

The deputation then wished the President God-speed on his journey and left him.

Have we any reason to doubt that President Wilson will prove faithless and that all his pledges are so many scraps of paper? The Irish leaders still hope for support from him. His secretary denied a report that he had said that the Irish question was a domestic concern for England. De Valera asks the Irish people to keep on trusting in President Wilson. He has clearly said that he has the cause of Ireland at heart, and that he is in agreement with the views of Judge Goff and the other speakers. For a conceivable reason he objected to give an assurance that he would interfere directly, and in that respect his attitude has aroused distrust and resentment among many Irish-Americans who expected a clear promise that the President would see that "the rights of peoples to choose their own form of government should be secured, no matter whose selfish interests are crossed." The disappointment is natural, but we hold that, all things considered, there is so far no reason to think that President Wilson will not stand by his pledges. Diplomatic reasons may make it imprudent for him to give such a promise as he was invited to give, and it may easily be imagined that he foresees that he can help Ireland better when the occasion arises by remaining free to act as his good judgment then dictates. He is in favor of Ireland's cause; he has an extraordinary mandate from the American people to act in the matter as their spokesman; he is bound by his own pledges to do so. Consequently, though we too would rather have had a more satisfactory issue to the interview, we do not lose hope. Shane Leslie tells us that, in spite of this silence, he has it "from confidential sources" that the President is anxious that the Irish people should go on trusting him for the moment. "If we throw down Mr. Wilson as a possible friend of Ireland," writes Mr. Leslie in the *Irish World*, "to whom shall we go? If he has seemed to fail us, we remember that he strenuously brought up the Irish question when he first met Balfour and Lloyd George, and has not retracted what he said. The diplomatic game in Paris is so quick and shifting that there is no knowing when he might not be able to throw in the Irish card as a piece of by-play. He knows well that an Irish settlement would prelude an American triumph."

His own honor, his good name before the whole world, the peace of America, justice, and truth demand his interference. We still trust that he will interfere. If we are wrong, it is only because we have taken a word-spinner for a great man. And again we submit there is not sufficient reason to discard him and to brand him as a trickster of the Lloyd George type.

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CO-OPERATION

(By ARCHBISHOP REDWOOD.)

In a previous article—"Right Control of Industry by Democracy"—it was asserted that it would be a mistake to consider public ownership as the chief means to obtain democratic control of industry. The main field for this achievement is Co-operation. Already it has been a success in several directions; for instance, in the co-operative bank and the co-operative store. The all-important question is how to extend Co-operation to the field of production. On serious consideration it will be found that its application is most complex and difficult in the matter of the co-operative ownership and management of industrial enterprises. The co-operation here contemplated is entirely voluntary—nothing Socialistic or Communistic about it. It presupposes that the instruments of production belong to the men, who operate them according to the individual shares in the co-operative enterprise. To preclude the old abuses of Capitalism, the number of individual shares must be strictly limited, else a few members, more clever or unscrupulous, might absorb the whole ownership of the means of production. The old Guilds were keenly alive to the wisdom of such restrictions as necessary to secure the welfare of the greatest number, and also permanent social contentment. In their opposition to private ownership of capital, Socialists commonly make the egregious mistake of referring to the Communism of the early Christian Church. But their argument is fallacious for many reasons. It overlooks the fact that Communism was only local, not universal: that there is no record of any communistic productive enterprises carried on by the early Christians; that in the localities where this sort of Communism was tried it remained purely voluntary, and was never made an obligatory condition for embracing Christianity; and, finally, that it proved a complete failure, just like other similar communistic enterprises. The only recorded success of such Communism is that of the Religious Orders of the Catholic Church—and that success is due to the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience originated and centred in the love of God.

The practicability of productive co-operation has been proved by its successful application to the land. In the Netherlands alone, for instance, we have the significant fact that 66,600,000 pounds of butter were produced in 1910 by co-operatives, and only 27,000,000 pounds by private factories. The general markets of the world are supplied with a variety of articles—cheese, bacon, wine—produced by co-operation. The middleman is excluded by co-operative buying and selling, to the farmer's great gain. In like manner, co-operative ownership of the larger and more intricate



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