

case of a man who by nature and training is one of the shrewdest politicians and controversialists that the world has ever known, who has nevertheless been ready at his pleasure to cast caution to the winds, to sever the friendships of years for an idea, to voice principles he knew to be fatal to his own interests.

We remember, as it were yesterday, Bryan's return from his trip around the world early in 1908. In every country of the globe he had been received as peer by rulers, great and small. He had girdled the earth with the nobility of his own democratic personality. His fame was celebrated by all peoples. The United States was tired of Roosevelt and cold with respect to Taft. The campaigns of 1896 and 1900 were practically forgotten. When Bryan came to New York to speak at Madison Square Garden, he came as a hero.

We remember what happened. The speech which all but declared for government ownership of railroads was delivered, notwithstanding the fact that his advisers, including friends so loyal as to be political idolaters, wept as they implored him not to speak what he had written. And the result? The great audience that had come to cheer remained, such of it as did remain, to groan! Mr. Roosevelt is generally given the credit of electing Mr. Taft in 1908; but Mr. Bryan as surely elected him, as he as surely defeated himself, when he made that speech so chilling to a public sentiment that was ready to embrace him.

What shall we call this quality of recklessness in a man who in a dozen instances has shown that he is no amateur in the art of fence, no chicken-heart when it comes to punishing an enemy? Shall we call it "religion"—that spiritual exaltation which we see sometimes in women and so rarely in men, that makes a thing "right" and inevitable against reason, against interest, because to the mind of the individual there is nothing else to do? If Mr. Bryan's record be examined closely, it will be found that he has done many things, and said more of them, that do not square with the average concert of reason, of justice, of utility. Apparently, he has been at times ruthless, vengeful, opportune, selfish, indiscreet. At other times he has cheerfully thrown away opportunities which other men would have willingly spent a lifetime to get within their grasp.

What is the explanation of this Bryan, who has always been ready to accept responsibility and yet technically avoids the greatest measure of it that ever came his way?

Is it possible that this man of vast experience, with all the wisdom and adroitness of the serpent, still harks back in character to some simple teaching of his youth in all simplicity? That, for all his cracking of heads and chastening of enemies, and machinations in the world of politics, he actually loves his neighbor as himself?

We believe this to be the explanation.

And whatever you or we may think of the present state of mind in which Bryan finds himself we are bound to admit that the country could stand several army corps like him, and be all the better for their influence and effect on a more militant population.

THE NOTE TO BERLIN

[From the Des Moines Tribune.]

Either because the subject has been staled a little, or because Mr. Bryan has diverted public attention, or because the president has felt constrained in the writing, or because he is trying to meet all the conventional rules of a defiance without actually involving the country in danger of

war, or for some other reason, the second note to Berlin seems to lack "punch."

It reads much more like an original notice in an ordinary suit at law than like the proclamation of an outraged people against an invasion of national rights.

It states all the facts needed to bring us to an impasse with Germany, and, in fact, amounts to an ultimatum, without having a sentence such as Roosevelt, or Cleveland, or Andrew Jackson, would have put in to give emphasis to the purely legal demand for reparation.

On this account it is likely to fail at this end of arousing enthusiasm while at the other end it may serve every purpose of arousing belligerency.

But by and beyond all this the note is open, of course, to the objection Mr. Bryan brings against it, and this is the vital matter, after all, the only matter worth considering, that it is couched in the old terms, and is drafted along the old lines, when, if we were to be governed by the newer and larger statesmanship, we should proclaim a new doctrine of internationalism, and set a new standard of international intercourse.

The note speaks of civilized warfare, when there is no civilized warfare; it talks of rules of war, when there are no rules of war; it distinguishes between murder when committed in a prescribed way and murder when committed in a new way; it follows the regular formula with as much care as the principals in a prize fight, and all the time the world is waiting for some nation big enough and honest enough to tell the truth about the whole business, and to set its face definitely and courageously against the whole business.

It is fair to assume that the president is a man of peace. The chances are he shares fully the views of Mr. Bryan about war. But he feels like a judge in court, and holds himself like a judge in court, bound by the prescribed rules, when the call is for a great leader, fearless enough to get away from the traditions and to set a new course for civilization.

THE BURIED FACTS

[From the Johnstown, Pa., Democrat.]

Fortunately or unfortunately, according to the point of view, the friends of William Jennings Bryan are compelled to keep silent regarding many matters that will one day be of more than little interest to the general public, while on the other hand Mr. Bryan's enemies are at liberty to conduct their guerilla warfare with all the malevolence their perverted tastes make pleasing to them. Any sane man who stops to think at all must realize that if those who believe in the integrity of the former secretary of state were to defend him with one half the warmth, one half the vigor, with one half the anger that characterizes the attacks of his enemies, the nation would straightway be embroiled in a controversy that involved only personalities, a controversy that would be very unwise at this time.

Just as it comes about that Mr. Bryan's friends can not go the limit in discussing the reasons that forced him to leave the cabinet, neither is it expedient at this time to indulge in any prolonged discussion regarding the reasons the metropolitan press, a portion of the advisors of the president and a large number of the members of both houses of congress have been from the very beginning of the war pro-British. It is veritable stuff and nonsense to conclude that men who have without a single compunction of conscience been responsible for the untimely deaths of

scores of American workingmen, who have seen the wives and children of American millworkers starve to death without even suggesting that some measure of relief be taken, are aroused because of the alleged outrages committed by the Germans. Nor would the coterie responsible for the massacre at Roosevelt or the militarism at Ludlow be aroused even by the sinking of a Lusitania. There is another reason. Mr. Bryan knows it. Wall street knows it. The New York banking interests know it. The masters of capital all know.

