

its disturbing effects. And yet the concrete objects for which it is being waged have never been definitely stated.

"The leaders of the several belligerents have, as has been said, stated those objects in general terms. But stated in general terms, they seem the same on both sides. Never yet have authoritative spokesmen of either side avowed the precise objects which would, if attained, satisfy them and their people that the war had been fought out. The world has been left to conjecture what definitive results, what actual exchange of guaranties, what political or territorial changes or readjustments, what stage of military success even, would bring the war to an end.

"It may be that peace is nearer than we know; that the terms which the belligerents on the one side and on the other would deem it necessary to insist upon are not so irreconcilable as some have feared; that an interchange of views would clear the way at least for conference and make the permanent concord of the nations a hope of the immediate future, a concert of nations immediately practicable.

"The President is not proposing peace; he is not even offering mediation. He is merely proposing that soundings be taken in order that we may learn, the neutral nations with the belligerent, how near the haven of peace may be for which all mankind longs with an intense and increasing longing. He believes that the spirit in which he speaks and the objects which he seeks will be understood by all concerned, and he confidently hopes for a response which will bring a new light into the affairs of the world."

PRESIDENT RENDERS AN INVALUABLE SERVICE

Mr. Bryan sent the following telegram to President Wilson from Miami, Fla., Dec. 21:

Hon. Woodrow Wilson, President:
You have rendered an invaluable service to a war-stricken world in asking the belligerent nations to set forth in specific terms the concessions and assurances which they deem necessary to the establishment of a lasting peace. It would be a reflection upon the nations at war to doubt that they know the ends for which they are fighting or to assume that they have any purposes which they are unwilling to reveal. A definite statement by both sides, no matter how far these statements may be apart, will clear the air and afford a basis for negotiations, and, when negotiations begin, they are not likely to terminate until an agreement is reached, because neither side will consent to assume responsibility for continuing the unspeakable horrors of this conflict, if any reasonable terms can be secured. Accept cordial congratulations and my earnest wish for the success of the movement which you have had the honor to inaugurate.

W. J. BRYAN.

PEACE NEGOTIATIONS COMMENCED

A Berlin wireless to Sayville, dated Dec. 26, says: The text of Germany's answer to President Wilson's note was transmitted today to James W. Gerard, the American Ambassador.

"The high-minded suggestion made by the President of the United States of America in order to create a basis for the establishment of a lasting peace has been received and considered by the imperial government in the friendly spirit which was expressed in the President's communication.

"The President points out that which he has at heart and leaves open the choice of the road.

"To the imperial government an immediate exchange of views seems to be the most appropriate road in order to reach the desired result.

"It begs, therefore, in the sense of the declaration made on December 12, which offered a hand for peace negotiations, to propose an immediate meeting of delegates of the belligerent states at a neutral place.

"The Imperial government is also of the opinion that the great work of preventing future wars can be begun only after the end of the present struggle of the nations.

"It will, when this moment shall have come, be ready with pleasure to collaborate entirely with the United States in this exalted task."

The answer of the Central powers concludes with the usual diplomatic terms of politeness.

[The Entente nations' reply to President Wilson's note will be found on page 28.—Ed.]

APPEAL TO DAVID LLOYD GEORGE

Mr. Bryan sent the following cablegram to David Lloyd George from Jacksonville, Fla., Dec. 15:

David Lloyd George:

As a friend of all the nations at war, as a Christian and a lover of humanity, I respectfully but most earnestly appeal to you to use your great influence to secure your government's consent to negotiations.

There is no dispute that must necessarily be settled by force. All international disputes are capable of adjustment by peaceful means. Every guarantee that can possibly be secured by war can be stated as a condition precedent to peace. Do not, I pray you, by refusing an exchange of views assume responsibility for a continuation of the unspeakable horrors of this unparalleled conflict. Your decision may mean life or death to millions.

W. J. BRYAN.

BEGINNING OF THE END

Every citizen in the nation should offer a prayer of thanksgiving for the step which the President has taken in the direction of peace. He has done exactly the right thing in asking the belligerent nations to state the terms upon which they are willing for the war to end. He does not attempt to outline terms—that is not his business. He simply assumes that the nations at war KNOW what they are fighting about—will they deny that they KNOW? He also assumes that the ends for which they fight are public ends—ends which they have no reason to conceal. Will they deny that they fight for public ends? They dare not say that they are actuated by a SECRET PURPOSE in the unprecedented slaughter in which they are engaged.

If they know what they are fighting for and have nothing to conceal, they can easily respond to the President's very reasonable request, and then the world will know which side is to blame for the continuation of the war—and responsibility for a continuation of this war is even more grave than responsibility for its beginning, because no one could have known in advance what all now know of its unspeakable cruelties and of the unbearable burden it casts upon this and future generations.

