in the hint that half the joy of Christ consists in placid reception of the music orchestrated from out the murmur of the miserable.

And yet J. Gresham Machen is no doubt benevolent even though he would rebuke the salesgirl for failing to amass her pennies against a rainy day, after the manner of Miss Barbara Hutton. But still I seem to see the kindly cleric in smug surplices beaming upon the Daughters of the King while they prepare mixed pickles for the poor on Christmas.

I have said that it seemed to me an extraordinary thing that any Christian minister should oppose the principle of social security legislation and bridle even at the mild form which it has taken under the present Administration. But chiefly my wonder was aroused by the words which stood at the bottom of this remarkable letter. I read in amazement, "J. Gresham Machen, Professor of New Testament in Westminster Theological Seminary, Philadelphia."

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*The Good Book Differs*

I AM curious to know how long it is since Prof. Machen has read the book he professes to teach. He might, for instance, turn to the nineteenth chapter of the Gospel according to St. Matthew and read about a certain rich man. He had kept all the law and followed the rule of the prophets. He had great possessions.

Now, according to the economic theology of J. Gresham Machen, it should have been the first duty of the state to protect this admirable young fellow in his property rights and to assure him that no matter how great the distress about him his own wealth would be kept inviolate lest class distinctions be diminished. J. Gresham Machen had come "into the coats of Judea beyond Jordan" that day he would have sent the young man away rejoicing. But it was another who preached in Palestine and the young man went away sorrowful, for Jesus said, "Go and sell all that thou hast and give to the poor."

I remember the parable of another vineyard of which it was said, "And those that came at the eleventh hour every one received a penny."

And so I trust that there is some one in authority at Westminster Seminary to point out to the young theological students that they must make their choice between the words of Jesus Christ and those of J. Gresham Machen.

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**Your Health**

BY DR. MORRIS FISHBEIN

WHEN your voice gets hard and husky, you are likely to suspect that you are catching cold, and probably most of the time you will be right. But there are many other causes of hoarseness, and if the huskiness persists you should have an examination to find out whether any other factor may be the cause.

The habit of talking in a well modulated voice with proper intonation and emphasis represents in many cases training and proper study of the use of the voice. A soft voice with suitable emphasis when required is a most valuable factor in gaining worldly success.

Hoarseness may come on any time in life. A baby may become hoarse almost immediately after birth due to some congenital infection.

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As the child gets older, sudden hoarseness may be brought about by diphtheria or other infectious diseases, and may also be associated with small growths which may develop on the vocal cords.

Hoarseness may occur in girls in association with hysterical symptoms and after laryngitis.

Adults most frequently get hoarse following prolonged use of the voice. This follows particularly speaking for long periods of time.

When the vocal cords are examined under such circumstances, they are usually found to be thickened and congested. A rest will give the cords a chance to return to normal.

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THE most serious causes of hoarseness are cancer and tuberculosis of the vocal cords. A hoarseness which persists demands an immediate examination as to the presence of one or both of these conditions.

Soon, the cancer may be removed surgically or treated with radium and in many instances with success. Tuberculosis of the throat if seen early may be amenable to the usual method of treatment of tuberculosis, and sometimes may be cured by the direct application of the ultra-violet rays.

**Today's Science**

BY DAVID DIETZ

HUNDREDS of years ago, before the white man had entered the Middle West, a house in what is now Illinois caught fire. As a result, archeologists now know that the Indian mound-builders were fairly proficient at the art of building houses.

Parts of the wall and roof of the house, partially consumed by fire, were found by members of the University of Chicago party which has been exploring the Kincaid mounds near Metropolis, Ill.

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DR. THORNE DEUEL, research associate of the university's department of anthropology, headed the expedition which consisted of 15 members. Ten weeks were spent in excavating the mounds. With the aid of the new find, as well as previous ones, Dr. Deuel has reconstructed a picture of the typical houses of the Kincaid region which was probably one of the most important centers of Indian trade in the upper Mississippi Valley before the coming of the white man.

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AFTERS, cut with stone axes, supported the roof, which was composed of a thatch of woven reeds and rough grasses. Ropes of vegetable fiber tied the rafters together.

Within the house, there was a fireplace and storage pits. Benches flanked the walls.

The Kincaid mounds are located on the north side of the Ohio River, eight miles above Paducah, Ky. They have long been known as one of the richest archeological sites in the region.

