

decision to resign rather than to share responsibility for it. I am sure you will credit me with honorable motives, but that is not enough. Good intentions could not atone for a mistake at such a time, on such a subject and under such circumstances. If your verdict is against me, I ask no mercy; I desire none if I have acted unwisely. A man in public life must act according to his conscience, but however conscientiously he acts, he must be prepared to accept without complaint any condemnation which his own errors may bring upon him; he must be willing to bear any deserved punishment from ostracism to execution. But hear me before you pass sentence.

"The President and I agree in purpose; we desire a peaceful solution of the dispute which has arisen between the United States and Germany. We not only desire it, but with equal fervor we pray for it, but we differ irreconcilably as to the means of securing it. If it were merely a personal difference it would be a matter of little moment, for all the presumptions are on his side—the presumptions that go with authority. He is your president; I am a private citizen without office or title—but one of the hundred million of inhabitants.

"But the real issue is not between persons; it is between systems; and I rely for vindication wholly upon the strength of the position taken.

"Among the influences which governments employ in dealing with each other there are two which are pre-eminent and antagonistic—force and persuasion. Force speaks with firmness and acts through the ultimatum; persuasion employs argument, courts investigation and depends upon negotiation. Force represents the old system—the system that must pass away; persuasion represents the new system—the system that has been growing, all too slowly, it is true, but growing for nineteen hundred years. In the old system war is the chief corner stone—war which at its best is little better than war at its worst; the new system contemplates a universal brotherhood established through the uplifting power of example.

"If I correctly interpret the note to Germany, it conforms to the standards of the old system rather than to the rules of the new, and I cheerfully admit that it is abundantly supported by precedents—precedents written in characters of blood upon almost every page of human history. Austria furnishes the most recent precedent; it was Austria's firmness that dictated the ultimatum against Serbia, which set the world at war. Every ruler now participating in this unparalleled conflict has proclaimed his desire for peace and denied responsibility for the war, and it is only charitable that we should credit all of them with good faith. They desired peace, but they sought it according to the rules of the old system. They believed that firmness would give the best assurance of the maintenance of peace and, faithfully following precedent, they went so near the fire that they were, one after another, sucked into the contest. Never before have the frightful follies of this fatal system been so clearly revealed as now. The most civilized and enlightened—aye, the most Christian, of the nations of Europe are grappling with each other as if in a death struggle. They are sacrificing the best and bravest of their sons on the battle field; they are converting their gardens into cemeteries and their homes into houses of mourning; they are taxing the wealth of today and laying a burden of debt on the toil of the future; they have filled the air with thunderbolts more deadly than those of Jove, and they have multiplied the perils of the deep. Adding fresh fuel to the flame of hate, they have daily devised new horrors, until one side is endeavoring to drown non-combatant men, women and children at sea, while the other side seeks to starve non-combatant men, women and children on land. And they are so absorbed in alternate retaliations and in competitive cruelties that they seem, for the time being, blind to the rights of neutrals and deaf to the appeals of humanity. A tree is known by its fruit—the war in Europe is the ripened fruit of the old system.

"This is what firmness, supported by force, has done in the old world; shall we invite it to cross the Atlantic? Already the jingoes of our own country have caught the rabies from the dogs of war; shall the opponents of organized slaughter be silent while the disease spreads?

"As an humble follower of the Prince of Peace; as a devoted believer in the prophecy that 'they that take the sword shall perish with the sword,' I beg to be counted among those who earnestly urge the adoption of a course in this matter which will leave no doubt of our government's willingness to continue negotiations with Ger-

many until an amicable understanding is reached, or at least until, the stress of war over, we can appeal from Philip drunk with carnage to Philip sobered by the memories of an historic friendship and by a recollection of the innumerable ties of kinship that bind the Fatherland to the United States.

"Some nation must lead the world out of the black night of war into the light of that day when 'swords shall be beaten into plowshares.' Why not make that honor ours? Some day—why not now?—the nations will learn that enduring peace can not be built upon fear—that good will does not grow upon the stalk of violence. Some day the nations will place their trust in love, the weapon for which there is no shield; in love, that suffereth long and is kind; in love, that is not easily provoked, that beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things; in love which, though despised as weakness by the worshippers of Mars, abideth when all else fails.

"W. J. BRYAN."

## To the German-Americans

The following statement was issued by Mr. Bryan, June 11:

"To the German-Americans:

"Permit me to address a word to you as one American citizen speaking to fellow-citizens in whose patriotism he has entire confidence. It is natural that in a contest between your Fatherland and other European nations your sympathies should be with the country of your birth. It is no cause for censure that this is true; it would be a reflection upon you if it were not true. Do not the sons of Great Britain sympathize with their mother country? Do not the sons of France sympathize with theirs? Is not the same true of Russia and of Italy? Why should it not be true of those who are born in Germany or Austria? The trouble is that the extremists on both sides have mistaken a natural attachment felt for birthplace for disloyalty to this country.

