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# Nation's Liberals on "Suspect" List: Six Administration Departments Conducting Systematic Espionage of Public and Private Activities

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*The Democratic administration of the United States has a "suspect" list just as the Tsar of Russia had. On this list will be found the names of some of the more truly desirable citizens of the country. In the course of these articles we will publish quite a considerable list of such "suspect." What are these citizens "suspected" of? Suspected of the same crime as the "suspects" of the Tsar — the crime of being true to the cause of political and industrial freedom. **The Call** is now able to place before the American people the story of the degrading depths to which this misnamed Democratic administration has dragged the government with which it was entrusted by the people.*

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Under the direction of Woodrow Wilson, "liberal" leader, the "Democratic" administration has built up an intricate and far-reaching system of espionage ostensibly as a weapon in the war against autocracy in Germany. Under the leadership of the same Woodrow Wilson, the same Democratic administration has transformed that espionage system into a weapon against democracy at home.

From ferreting out German agents and sympathizers Mr. Wilson's espionage has been turned upon the political opinions of the people of the United States.

At last the administration in control of the government of the United States has taken its place with the old regimes of Russian and of Prussia, it is the militant forces of labor and liberalism which are the objects of the inquisition and persecution of the American government.

The men and women in the United States who seek to make their country a land where equality of opportunity is not an empty phrases, but an economic reality, who strive to make democracy mean something by bringing it to the factory and shop, are the people who have come, in the America of today, to be the chief objects of this administration's suspicion and espionage.

Proof of the most sensational kind to support these assertions has come into the possession of The Call. In orders, publications, and lists the story of the administration's espionage system can now be made public. The details of the story will be given in subsequent articles. The main outlines are as follows:

No less than six departments or divisions of the Wilson administration have been, since the beginning of the war, engaged in systematic espionage activity. The Military Intelligence Division of the Army, the Office of the Naval Intelligence, the War Trade Board Intelligence Division, the Chief Cable Censor, and the Post Office Department have all been busy since the war began gathering, literally by hook or by crook, information about persons officially known as "suspects."<sup>1</sup>

### **Six Official Divisions Have Agents Everywhere.**

The Military Intelligence, known for short as the "MID," and the Naval Intelligence, the "ONI," have had agents in every part of the country and in all sorts of places. The Customs Intelligence Bureau, the "CIB," has secured its information by ransacking every crack and cranny of travelers' personal belongings, not to mention their persons. The War Trade Board, the "WTB," has had its operatives in the field here and abroad, gathering trade secrets and other information. The Chief Cable Censor, the "CCC," has, of course, used cable messages as his source of information. The Post Office Department, the "PO," has done its spying by opening and reading a multitude of private letters.

The ostensible objective of this espionage was to apprehend enemy agents and sympathizers. From the very beginning, however, it has been deliberately used against agents and sympathizers of the militant labor movement at home, as well as those interested in the

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<sup>1</sup> This list remarkably omits the largest government espionage service dealing with internal affairs, the Bureau of Investigation of the United States Department of Justice.

freedom of small nations. Since the armistice this has been its predominant use.

An order issued by the Board of Censors at Washington at the beginning of the war gave in great detail the "Subjects of Interest" of the government espionage system, together with the department or division interested. Among the information specified in the order was "(1) Sabotage, (2) Strikes, (3) Labor Agitators." The following "propaganda" was, in the language of the order, of interest to the MIB, ONI, WTB, and CCC: "(c) Incitement to revolution or sedition, (d) Incitement to sectional or class feeling, (e) Pacifist activity, (f) Malicious criticism of the United States or Allied governments." Anarchist and IWW activity was another object of interest. This was defined in the order as "(a) The activity, organization, and personnel of anarchist and IWW groups, (b) Activity of pro-German Socialists."