# The Indianapolis Times

Full Leased Wire Service of  
the United Press Association

INDIANAPOLIS, MONDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1935

Second Section

Entered as Second-Class Matter  
at Postoffice, Indianapolis, Ind.

# ROAD to WAR -

BY WALTER MILLIS

With Italy's guns pounding away at Eritrean towns, British warships moving into position in the war zone, this gripping story of the last debate takes on added interest. The Times today presents the twelfth article of Walter Millis' "Road to War."

THIS Wilson document (it was read, but not delivered, to the ambassador) was a definite offer to act as mediator in bringing about a peace negotiation.

Realizing the immense possible importance of this, Count Bernstorff rushed it upon the cables, imploring Berlin to hold off the submarine if only for a few days—if only until some offer to negotiate from the German side could at least be gotten upon the records in order to soften somewhat the American reaction to the U-boat. It amounted simply to a flat rejection of the idea. Count Bernstorff was at the same time ordered to carry out his instructions in regard to the submarine war. It was the end.

As a concession, one American passenger ship was to be permitted to go to and from Falmouth, England, every week, provided that she carried no contraband and was marked with "three vertical stripes one meter wide, each to be painted alternately white and red" and displayed at each masthead "a large flag checkered white and red," all these marks to be fully illuminated at night.

Otherwise, American citizens could avoid injury by remaining outside the war zones. After that, there was certainly no hope whatever.

A FOREGONE CONCLUSION

IN Washington (after the announcement of unrestricted German submarine warfare) it was being "taken for granted" that a break of relations was inevitable.

In Wall Street the market opened with a flood of selling orders under which even U. S. Steel common staggered, while the rest of the list was plunged for an hour or two into a "complete demoralization" amounting almost to a panic.

Not until later in the day did the more long-headed spectators, with a sounder appreciation of the effect of war on stock prices, come heavily into the market to arrest the decline.

When the Cabinet gathered for its regular Friday meeting, it was, according to Secretary Redfield, with "a certain sense of relief that we need hesitate no longer and that the matter was settled by forces whose weight was beyond all doubt."

Secretary Lane thought it was simply a case of Germany's being about "to turn mad dog again." Secretary Houston felt that the note, especially the part about one American ship being allowed to sail under a checkerboard flag, "was the last word of a mad war-lord—the farthest limit of dictation."

At the Capitol that afternoon the President held another conference with the leading Democratic Senators, but it can hardly have been of much importance, since no one troubled to close the doors, and the reporters in the corridor could watch the group as it talked. Everywhere the break was a foregone conclusion.

That same evening, on the other hand, a crowd of 5000 men and women were making Madison Square Garden rock with their applause as Mr. Bryan cried that the United States should never "get down and wallow in the mire of human blood." The papers which reported Mr. Bryan's speech next morning also carried the announcement that President Wilson would address the two Houses of Congress at 2 o'clock that afternoon, Saturday, Feb. 3.

NOT WAR—NOT YET

IT gathered an enormous crowd. Long before 2 o'clock the corridors of the Capitol were jammed with people importuning Congressmen for admission to galleries already overflowing.

Briefly the President rehearsed his note of April 18, 1916, with its declaration that unless unrestricted submarine war was abandoned, the United States could "have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German empire."

