

sixty-four years of spotless public service of William Ewart Gladstone will, in years to come, be regarded as rich an ornament to the history of this nation as the life of any man who poured out his blood upon a battlefield.

(London Peace Congress Speech, 1906.)

LIFTING BY EXAMPLE

On the walls of the temple at Karnak an ancient artist carved the likeness of an Egyptian king; the monarch is represented as holding a group of captives by the hair, the other hand raising a club as if to strike a blow. What king would be willing to confess himself so cruel today? In some of the capitals of Europe there are monuments built of, or ornamented with, cannon taken in war; this form of boasting, once popular, is still tolerated, though it must in time give way to some emblem of victory less suggestive of slaughter. As we are gathered tonight in England's capital, permit me to conclude with a sentiment suggested by a piece of statuary which stands in Windsor Castle. It represents the late lamented Queen Victoria leaning upon her royal consort; he has one arm about her, and with the other hand is pointing upward. The sculptor has told in marble an eloquent story of strength coupled with tenderness, of love rewarded with trust, of sorrow brightened by hope, and he has told the story so plainly that it was scarcely necessary to chisel the words: "Allured to brighter worlds, and led the way." It was a beautiful conception—more beautiful than that which gave to the world the Greek Slave, the Dying Gladiator, or the Goddess Athene, and it embodies an idea which, with the expanding feeling of comradeship, can be applied to the association of nations, as well as to the relations that exist between husband and wife. Let us indulge the hope that our nation may so measure up to its great opportunities, and so bear its share of the White Man's Burden, as to earn the right to symbolize its progress by a similar figure. If it has been allured by Providence to higher ground, may it lead the way, winning the confidence of those who follow it, and exhibiting the spirit of Him who said, "I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto Me."

(From London Fourth of July Speech, 1906.)

AN INTERNATIONAL IDEAL

The world is coming to understand that armies and navies, however numerous and strong, are impotent to stop thought. Thought inspired by love will yet rule the world. I am glad that there is a national product more valuable than gold or silver, more valuable than cotton or wheat or corn or iron—an ideal. That is merchandise—if I may call it such—that moves freely from country to country. You can not vex it with an export tax or hinder it with an import tariff. It is greater than legislators, and rises triumphant over the machinery of government. In the rivalry to present the best ideal to the world, love, not hatred, will control; and I am glad that on this Thanksgiving Day I can meet my countrymen and their friends here assembled, return thanks for what my country has received, thanks for the progress that the world has made, and contemplate with joy the coming of that day when the rivalry between nations will be, not to see which can injure the other most, but to show which can hold highest the light that guides the footsteps of the human race to higher ground.

(From Thanksgiving Day Address in London.)

RADICAL AND CONSERVATIVE

We have found many curious things in this country, but Mrs. Bryan and I have been especially interested in what they call the "Korean Lions." I do not know whether other Americans have been impressed by these, but we shall take two Korean lions home with us (if we can secure a pair) and put them as a guard in front of our house. The Korean lions are interesting for several reasons, and one of the most important is that they represent the affirmative and the negative. I noticed today that one of them had his mouth open as though he were saying "yes," and the other had his mouth tightly closed as if he had just said "no." Both the affirmative and the negative are necessary. You find everywhere the radical and the conservative. Both are essential in a progres-

sive state. The conservative is necessary to keep the radical from going too fast, and the radical is necessary to make the conservative go at all. One is as necessary to the welfare of the nation as the other. There must be a party in power, and there must be a party out of power, although I think that, for convenience sake, they ought to change places occasionally. When a party goes into power it is apt to be more conservative than when out of power, and when a party goes out of power it is likely to become more radical. I might give a number of reasons for it. In the first place, responsibility tends to make a party more deliberate—it sobers it. Then, too, a party that is defeated often learns from the victor how to win, and sometimes the successful party learns from the defeated one.

(From Tokio Speech at Ambassador's dinner. Marquis Ito, premier, and Count Okuma, leader of the opposition, were among the guests.)

PEACE

THE THIRTY PEACE TREATIES

There are five fundamental propositions which run through all the treaties, namely (1) that investigation shall be resorted to in ALL cases not otherwise provided for; (2) the Commission is PERMANENT and ready to be invoked at any time; (3) the investigation is to be concluded within ONE YEAR unless the time is changed by mutual consent; (4) the parties agree NOT TO DECLARE WAR OR BEGIN HOSTILITIES until the investigation has been made; but (5) THEY RESERVE THE RIGHT TO ACT INDEPENDENTLY AFTER the investigation is completed.