### **Radicals Suspected for Opposing Administration.**

Everybody connected in any way with the espionage system knew what those directions meant. Most Socialists are suspect because it is falsely assumed that most of them were pro-German. Radical labor leaders are suspect. Those who disagreed with the administration's war policy and had the courage to say so are suspect. Those who openly sympathized with any of these suspects are also "suspect."

To be a suspect means to have one's mail examined with special suspicion, to have one's personal life gone over with a fine-toothed comb, to have one's personal and business connections investigated, to be hounded in a hundred ways.

These suspects include individuals, publications, and organizations of all kinds. There are, as was to be expected, hundreds upon hundreds of suspects whom everyone knows have absolutely no sympathy or connection with enemy activity whatsoever, but are well known as leaders in the struggle for labor's emancipation, or merely liberals who were known for their humanitarian views.

Subsequent articles will reveal as comprehensive a "who's who" of this type of suspects as space will allow. The following, however, are a few of the typical examples:

**Jane Addams**, the dean of American social workers and head of Hull House, Chicago.

**John Haynes Holmes**, minister of the Church of the Messiah and fearless champion of democracy.

**Frederic C. Howe**, the President's own appointee as Commissioner of Immigration at New York.

**Charles A. Beard**, director of the Bureau of Municipal Research and ardent supporter of the war, who resigned from a professorship at Columbia University in protest against the autocracy of the college government.

**Dudley Field Malone**, Mr. Wilson's own appointee to the position of Collector of the Port of New York, recently resigned in protest against the brutal attitude of the Federal administration towards the Washington suffrage pickets.

**Oswald Garrison Villard**, editor of the fearless and anti-administration *The Nation*.

**Fremont Older**, now editor of the *San Francisco Call*, formerly editor of the *San Francisco Bulletin*, in which paper he poured "pitiless publicity" into the Mooney case and stopped the conspiracy to railroad the accused labor leader to the gallows.

**Rev. John Nevin Sayre**, a brother of the son-in-law of President Wilson. Sayre's offense, in the eyes of Bourbon Democracy, was, evidently, his connection with the Fellowship of Reconciliation, one of whose principles was opposition to militarism.

**Ex-United States Senator R.F. Pettigrew** of South Dakota. Pettigrew is one of the most tireless fighters against political corruption in this country. The corrupt Mark Hanna machine is said to have spent \$500,000 to defeat him for the Senate.

**Ex-United States Senator John D. Works** of California. His offense is, doubtless, the championing of the rights of citizens under the Constitution in war times as well as in peace times.

**Fola LaFollette**, daughter of the present United States Senator from Wisconsin, and prominent in the militant woman suffrage movement.

All these people are on the "suspect" list.

Of course, the more thorough-going opponents of Mr. Wilson's administration and of any administration that supports the present profiteering of private owners in what should be public property, are all of them suspects. Eugene V. Debs, Morris Hillquit, Algernon Lee, Scott Nearing, James Maurer, and all the best-known leaders of the Socialist Party appear on the lists.

Two documents throw additional light on the extent and the method of the American espionage system.

## **“Postal Censorship Book” Lists Leading Suspects.**

The first of these is called the “Postal Censorship Book.” It is a compilation of all the leading suspects in the United States, made up from the lists of all the administration agencies. Opposite each name the letters — MID, ONI, WTB, etc. — designating the department — Military Intelligence, Naval Intelligence, War Trade Board, etc. — in which all the secret information regarding the name listed is on file.

Mr. Burleson<sup>2</sup> and other officials of Mr. Wilson’s choosing can use this book as a means of ferreting out from private letters the information they desire. Letters to or from the names listed have been more liable to be pried into than from citizens less distinguished.

A very small number of people have been exempt from these indignities. Their names have after them the letters “PRIV.” They are privileged to be free from the prying of Mr. Burleson and his assistants. Their letters are not to be opened.

So careful have the Bourbon Democratic officials been of the feelings of these “privileged persons” that they have been careful to state to their assistants that “the placing of their names on the Suspect List is purely a mechanical matter and does not mean that they are by any means suspects, but precisely the reverse.” Otherwise, that they are trusted by this Democratic administration that has prated so glibly about “making the world safe for democracy.”