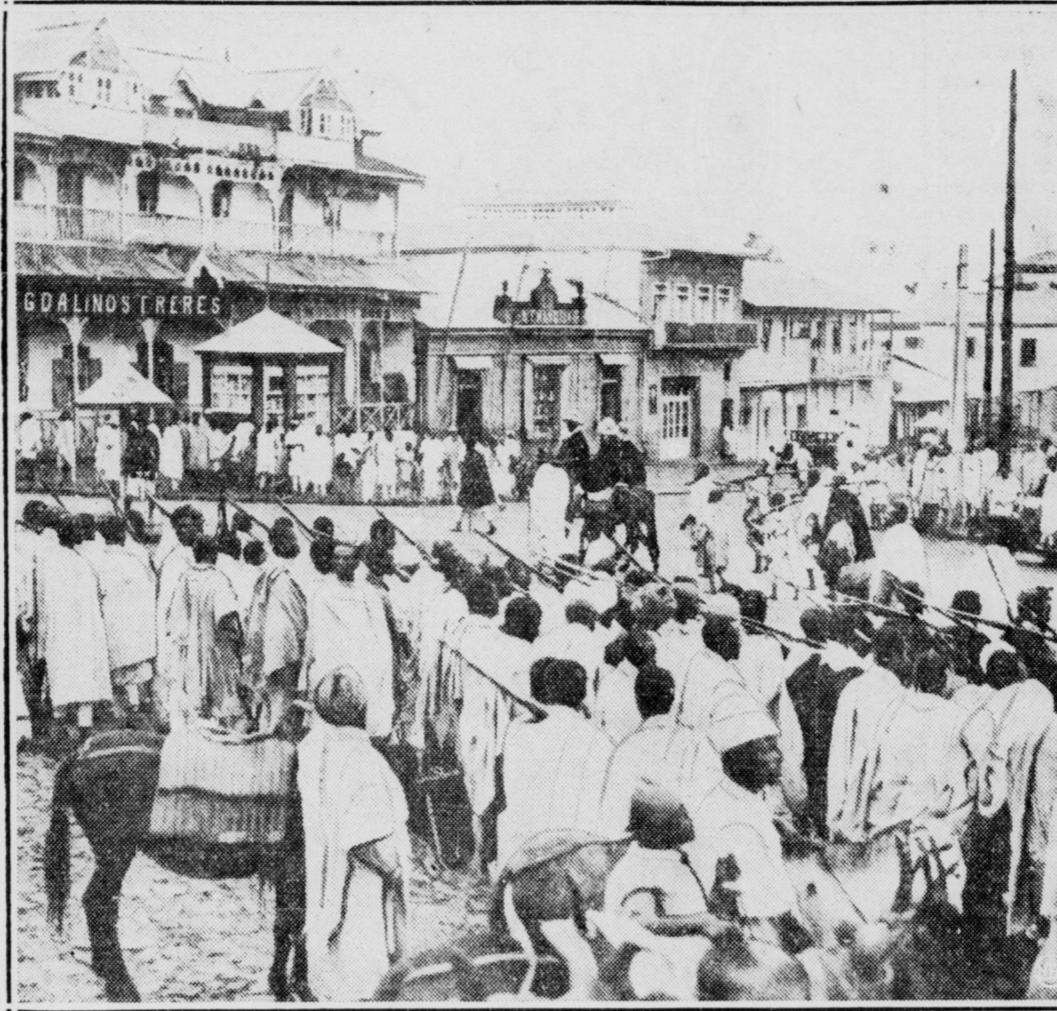
He read the answering pledge of May 4, and the firm interpretation which he had put upon it in his reply of May 8 and to which, as he stated, Germany had made no answer. He then read the recent note.

"I think you will agree with me," he said, "that in view of this declaration, which suddenly and without prior intimation of any kind deliberately withdraws the solemn assurance—the 4th of May, 1916, this government has no alternative . . . but to take the course which in its note of 18th of April, 1916, it announced that it would take . . . I have therefore, directed the Secretary of State to announce to his excellency the German ambassador."

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Once again the cry of "War" startles humanity. The beat of marching feet, the clatter of musketry and sabers echo through the streets of Addis Ababa as the booming war drums go into action in response to Emperor Haile Selassie's mobilization order. With the League of Nations Assembly meeting this Wednesday to determine whether military and economic penalties shall be decreed against Italy, many observers feel that there may again be dire consequences that will set the entire world on another "Road to War." Above are to be seen Moslem warriors of Ethiopia awaiting summons to the front; below, well-equipped units of the imperial guard on review before their emperor.



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that all diplomatic relations are served."

But then he went on: "I refuse to believe that it is the intention of the German authorities to do in fact what they have warned us they will feel at liberty to do . . . Only actual overt acts on their part can make me believe it even now."

So it was not war, after all—

As the President had begun to speak, Mr. Lansing had handed his passport to Ambassador Bernstorff, while the cable had already gone to Ambassador Gerard, instructing him to request his own. Diplomatic relations between the United States and the German Empire were at an end.

LONDON IS ELATED

IN London that Saturday evening the enthusiasm could but with difficulty be restrained. Mr. Page and his staff had been waiting anxiously all day in the Embassy.

At 9 o'clock did the first news arrive, when Admiral Hall, the head of the British Naval Intelligence, came dashing in. An aid met him; he "stopped abruptly and uttered just two words: 'Thank God!'" So then they knew. The admiral hurried in to the ambassador and laid before him a code message from Capt. Guy Gaunt:

Bernstorff has just been given his passport. I shall probably get drunk tonight.

The news was at Berlin with the noon papers on Sunday. Herr Stresemann, who had always been bitter against the United States, was finishing a speech before a conservative gathering in which he had argued that America would take no action, when some one arose in the audience with the newspaper in his hand.