Let us hope that the President's appeal is the beginning of the end of this horrible nightmare which constitutes such an awful indictment against Christian civilization. W. J. BRYAN.

"PREMATURE" PEACE

One of the most pathetic incidents of the war across the sea—one of the most damning proofs of its brutalizing influence—is to be found in a document recently signed by "fifty prelates and laymen of various denominations representing many sections of the country" who have "united in a warning against what they declare may be a premature peace in Europe. (The words quoted are taken from a press dispatch which appeared in the morning papers on New Year's Day—what a beginning for a New Year!)

The signers say that they "view with some concern the organized and deliberate efforts now being made to so stampede Christian sentiment as to create a public opinion blindly favorable to stopping hostilities without adequate consideration of the issues which the war involves."

After two years and five months of a war that has caused the death of five millions and the wounding of ten millions more—the expenditure of more than fifty billions, and the contraction of war debts that can not be liquidated in centuries—to think that "prelates and laymen," even to the number of fifty, can be found to protest against a proposed peace as "premature."

One can understand how a Christian in the midst of this unparalleled carnage, with his face bathed in blood and his heart bursting with anger, could in a moment of excitement forget his religion long enough to use language like that employed by the "prelates and laymen," but it would seem impossible—if it were not so—that Americans with any degree of prominence in any Christian denomination should so forget the teachings of the Prince of Peace as to rebuke the President for the righteous effort he is making to bring the war to an end. And yet there was one among the twelve select-

ed by the Master himself, who did not understand the character of Christ's mission—the proportion is not less today. W. J. BRYAN.

SWITZERLAND SUPPORTS THE PRESIDENT

Following is the text of the note from the Swiss Consul, as given out by Secretary Lansing:
"The President of the United States of America, with whom the Swiss federal council, guided by its warm desire that the hostilities may soon come to an end, has for a considerable time been in touch, had the kindness to apprise the federal council of the peace note sent to the governments of the central and entente powers. In that note President Wilson discusses the great desirability of international agreements for the purpose of avoiding more effectively and permanently the occurrence of catastrophes such as the one under which the peoples are suffering today. In this connection he lays particular stress on the necessity for bringing about the end of the present war. Without making peace proposals himself or offering mediation, he confines himself to sounding as to whether mankind may hope to have approached the haven of peace.

"The most meritorious personal initiative of President Wilson will find a mighty echo in Switzerland. True to the obligations arising from observing the strictest neutrality, united by the same friendship with the states of both warring groups and powers, situated like an island amidst the seething waves of the terrible world war, with its ideal and material interests most sensibly jeopardized and violated, our country is filled with a deep longing for peace, and ready to assist by its small means to stop the endless sufferings caused by the war and brought before its eyes by daily contact with the interned, the severely wounded, and those expelled, and to establish the foundations for a beneficial co-operation of the peoples.

"The Swiss federal council is therefore glad to seize the opportunity to support the efforts of the President of the United States. It would consider itself happy if it could act in any, no matter how modest a way, for the rapprochement of the peoples now engaged in the struggle, and for reaching a lasting peace."

SENATE SUPPORTS PRESIDENT'S APPEAL FOR PEACE

The senate has, by a vote of 47 to 17, endorsed the President's appeal for peace. Good. The resolution was so worded as NOT to endorse the suggestion of an agreement to enforce peace hereafter.

The two propositions are distinct and separate, and endorsement of one does not carry with it the endorsement of the other.

EVERYBODY should support the proposition that the nations at war state to the world the conditions upon which they are willing to have peace restored; NOBODY should support the proposition that we form an alliance with any or all of the European nations to enforce peace in Europe. Our interests are different from theirs; we have no part in their rivalries or hatreds, and we have no young men to lay upon the altar of the old world war god. W. J. BRYAN.

It is significant, but not strange, that the jingo ministers who are now afraid the European war will end too soon are the very ones who shouted for preparedness in this country because they professed to fear that war would begin too soon over here. And it so happens that the professional soldiers and the manufacturers of munitions agree with these jingo ministers in both positions.

OPPOSING PEACE

The opposition to peace manifested by the leading jingo newspapers will open the eyes of the people to the influence exerted by the traffickers in war material. They do not want peace and hence the outcry against peace made by the papers which they control. But peace will come in spite of them.

INTERESTED IN WAR

The big jingo newspapers that are under the influence of munition manufacturers are not at all pleased with the President's appeal to the nations to state their peace terms. They don't want peace; the war is too profitable.