It is believed that these treaties will go far towards making war a remote possibility, for it will be difficult for two nations to engage in war after a year's deliberation. Diplomacy is the art of keeping cool, and the period provided for investigation not only permits the subsidence of passion and the restoration of reason, but it gives time for the operation of that public opinion, which more and more condemns the use of force and exalts the processes of reason. Time also enables impartial judges to separate questions of fact from questions of honor—a most important task, since the line between the two is quite sure to be obscured when anger and prejudice are aroused. Instead of using the ultimatum, we are adopting the motto: NOTHING IS FINAL BETWEEN FRIENDS.

(From The Message From Bethlehem.)

MR. BRYAN'S LETTER OF RESIGNATION

My Dear Mr. President:

It is with sincere regret that I have reached the conclusion that I should return to you the commission of secretary of state with which you honored me at the beginning of your administration.

Obedient to your sense of duty and actuated by the highest motives, you have prepared for transmission to the German government a note in which I can not join without violating what I deem to be an obligation to my country, and the issue involved is of such moment that to remain a member of the cabinet would be as unfair to you as it would be to the cause which is nearest my heart, namely, the prevention of war.

I, therefore, respectfully tender my resignation, to take effect when the note is sent, unless you prefer an earlier hour. Alike desirous of reaching a peaceful solution of the problems arising out of the use of the submarines against merchantmen, we find ourselves differing irreconcilably as to the methods which should be employed.

It falls to your lot to speak officially for the nation; I consider it to be none the less my duty to endeavor as a private citizen to promote the end which you have in view by means which you do not feel at liberty to use.

"In severing the intimate and pleasant relations which have existed between us during the past two years, permit me to acknowledge the profound satisfaction which it has given me to be associated with you in the important work which has come before the state department, and to thank you for the courtesies extended.

With heartiest good wishes for your personal

welfare and for the success of your administration, I am, my dear Mr. President, very truly yours,

W. J. BRYAN.

Washington, June 8, 1915.

TWO POINTS OF DIFFERENCE

My reason for resigning is clearly stated in my letter of resignation, namely, that I may employ as a private citizen the means which the President does not feel at liberty to employ. I honor him for doing what he believes to be right, and I am sure that he desires, as I do, to find a peaceful solution of the problem which has been created by the action of the submarines.

Two of the points on which we differ, each conscientious in conviction, are:

First, as to the suggestion of investigation by an international commission, and,

Second, as to warning Americans against traveling on belligerent vessels or with cargoes of ammunition.

I believe that this nation should frankly state to Germany that we are willing to apply in this case the principle which we are bound by treaty to apply to disputes between the United States and thirty countries with which we have made treaties providing for investigation of all disputes of every character and nature.

These treaties, negotiated under this administration, make war practically impossible between this country and these thirty governments, representing nearly three-fourths of all the people of the world.

Among the nations with which we have these treaties are Great Britain, France and Russia. No matter what disputes may arise between us and these treaty nations, we agree that there shall be no declaration of war and no commencement of hostilities until the matters in dispute have been investigated by an international commission and a year's time allowed for investigation and report. This plan was offered to all the nations without any exception whatever, and Germany was one of the nations that accepted the principle, being the twelfth, I think, to accept. No treaty was actually entered into with Germany, but I can not see that that should stand in the way when both nations endorsed the principle. I do not know whether Germany would accept the offer, but our country should, in my judgment, make the offer.

Such an offer, if accepted, would at once relieve the tension and silence all the jingoes who are demanding war. Germany has always been a friendly nation, and a great many of our people are of German ancestry. Why should we not deal with Germany according to this plan to which the nation has pledged its support?

The second point of difference is as to the course which should be pursued in regard to Americans traveling on belligerent ships or with cargoes of ammunition.

Why should an American citizen be permitted to involve the country in war by traveling upon a belligerent ship when he knows that the ship will pass through a danger zone? The question is not whether an American citizen has a right under international law to travel on a belligerent ship; the question is whether he ought not, out of consideration for his country, if not for his own safety, avoid danger when avoidance is possible.

It is a very one-sided citizenship that compels a government to go to war over a citizen's rights, and yet relieves the citizen of all obligations to consider his nation's welfare. I do not know just how far the President can go legally in actually preventing Americans from traveling on belligerent ships, but I believe the government should go as far as it can, and that in case of doubt it should give the benefit of the doubt to the government.

But even if the government could not legally prevent citizens from traveling on belligerent ships, it could, and in my judgment should, earnestly advise American citizens not to risk themselves or the peace of their country, and I have no doubt that these warnings would be heeded.

President Taft advised Americans to leave Mexico when insurrection broke out there, and President Wilson has repeated the advice. This advice, in my judgment, was eminently wise, and I think the same course should be followed in regard to warning Americans to keep off vessels subject to attack.

I think too, that American passenger ships should be prohibited from carrying ammunition. The lives of passengers ought not to be endan-