

preparation. Difficult and delicate as these questions are, they must be faced with the utmost candor and decided in a spirit of real accommodation if peace is to come with healing in its wings and come to stay.

"Peace can not be had without concession and sacrifice. There can be no sense of safety and equality among the nations if great, preponderating armies are henceforth to continue here and there to be built up and maintained. The statesmen of the world must plan for peace and nations must adjust and accommodate their policy to it as they have planned for war and made ready for pitiless contest and rivalry. The question of armaments, whether on land or sea, is the most immediately and intensely practical question connected with the future fortunes of nations and of mankind.

"I have spoken upon these great matters without reserve and with the utmost explicitness, because it has seemed to me to be necessary if the world's yearning desire for peace was anywhere to find free voice and utterance. Perhaps I am the only person in high authority amongst all the peoples of the world who is at liberty to speak and hold nothing back. I am speaking as an individual, and yet I am speaking also, of course, as the responsible head of a great government, and I feel confident that I have said what the people of the United States would wish me to say. May I not add that I hope and believe that I am in effect speaking for liberals and friends of humanity in every nation and of every programme of liberty? I would fain believe that I am speaking for the silent mass of mankind everywhere who have as yet had no place or opportunity to speak their real hearts out concerning the death and ruin they see to have come already upon the persons and the homes they hold most dear.

"And in holding out the expectation that the people and government of the United States will join the other civilized nations of the world in guaranteeing the permanence of peace upon such terms as I have named, I speak with the greater boldness and confidence because it is clear to every man who can think that there is in this promise no breach in either our traditions or our policy as a nation, but a fulfilment rather of all that we have professed or striven for.

MONROE DOCTRINE FOR ALL THE WORLD, BASIS OF PLAN

"I am proposing, as it were, that the nations should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world: That no nation should seek to extend its policy over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own policy, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful.

"I am proposing that all nations henceforth avoid entangling alliances which would draw them into competitions of power, catch them in a net of intrigue and selfish rivalry, and disturb their own affairs with influences intruded from without. There is no entangling alliance in a concert of power. When all unite to act in the same sense and with the same purpose all act in the common interest and are free to live their own lives under a common protection.

"I am proposing government by the consent of the governed; that freedom of the seas which in international conference after conference representatives of the United States have urged with the eloquence of those who are the convinced disciples of liberty, and that moderation of armaments which makes of armies and navies power for order merely, not an instrument of aggression or of selfish violence.

"These are American principles, American policies. We could stand for no others. And they are also the principles and policies of forward looking men and women everywhere, of every modern nation, of every enlightened community. They are the principles of mankind and must prevail."

THE PRESIDENT TO THE POWERS

While I have not reached the same conclusion the President has in regard to the wisdom of joining a league to enforce peace, I am glad to add my voice to the chorus of praise which he has called forth by his brave and timely appeal to the war-mad rulers of Europe. The basis of

peace which he proposes is a new philosophy—that is, new to governments, but as old as the Christian religion—and it is the only foundation upon which a permanent peace can be built. His message is epoch-making and will place him among the Immortals. The phrase, "peace without victory," was "a shot heard round the world." No one can calculate its power for good. He has given the belligerents the shock they needed—they must settle the account with their people if they refuse to heed. May his heart be gladdened by an early agreement.

W. J. BRYAN.

Mr. Bryan's New York Speech

[From the New York Herald, Feb. 3. Reproduced in Chattanooga News.]

Asserting that no nation involved in the European war has done the United States an intentional injury and that no European nation has challenged America, William J. Bryan, speaking to 5,000 persons last night in Madison Square Garden, roused his pacifist audience to a frenzy of enthusiasm by his declaration that there is no justification for this country being drawn into war.

Mr. Bryan had turned back from a trip to Florida to address the meeting, which was called by the American Neutral Conference committee, as a public testimonial to President Wilson for his recent address to the senate on the subject of world peace. It was called before the President received the most recent Prussian note imposing restriction upon American use of the high seas.

"I am glad," said Mr. Bryan, referring to the Prussian note, "that the President sent his note to the belligerent powers before this new situation arose. If we can ask the nations at war to stop in their slaughter, who will say that this nation should rush into the war at the first opportunity? What a spectacle we would present, asking them to be patient and forbearing and then not willing to be patient and forbearing ourselves! These nations are in a death grapple. We must never forget that there has not been an injury that has come to us that has been intended against us; every injury that has come to us has been incidental to an attempt on the part of the nation inflicting the injury to injure a nation with which it is at war.