To make sure that no “trusted” person will be outraged in his feelings by having mail opened, the examiners are told that they “will be held responsible, however, for seeing that no letters addressed to any person on the following list is opened.”

### **Friends of Ireland and India Under Watch.**

The Suspect List contains the names of many of those engaged in struggling for the freedom of Ireland, whose mail can be opened.

It also contains the names of many Hindus who have been trying to arouse the sympathy of the people of this country for the people of India, so cruelly misgoverned by the British Junkers.

While these lovers of liberty are subjected to this degrading espionage on the part of our Bourbon Democrats, those representing the

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<sup>2</sup> Postmaster General **Albert S. Burleson** (1863-1937) was the Wilson Administration’s director of postal censorship.

British Junkers who murdered [Patrick] Pearse and [James] Connolly; <sup>3</sup>who have millions of lives of the people to answer for, are marked on the list as PRIVILEGED.

Boris Bakhmatiev, “ambassador” for one government dead nearly two years, and now representing another government that some hope will be born of the notorious liaison between Dictator Kolchak and the Allies, is prominent on the “privileged” list, while scores of those sympathetic to the Soviet Republic of Russia are found among the “suspects.”

The second document is of even greater interest, for it proves beyond question the present direction and intent of the espionage system. Only a few months ago the Post Office Department issued a mimeographed list to assist its employees in their spying activities. Its title is not “List of Enemy Sympathizers” or “Pro-German Suspects.” It is frankly and openly a “Check List of Radicals.”

This list contains a summary of all the secret information the postal censors have accumulated from opening the mail of thousands of individuals and organizations. After each name on the list a summary of the evidence concerning it is detailed with a numerical reference in each case to a copy of the letter from which the evidence was obtained. Copies of all letters opened are filed away and tagged with a number for future reference. The numbers run away up into the thousands.

A great mass of information and misinformation has been gathered in this way by the Post Office Department.

### **Wilson’s Associates Catalog Correspondence of Humanitarians.**

Taken together with the files of the MID, ONI, and other branches of the present administration’s espionage system, President Wilson and his associates have in their possession a pretty complete catalog of private and personal information about all those who, through championship of the cause of labor, or by reason of exceptional wealth of human sympathies, are particularly dangerous to their political aspirations.

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<sup>3</sup> **Patrick Pearse** (1879-1916) and **James Connolly** (1868-1916) were among 15 Irish Republican revolutionaries executed by the British government following the suppression of the Easter Rising of 1916.

That the catalog itself and the way it is being gathered is even more dangerous to those aspirations has yet to be brought home to the official caste. That it will eventually be brought home is attested by much historical evidence in countries more advanced in social evolution than the United States.

### **The Culminating Point in American Espionage System.**

An espionage system has been created throughout the length and breadth of the United States. The American espionage system has been created by a Federal administration under the control of a man once hailed as a leader of liberals and a party founded on the principles of Thomas Jefferson. The American espionage system, following the historical example of its forbears in Russian and Prussia of other days, has been turned against the political opinions of the people of the United States.

The American espionage system has been used to ferret out information about the private life and activities of those men and women who are most dangerous to the present governing caste — the leaders of the movement among the masses for real democracy in the United States.

The story of the American espionage system in its broad outline has been given above. Some of the more important and sensational details remain to be told.

There is one document which, beyond all others, will prove to the American people both the purpose and the method of the spy system under which they live. Its title is the "Postal Censorship Book."

The "Postal Censorship Book" is the culminating point, so to speak, of the American espionage system. It is a paperbound volume. The names include all the people and organizations known to the administration agents as "suspects." The names have been transmitted to the Postal Censors by the various administrative agencies — the Military Intelligence Division, the Office of the Naval Intelligence, the War Trade Board, and the Office of the Chief Cable Censor.

