

But I am not discouraged, I learned many years ago not to expect reforms advocated by me to be accepted at once. It takes time for the people to inform themselves; sometimes it takes years. It took about twenty-three years for silver to rise above gold, at the coinage ratio, but I was patient and waited and finally the silver dollar went to a premium. So with this reform, the people will be aroused some day—the sooner they are aroused, the less they will suffer. Someone has said that the American people sleep until the eleventh hour but that, when they do wake up, they can do more in the next hour than any other people can do in the whole day. Some day the American people will take this matter in hand and then all parties, joining together, will rid the land of the profiteer and close the door against his return. In the meantime, the churches should be at work and lead in the creation of a sentiment that will coerce the parties into action—for parties act not from inclination but under compulsion.

There is an international problem even more menacing than the domestic problems to which I have referred—the peace problem. While we were in the war we could hardly comprehend its magnitude, just as one standing by the side of a mountain sees not the mountain but only the part next to him. We are now far enough away from the war to see something of its outlines. Let me mention a few of the facts that have been gathered. Nearly thirty million human beings lost their lives directly or indirectly as a result of the war, and three hundred billions of property was destroyed. The debts of the world grew from forty billions to two hundred and fifty-nine billions—an increase of more than five hundred per cent; the paper money of the world increased from seven billions to fifty-six and the gold reserve behind it dwindled from seventy per cent to twelve. These are some of the outlines of a war without a precedent or parallel in the annals of time.

And have you thought that all but one of the great nations in this war are Christian nations? And that all of the great branches of the Christian Church were involved? Germany is Lutheran; Austria is Catholic; in Great Britain the Episcopal Church is the State church; in Russia the Greek church is dominant; in the United States all branches of the Christian Church unite in determining our ideals. I know of no graver indictment that can be brought against the Christian Churches of the world than this; that, nineteen hundred years after the angels sang to the shepherds at Bethlehem their song of "Peace on earth good will toward men," the Christians have found no way of settling their disputes except by killing each other on the battlefield! Even this would not be so appalling if out of the war had come a world-resolve to make it the last to redder the earth with blood. But the world does not seem to have learned much by its experience. If I can understand the news that comes to us from across the ocean they are drifting back toward war in Europe and we have not learned as much as we should. In fact, we are the only great nation which seems unable to conclude a peace. We demonstrated that we could go into the war and mobilize our resources for war but we cannot get out. Great Britain can make peace; Germany can make peace; Japan, France, Italy, and even poor devastated Belgium, can make peace but we cannot. Our senators will not let us. Our constitution enables one more than one-third of the Senate to prevent the ratification of a treaty; neither party can secure the necessary two-thirds and, so far, congress has shown no disposition to amend the constitution so as to make it as easy to end a war as to begin one.

The senators have been talking about the treaty for more than a year but they talk about things infinitely small and ignore provisions that are infinitely great. There are three big provisions in the League of Nations that arouse no controversy, excite no debate and to which no one objects. Let me name them. First, six months' time is given for the investigation of any dispute of any kind or character, and after that three months for deliberation before a resort to war—nine months' time before the dispute can be carried to the battlefield. The idea is taken from the thirty treaties which our nation has negotiated with thirty nations representing three-quarters of the world. A year's time is allowed by the treaties but nine months is enough. Only forty-eight hours were allowed for the acceptance or rejection of the ultimatum that began this war; one of the ambassadors

from Europe told me that they could have prevented the war if they had had two weeks' time for the mobilizing of the peace forces of the nation. The League of Nations allows twelve times two weeks for investigation and then six times two weeks more for deliberation—eighteen times two weeks before an appeal to the sword. It would be almost impossible for two nations to go to war after nine months spent in investigation and deliberation.

Second, progress toward universal disarmament. The allies meet from time to time to decide how many soldiers Germany and Austria shall be allowed to have; the League of Nations contemplates the disarmament not of a few nations but of all the nations. When this policy of disarmament is carried out no nation can prepare for war without notifying the world of its wicked intent.

Third, the abolition of secret treaties which have been found to be a fruitful source of war.

I repeat: Nine months for investigation and deliberation, progress toward universal disarmament and the abolition of secret treaties—three provisions which, taken together, constitute, I think, the longest step toward peace taken in a thousand years, if not the longest ever taken by agreement among nations, but we cannot have these things because the senators cannot agree on the phraseology of contingent reservations that may never be used at all.

And see the situation in which our nation is placed. It entered the war to make the world safe for democracy, spent more than twenty-five billions of dollars and sacrificed an hundred thousand precious lives. Little nations in Europe took us at our word, drove their kings and emperors into exile, wrote constitutions like ours, and for a year and a half have been struggling to keep their feet. Monarchy surges back on one side and Bolshevism threatens them with chaos on the other, but we cannot lend a hand to help them—we cannot ratify the treaty; the senators can not agree on reservations.