"The president has been unjustly criticized by the partisans of both sides—the very best evidence of his neutrality. If he had so conducted the government as wholly to please either side it would excite not only astonishment, but misgivings, for partisans can not give an unbiased judgment; they will of necessity look at the question from their own point of view, giving praise or blame, according as the act, regardless of its real character, helps or hurts the side with which they have aligned themselves.

"The fact that the administration has received more criticism from German-Americans than from those in sympathy with the Allies is due to the fact that, while both sides are at liberty, under international law, to purchase ammunition in the United States, the Allies, because of their control of the seas, have the advantage of being able to export it. It is unfortunate that partisan supporters of Germany should have overlooked the legal requirements of the situation and have thus misunderstood the position of the administration. The administration's position has not only been perfectly neutral, but it could not have been otherwise without a palpable and intentional violation of the rules governing neutrality. This government is not at liberty to materially change the rules of international law during the war because every change suggested is discussed, not upon its merits as an abstract proposition, but according to the effect it will have upon the contest. Those who wanted to lay an embargo upon the shipments of arms defended their position on the ground that it would hasten peace, but it is strange that they could have overlooked the fact that the only way in which such action on our part could hasten peace would have been by helping one side to overcome the other.

"While the attacks made upon the president by the extremists of both sides were very unjust, it was equally unjust to suspect the patriotism of those who took sides. I feel well enough acquainted with the European-born Americans to believe that in a war between this country and any European power, the naturalized citizens from that country would be as quick to enlist as native-born citizens. As I am now speaking to German-Americans I am glad to repeat in public what I have often said in private, and would have said in public before but for the fact that it would not have been proper for one in my official position to do so—namely, that in case of

war between the United States and Germany—if so improbable a supposition can be considered—German-Americans would be as prompt to enlist and as faithful to the flag as any other portion of our people. What I have said in regard to German-Americans is an introduction to an appeal which I feel it my duty to make to them.

"First: If any of them have ever in a moment of passion or excitement suspected the president of lack of neutrality or lack of friendship toward the German government and the German people, let that thought be forgotten, never again to be recalled. I have, since my resignation, received numerous telegrams, from German-Americans and German-American societies commending my action; I think the senders of these telegrams understand my position, but that no one may mistake it let me restate it. The president is not only desirous of peace, but he hopes for it and he has adopted the methods which he thinks most likely to contribute toward peace. My difference from him is as to method, not as to purpose, and my utterances since resigning have been intended to crystallize public sentiment in support of his efforts to maintain peace, or, to use a familiar phrase—'Peace with honor.' But remember that when I use the phrase 'Peace with honor,' I do not use it in the same sense that those do who regard every opponent of war as favoring 'Peace at any price.' 'Peace at any price' is an epithet, not a true statement of anyone's position or of the policy of any group. The words are employed by jingoes as an expression of contempt and are applied indiscriminately to all who have faith in the nation's ability to find a peaceful way out of every difficulty so long as both nations want peace. The alarmists of the country have had control of the metropolitan press and they have loudly proclaimed that the prolongation of negotiations or the suggestion of international investigation would be a sign of weakness—and everything is weakness that does not contain a hint of war. The jingo sees in the rainbow of promise only one color, red.

"Second: Knowing that the president desires peace, it is your duty to help him secure it, and how? By exerting your influence to convince the German government of this fact, and to persuade that government to take no steps that would lead in the direction of war. My fear has been that the German government might, despairing of a friendly settlement, break off diplomatic relations, and thus create a condition out of which war might come without the intention of either country. I do not ask you to minimize the earnestness of the president's statement—that would be unfair, both to him and to Germany. The sinking of the Lusitania can not be defended upon the facts as we understand them. The killing of innocent women and children can not be justified, whether the killing is by drowning or starving; no nation can successfully plead the inhumanity of her enemies as an excuse for inhumanity on her own part. While it is true that cruelty is apt to beget cruelty, it can not be said that 'like cures like.' Even in war we are not absolved from the obligation to remedy evils by the influence of a good example. 'Let your light so shine,' is a precept that knows no times nor seasons as it knows neither latitude nor longitude.

"Third: Do not attempt to connect the negotiations which are going on between the United States and Germany with those between the United States and Great Britain. The cases are different, but even if they were the same, it would be necessary to treat with each nation separately. My personal preference has been to repeat our insistence that the Allies shall not interfere with our commerce with neutral countries, but the difference on this point was a matter of judgment and not a matter of principle. In the note to Great Britain, dated March 30th, this government said: 'In view of these assurances formally given to this government, it is confidently expected that the extensive powers conferred by the order in council on the executive officers of the Crown will be restricted by 'orders issued by the government' directing the exercise of their discretionary powers in such a manner as to modify in practical application those provisions of the order in council which, if strictly enforced, would violate neutral rights and interrupt legitimate trade. Relying on the faithful performance of these voluntary assurances by His Majesty's government, the United States takes it for granted that the approach of American merchantmen to neutral ports situated upon the long line of coast affected by the order in council will not be interfered with when it is known that they do not carry goods which are contra-