These persons have been accorded the usual treatment which suspects receive at the hands of governments. They have been watched in every conceivable way by "operatives" and other spies. By hook or by crook the administration agencies have extracted every possible bit of private information about them to be used against them by the government.

The compilation of the "Postal Censorship Book" was for the purpose of heaping the last indignity upon them — the opening and reading of their private correspondence.

Were the espionage system directed against enemy agents and sympathizers alone, it would have excited but little comment, even in what is termed "free America." But such has not been the case. Hundreds and hundreds of men and women have been listed as suspects, and treated as such, against whom there never has been the slightest suspicion of enemy sympathies; men and women who openly and ceaselessly opposed the autocracy of Central Europe long before it became popular in the United States; men and women who have dedicated their lives to the struggle of the masses of working people in this and other countries to secure control of their own destinies.

### **Truckling to Great Britain is Startlingly Revealed.**

The most startling fact that the "suspect" list brings out is the manner in which this administration has truckled to the English government. No administration of this country has ever dared to do the things that would please the English governing class as has this administration. Previous administrations have seen to it that this country was a safe asylum for those who were compelled to seek refuge here from the political tyranny of older countries.

It may have been that this attitude of the various administrations was due to their fear of the wrath of the American people, who had certain traditions which they guarded zealously; but whatever the reason was, there is no doubt that they not only protected those who sought political asylum here, but protected them in their right to agitate on our soil for political freedom in the country from which they came.

When Elihu Root, that mastermind of reaction in this country, dared to take even the first step toward returning the Russian political refugees, the wrath of our people was aroused, the activities of the Tsarists in this country were stopped, and the political refugees were protected.

But this administration has seemingly no fear of the people, counting upon the White Terror that they have let loose to protect them while violating all American traditions. The lists of "suspects" show this.



Many of those prominent in the movement for the freedom of Ireland are found on these lists. Representatives of all groups are here, groups among the Irish that have been more or less opposed to each other in policy, but all of whom have committed the same offense in the eyes of this Bourbon Democratic administration. They have stood for the political freedom of Ireland from British misrule.

### **Irish Freedom “Suspect” — British Envoy “Privileged.”**

The Very Reverend Peter MacGennis, assistant general of the Order of Carmelites, who has been particularly active in lifting his voice for Ireland’s freedom, is a “suspect” on the censor’s list. The name of Peter Golden, secretary of the Irish Progressive League, also stands out from one of the pages of the list.

Dr. Patrick McCartan, envoy of the Irish Republic, is there set down, while the envoy of the British Empire and the members of his staff are “privileged.” Their mail must not be touched. Anybody opening it will be severely dealt with.

Among the other “suspects” is Liam Mellowes, a member of the Irish Parliament, the man who dared the whole British government when he was ordered to leave his own country, refusing, on the ground that he was a citizen of the Irish Republic, and that England had no legal right to order him to leave his own country, in which country they, the English, were present only as invaders.

Then there is Nellie Gifford Donnelly among the “suspects.” And who is Nellie Gifford Donnelly? She is a woman to whose family the murderous British Junker class has brought great sorrow. There are two widows in this family — widowed by the bullets of the British tyrants. They are sisters of Mrs. Donnelly. One was the wife of Joseph Plunkett, who was shot by the British because he dared to fight for the freedom of Ireland.<sup>4</sup> The other is the widow of Thomas MacDonagh, who also was murdered by the British for the offense of being true to the country of his birth.<sup>5</sup>

There are others interested in the freedom of Ireland, but belonging to another group, and they also are on the “suspect” list. The name of Justice Daniel F. Cohalan appears on this list; and beside it,

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<sup>4</sup> **Joseph Plunkett** (1887-1916), a journalist and poet, was an executed leader of the 1916 Easter Rising.