The one fact that stands out so high that every observer must notice it is that almost without exception the papers that have always served corrupt interests in this country, the men who have been responsible for all the serious offenses of Big Business, and the men who have always attended to the legislative errands of Big Business that regarded privilege at its proper portion, are all pro-British. Is not that fact striking enough to cause serious thought?

Manifestly it would be improper for any advocate of strict neutrality to involve this government in serious difficulties with the Allies simply for the sake of improving the positions of the Germans. It is not that the administration itself has been unneutral. It is Big Business and that portion of the press that is controlled by it that has offended. It is the Roosevelts and their kind who have openly espoused the cause of King George. Because of the sentiment created by the promoters of the English propaganda and because of the fact that German diplomacy has offended in a thousand ways there has been no general demand that the United States proceed vigorously against England. In short, it has come about that while they are reviling him, the enemies of the former secretary of state are employing Mr. Bryan's methods in dealing with England and at the same time are demanding that Mr. Roosevelt's methods be employed in dealing with Germany. Is it not so? Are we not making it evident to Mr. Asquith's government that this country is prepared to "talk it over," to take time in order to reach an amicable understanding. We objected to the English orders-in-council—but we are willing to talk it over. We objected when Canadian soldiers shot three unoffending American fishermen on the lakes—but we were willing to talk it over. We objected when England seized a number of our ships—but we are willing to talk it over. And all that is quite right. We have been very Bryanesque in dealing with Great Britain. It was only in the case of Germany that the former secretary of state's methods became "idle vaporings," "dreams of an insane man" and all that sort of thing.

Mr. Bryan has been accused of being garrulous. As a matter of fact he is holding his tongue in a very surprising fashion. He is remaining silent concerning a great many matters because he realizes, as thousands of others realize, that just now the best interests of the country demand that his friends show more restraint than is being shown by his enemies. The only point that can be contended for just now is that since we are willing to employ the Bryan formula in dealing with the Allies, we use that same formula in dealing with the government at Berlin.

It is highly important that our government make no serious mistake in this matter. In times of great stress a mistaken administration would be supported against any possible combination of foreign powers. When the showdown comes a people have to stand together as against an invader. We can not quarrel regarding our foreign policies the way we quarrel

when our domestic policies are the issue. Not only Mr. Bryan, but his friends throughout the country realize that fact.

BRYAN'S ATTITUDE

[From the Nashville, Tenn., Banner.]

Mr. Bryan's difference with the president is, as he states it, one of method and not of purpose. Both, he assumes have the same end in view. Both desire peace, both oppose any embroilment of the United States in the bloody maelstrom of European strife, but they differ essentially as to the best means to settle the dispute that has arisen between the United States and Germany.

Mr. Bryan has urged that the dispute concerning the sinking of the Lusitania and other acts of the German submarines affecting American rights be left for settlement to an international commission for investigation, a year's time to be allowed for the work, and that in the meanwhile Americans be warned not to take passage on ships owned by belligerents, or on American ships carrying munitions of war.

Mr. Bryan says he has left the cabinet "in the hope of securing such an expression of public sentiment as will support the president in employing these remedies if in the future he finds it consistent with his sense of duty to favor them."

Mr. Bryan's views are undoubtedly those of a large portion of the American people, who take a conservative view of the matter and oppose rash action that may involve trouble.

The principles advocated by Mr. Bryan are in accord with the peace treaties he has negotiated with a number of nations, and which, he says Germany accepted, though no formal convention was drafted with that country.

Mr. Bryan's purpose to persuade the people, or at least to ask for an expression of popular opinion that will consider the course the president has taken in such a crisis as that now confronting the nation, is, to say the least unique; and it is difficult to see how he can make the agitation so friendly to the administration as he seems to propose.

Mr. Bryan's idea as to how the trouble should be settled is that which the Banner has believed to be right, and which there are abundant reasons to believe a large element of American citizenship will endorse. His difference with the administration and his purpose to ask for a popular expression opposed to the president's position, creates a very sensitive situation. It is to be hoped that the dispute will remain within the bounds of that amity which Mr. Bryan appears to desire, and that the common bond of all true Americans and the principle of America first will not be forgotten.

FROM CALIFORNIA

Modesto, Cal., June 13, 1915—The Prince of Peace, Washington, D. C.: Congratulations! My praise to you is too eternal for words. You are fine and brave and true to us mothers. The mothers, wives, sisters of the country owe you an infinite debt of gratitude. May your body be strengthened, your mind clarified, your spirit reinforced, so that you may continue with this glorious cause is the prayer of A MOTHER.

At the Front

"Yes, I saw Chawlie Chippendale at the front."

"Good old Chawlie. I suppose he was waving his sword in the sunlight and shouting 'Come on, lads, come on!'"

"Well, no, he wasn't. He was waving a spade and yelling 'Dig, you Tommies, dig!'" — Cleveland Plain Dealer.