"God forbid that we would ever compel a nation to go to war with us which is not our enemy and does not want to go to war. This is the greatest neutral country. It is the one to which the world is looking to act as mediator. If we go into this war we must step down from that high position and turn over to some other nation the greatest opportunity the world ever has known.

"Some nation must lift the world out of the black night of war, and ours is the nation to perform that task. I believe that Providence has selected this nation to lift the moral code, now used between man and man, up to the level of nations. We can not do that if we go into this war.

"No nation has challenged us, and I do not think any nation will challenge us; but if, in a moment of excitement, one of the madmen of Europe does challenge us, I think we should say to him: 'No, we have priceless ideals to preserve and the interests of 100,000,000 people to guard, and we will not get down and wallow with you in the blood and mire to conform to your false standards of honor.'

"I believe the day is coming when nations will no more feel obliged to accept a challenge to go to war, than men now feel themselves obligated to accept a challenge to fight a duel. If some nation must lead the way to this new era, then why not this nation? I believe that for this country to go into this war would be a crime against our own country and against the world.

FAITH IN THE PRESIDENT

"I have faith in the President's desire to keep us out of war, and I have faith as well in his ability to do so, as expressed in the resolution adopted here tonight. God forbid that we ever entangle ourselves in the quarrels of the old world. If any nation ever attacks this nation

then I believe we ought to fight until the last man is dead. But I don't believe that a single mother's son should be carried across 3,000 miles of ocean and made to die on European soil in settlement of European quarrels. I would not exchange the moral prestige of this republic for the martial glory of all the empires that have risen and fallen since time began.

Earlier Mr. Bryan had attacked the newspapers of the country, and particularly of New York city, because, he declared, they did not always reflect true public opinion. He declared the President and other public officers were dependent in large measure upon newspapers for their understanding of what the public feels, but the fact remains, he declared, that the public officer who relies on the metropolitan press for information on what the people want is apt to be woefully misled.

COMMENDS PEACE NOTE

Mr. Bryan was unstinted in his praise of the President for his address on world peace. He termed the address an "epoch-making, heroic, courageous action, which places the President forever among the Immortals of the nation."

"If any philosophy has ever been exploded," Mr. Bryan declared, "it is the philosophy that you can keep the peace of the world by being armed to the teeth. We have learned that pistol toting among nations is just as much a menace to the peace of nations as pistol toting among men was a menace to the peace of a community. The path of history is lined with the wrecks of empires built on force.

"Peace without victory," Mr. Bryan declared, "was the only manner in which the European war could be settled, unless the vanquished was to struggle forever under the force that defeated them." He reiterated his declaration in favor of referendum before war may be declared.

The meeting was presided over by George Foster Peabody and the resolution offered by Mr. Peabody was adopted.

"In the abiding faith that," the resolution said, "in the new emergency that confronts us you will still succeed in combining peace with honor and justice, and in the belief that it is our own first duty to our country and to the stricken people of the world to keep this nation out of war, we hereby pledge you our unfaltering support."

The resolution also suggested that the President avail himself now of the opportunity provided in the recent naval appropriation bill to call a congress of the great powers to consider the basis of peaceful adjustment of international disputes.

ANOTHER REPORT OF SPEECH

[From the New York Times, February 3.]

Ex-Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan told an audience of 5,000 persons at the peace meeting held at Madison Square Garden last night by the American Neutral Conference committee that this country should fight till the last man was killed, if it were invaded, but that we should not take part in European quarrels. If any dispute arose which could not be settled by peaceful means, so that it became necessary for us to have war, he said that we should postpone that war until after the present war is over, so that we should not have any allies to have a say about when the war should end or about what the terms of peace should be.

The audience, which cheered and rose to its feet several times when Mr. Bryan reached eloquent climaxes and laughed uproariously at the jocular passages which were frequent, adopted a memorandum which was read by George Foster Peabody, who presided. They praised President Wilson's past endeavors for peace and suggested that his next move be to call a congress of powers to seek a peaceful solution of the issues of the war.

Mr. Bryan spoke much in praise of President Wilson, and was applauded frequently for it, especially when he voiced his confidence over and over again that the President would find a means of avoiding trouble. He did not refer directly to the German note, and advocated no course of action in regard to it, beyond his general recommendation that peace be kept. His speech was composed mainly of abstract maxims of peace and of argument in favor of his plans for assuring peace, especially his project of a constitutional amendment which would take

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