<sup>5</sup> **Thomas MacDonagh** (1878-1916), a Irish nationalist and poet, was an executed leader of the 1916 Easter Rising.

for good measure, is the name of his brother, Surrogate John J. Cohalan. For some reason, we known not why, except that he, too, is probably sympathetic to the Irish cause, appears the name of the Honorable James J. Curley, former Mayor of Boston.

The Irish press is also represented. John Devoy, editor of the *Gaelic American*, is "suspect," as well as Robert Ford, editor of the *Irish World*.

The list contains the names of others of Irish birth or descent in this country who have championed the cause of Ireland. There are so many in the list that we cannot print it here in its entirety, but must leave the remainder for a future time. It is most interesting to those of Irish blood, and doubtless will make strange reading for some of the Irish who have been fed up on the claims of the present Democratic administration to be engaged in making the world "safe for democracy." While doing this, they have evidently been trying to make this country as safe as they could for British rule in Ireland.

### **Hindu Patriots "Suspect" while Ravishers Listed "Privileged."**

And then comes another group engaged in struggling for the freedom of their country, India, from the murderous misrule of the British governing class. India is the most distressed country in all the world, more distressed than even Russia is, with its back to the wall, fighting against the forces of imperialism; a country where millions have died of famine; a country where British misrule is so tyrannical that even to discuss its woes is to invite the murderous wrath of the Junkers of Great Britain hypocritically prating about "the white man's burden" while they ravage some of the fairest countries upon the globe.

On the list are found the names of Hindus, both on the Atlantic and the Pacific coast, who have been agitating for India's freedom. There is Sundar Singh Ghalli, who is very active in Toronto informing the Canadians of current events in India, which information England is very anxious to keep suppressed. This man happens to be what is called a moderate. He is opposed to violence and advocates a peaceful revolution.

There is Bishan Singh Hindi. This man, a native of the Punjab, India, has been active in helping deportees, a great crime in the eyes of our Bourbon Democrats.

Then there is Benoy Kumar Sarkar, a professor, writer, and lecturer on history and political economy. It happens that this Hindu is one of the few publicists who have preserved the impartial mental attitude of the student and does not belong to any particular group or political party. He is a man of most brilliant attainments, and one of his "crimes" is undoubtedly the showing up of conditions in Persia, as well as in India, as Great Britain does not want the truth known about conditions in Persia any more than she wants the truth known about India.

There is Dharendra Nath Sarkar, who was recently released under bond from Ellis Island, being under consideration for deportation. He was imprisoned for four months on the Pacific Coast and was then sent to Ellis Island. If deported he will be subjected to the same cruel treatment by the British Junkers that other Hindus have suffered.

As one scans the pages there stand out the names of various members of the British Junker class that have ravaged India for more than a century, followed by the mystic letters, "PRIV" — privileged.

Making the world "safe for democracy!" What a mockery.

### **Russian Workers' Groups and Individuals Tabulated.**

Then this Bourbon Democratic administration shows where it stands on the question of the Soviet Republic of Russia, the only government in Russia now functioning, and which has functioned for nearly two years; a government with which Democratic orators insist we are not at war. The "suspect" list shows, however, with mute eloquence, where the present administration stands. It includes the names of a number of organizations connected with the Russian movement. There are the Federation of Russian Citizens, the Federation of Russian Workers, the Chicago Russian Council of Workingmen, the Free Russia Aid Society, the Russian Citizens' Union, the Union of Russian Toilers, the Russian Society for the Relief of Russians, and several other Russian societies.