A police guard was promptly furnished for the Embassy, but there were no disturbances. On Tuesday afternoon Mr. Gerard was alone for a long walk through the Berlin streets—was it to take a regretful farewell of the city in which, on the whole, he had had such a glorious time?—and no one offered to molest him.

In Berlin there were some embarrassments, it is true; but when Mr. Gerard was finally ready to leave he had a pleasant farewell talk with both the chancellor and Zimmerman.

It was on Feb. 10 that he got off at last from the Potsdamer station with his flock of over 100 diplomatic and consular officials and American citizens. The foreign office sent down four of its

people to see them off, and a couple of army officers were detailed as a formal escort to the border.

The ambassador had ordered "plenty of champagne and cigars to be put on the train" for the entertainment of these gentlemen; and so they all rolled pleasantly down to Switzerland.

At the frontier the ambassador gave to each escort a gold cigarette case engraved with the recipient's name. They shook hands, and Mr. Gerard passed out of Germany, his role in world history honorably and intelligently filled.

WHEELS OF WAR TURN ON

THE wheels of the great engine of preparedness were turning already of their own motion, as lesser officials within the government or enthusiasts outside it sprang to demonstrate their readiness in the hour of need.

At the War College the experts were "putting in 16 hours a day to meet the influx of requests for recommendations from the Secretary and the Chief of Staff."

Just before the crisis Gen. Pershing had at last been ordered out of Mexico. There were still some 50,000 National Guardsmen on the border, but the Mexican menace was now forgotten, and as these troops were brought home, that possible embarrassment to the prosecution of a major war in Europe seemed finally liquidated.

At Washington, the military men were drafting the bill to establish "universal service," thus making possible (and therefore, inevitable) the raising and dispatch of a conscript mass army to the seas, just as the Germans had

done. Some of the vital appropriations bills, however, were still lagging, and if they should fail to pass in the ensuing week Mr. Wilson would be compelled to summon an extra session. The Republicans, who were now laboring the President for his refusal to arm the merchant ships, were also maneuvering to block these bills, and so chain him to his Congress.

This Republican threat to force an extra session upon him was doubtless to have something to do with the President's sudden decision to yield on the armed ship issue.

In the country at large the situation, as Spring Rice reported that day, was "much of a soda-water bottle with the wires cut but the cork unexploded." But on Saturday, the 24th, the British themselves were able to supply something "spectacular." Mr. Balfour deftly gave the unexploded cork a push.

THE LACONIA IS SUNK

AT 8:30 Saturday evening there arrived in the State Department a sensational cable from Mr. Page. Mr. Balfour had just handed him, the ambassador reported, the text of a cipher telegram from Zimmerman to the German minister in Mexico City, which had been transmitted on Jan. 19 through the German Embassy in Washington itself. The

damning text was then given in English translation:

"We intend to begin on the 1st of February unrestricted submarine warfare. We shall endeavor in spite of this to keep the United States of America neutral. In the event of this not succeeding we make Mexico a proposal of alliance on the following basis: Make war together, make peace together, generous financial support and an understanding on our part that Mexico is to reconquer the lost territory in Texas, New Mexico and Arizona. You will inform the (Mexican) president of the above most secretly as soon as the outbreak of war with the United States is certain and add the suggestion that he should, on his own initiative, invite Japan to immediate adherence . . ."

The cable arrived on Saturday evening. It was some time on Sunday that President Wilson abruptly concluded that an appeal to Congress for authority at least to arm American merchant ships was unavoidable. On Monday he went again before the joint houses of Congress.

In the gray seas off the southwest of Ireland, only a few hours before the President arose to speak, a German submarine had fired a torpedo without warning into the Cunard liner Laconia.

Twelve lives only were lost (out of nearly 30 on board) but among them were those of two American women, Mrs. Mary Hoy and her daughter, who died of exposure in the small boats on the way into Bantry Bay.

The news blazed in the same headlines which announced the President's appeal to Congress.

The President let it be known that he regarded the Laconia sinking as the "overt act" for which he had been waiting; the armed ship bill was revised in more explicit terms, and Senator Stone, who still believed in peace but who regarded it as his duty to support the President, reported it out of the Foreign Relations Committee with a heavy heart.

LA FOLLETTE'S FILIBUSTER

BUT there was another Senator who also believed in peace, and who saw that with the armed ship bill the final crisis had