Of course, there is the name of that indefatigable worker for the cause of freedom for the Russian people, Santeri Nuorteva, a man who has openly championed the cause of the Soviet Republic of Russia from the very first, who has never done anything in secret; whose works are known of all men, and who has never allowed his activities to lag despite all the persecution to which he and his cause have been

subjected. Thrown into jail under the very shadow of the Capitol, for no crime of any kind; released because the Bourbon Democrats dared not hold him longer, having no charge against him, he, too, is a “suspect” by this misnamed Democratic administration, which has betrayed the traditions of America.<sup>6</sup>

As the pages of the “suspect” list are scanned, the names of several persons opposed to the Soviet Republic of Russia stand out with the letters “PRIV” opposite them. Boris Bakhmatiev, “ambassador” for a government as dead as the Pharaohs of Egypt, is “privileged” to write what he will, without question from the administration. That he is a champion of the Tsarist Kolchak, would-be Dictator of Russia, makes no difference to our Bourbon Democrats, whose sympathies with this group are known far and wide.

### **Civil Rights Leagues and Anti-Militarists Suspect.**

On the list of “suspects” can be found the names of organizations founded in the interests of civil liberty in this country, which the Bourbon Democrats hate with an unholy hatred.

The American League Against Militarism, officered by some of the noblest citizens of the country.

The Bureau of Legal First Aid, founded to secure justice for the poor and oppressed who cannot afford to hire legal talent.

The Federated Union of Democracy.

The Federation for Democratic Control, etc.

There is also the Fellowship of Reconciliation, an organization founded in an attempt to apply the ethical principles of Jesus to modern problems. In pursuance of this purpose, the organization logically took a position against militarism, against war, and against all social injustices, and that is where it offended the Bourbon Democratic administration, and that is why it is on the “suspect” list. Among its officers are Gilbert A. Beaver, chairman; Rev. Norman Thomas, secre-

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<sup>6</sup> **Santeri Nuorteva** (1881-1929), born Alexander Nyberg, was a member of the Finnish Diet from 1907-1910 and prominent member of the Finnish Social Democratic movement. Upon emigrating the United States in 1911, Nuorteva gained prominence as a journalist and editor in the Finnish Socialist press, working both for *Toveri* (The Comrade) of Astoria, OR, and *Raivaaja* (The Pioneer) of Fitchfield, MA. During the Finnish Revolution of 1918 Nuorteva was named as chief of the Finnish Information Bureau in America on behalf of the Finnish Soviet government. After the fall of the Red Finnish government, Nuorteva assumed the #2 position in a similar institution established by the Bolshevik government, the Russian Soviet Government Bureau. Nuorteva was forced to leave the USA at the end of 1920 and died of natural causes in Leningrad in 1929.

tary; and L. Hollingsworth Wood, treasurer. One of its prominent members is the Rev. John Nevin Sayre, brother of the President's son-in-law.

### **Religious, Single Tax, and Others in Book.**

Then there is the Free Religious Association. What its particular "crime" is that makes it "suspect," we know not. There is the Gospel Trumpeter Company. We are also in ignorance of its "crime." There is the International Bible Students' Association. We do not know what its offense has been, unless it may have published the Sermon on the Mount or the Ten Commandments. Also there is the International Free Trade League, the League for Democratic Control, and the League of Small and Subject Nationalities.

What hypocrisy! One of the 14 Points declares for "specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike," and the Bourbon Democrats who pretend to stand for these 14 Points put the League of Small and Subject Nationalities on the "subject" list!

Then there is the Single Tax League of Boston. The leading single tax exponent in this country, Louis F. Post, is Assistant Secretary of Labor in this Bourbon Democratic administration. Many of his former associates have denounced his failure to stand against the violations of the principles of free press and speech for which single taxers stood and for which some of them have gone to jail in the past for upholding.

We will close this list with an organization whose name surely justifies the hatred of every Bourbon Democrat, the National Civil Liberties Bureau. small wonder that Bourbon Democracy, which has violated the civil liberties of this country, which has put men and women in jail for exercising their rights under the Constitution of the United States, should suspect any organization whose name is "The National Civil Liberties Bureau."

Tomorrow we shall continue with some more interesting facts about this "suspect" list, or Postal Censorship Book, compiled by those who have told the people of the United States that they were engaged in making the world "safe for democracy."

*Edited with footnotes by Tim Davenport*

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