And now, after shaming the word Democracy before the world for a year; after blocking the world's progress toward peace for more than twelve months, we make the treaty a partisan issue and ask the world to wait while we fight out our differences at the polls, knowing all the time that neither party can secure a two-thirds majority in the Senate at this election and that, therefore, compromise will be as necessary at the end of the campaign as now. If we cannot compromise now, how can we hope to do so after four months spent in denunciation, each party trying to throw the blame upon the other?

But the platforms are written and any Republican can stand on the Republican platform and think anything or nothing—it is a matter of construction. Any Democrat can stand on the Democratic platform and think anything or nothing—it is a matter of construction. The Republicans say they are not afraid and the Democrats say: "neither are we." The Republicans hope to make political capital out of the issue and the Democrats hope to make more capital than the Republicans. Shame on any Democrat or Republican who talks of a party advantage when a world is on fire and our nation is the only one that can speak the word peace to the contending nations.

Who knows but this great nation was raised up for this very hour? Surely, we have such an opportunity as we never had before and as no other nation has ever had to lead the world toward peace. But what are we doing? Spending nearly twice as much for the army and navy as was thought necessary before the war and a committee of the Senate recently reported a bill which contemplated the expenditure of seven hundred millions a year more for the establishment of universal compulsory military training—a system to which we have never thought it necessary to resort, even when our nation was small. Seven hundred millions a year to be expended in training every young man in the art of taking human life, and yet neither convention gave the country a pledge to oppose this menace to the treasury of the nation and to the peace of the world.

The allies owe us nearly ten billions of dollars and they can never pay it; they cannot pay the interest. We have suspended the interest for three years; if they cannot pay one year's interest now how can they pay three years' interest three years from now, with the old world headed toward bankruptcy? If we collected this indebtedness from our allies they would have to collect it from the enemy and they

could not collect this in addition to what they feel that they themselves need without sowing the seeds of a war more bloody than the one out of which we have come. Why not use a worthless debt to purchase peace, universal and perpetual? Why not use a debt that will never be paid—and will be an increasing irritation while it stands—to remould the terms of the treaty and bring the nations together in friendship and co-operation? We can then have universal disarmament and lift the burden of militarism from the backs of those who toil. Hundreds of millions of Christians addressing the Heavenly Father each morning pray, "Thy kingdom come." Is it not time that they rise from their knees and hasten the coming of God's kingdom by ushering in that prophetic day when swords shall be beaten into plowshares and nations learn war no more?

The third gift to which I invite your attention is the government under which we live. We are in the midst of a presidential campaign. It will continue with increasing intensity until the night before election when it will explode, as it were, in a blaze of glory. The next day a hush will spread over the land, "the tumult and the shouting will cease" and the voters will wend their way to an hundred thousand voting places, where each will have an opportunity to register a freeman's will. That night the wires will flash out the name of one who will be added to the list of Presidents. He will be given a little time for rest and preparation; then, early in March, at a certain hour on a certain day he will appear at the White House door and knock. The occupant of the executive mansion will welcome him with a smile and say, "I was expecting you just at this moment." The man on the inside of the White House will retire; the new man will take the oath of office and become President. He will then be clothed with a power that no human being but a president has ever exercised. When he speaks his voice is the voice of an hundred millions of people; when he acts there is in his arm the strength of a nation. When he writes an order battleships will go out to sea, carrying their big mouthed guns; when he writes another order the ships will return. At his command, armies will assemble and march and fight, and men will die; at his word, armies will dissolve and soldiers will become citizens again. And this will go on for a certain number of years and months and days—for so many hours and minutes and seconds, and then another man will appear at the White House door bearing a new commission from the people. Is it not worth something to live in a land like this where the people can, by their ballots select one of their number and lift him to this pinnacle of power? And is it not greater still to live in a land where the people can, by the ballot, not only exalt a President but also reduce him to the ranks again? It is even more important that the people shall be able to put a President down than to be able to raise him up; for when they elect him president he is just common clay, but when they take him down they separate him from those instrumentalities of government which despots have used for the enslavement of their people.

And why is it that we have a government like this which the people can themselves control—a government by the terms of which the people rule? It is because throughout the centuries past millions of the best and bravest that ever lived have poured out their blood upon the ground that we might be free. Every right of which we boast is a blood bought right—and bought by blood of others, not by our own blood.

Is it not strange that any to whom such a government descends as a rich inheritance from the past should lack appreciation of its worth or fail to live up to the duties of citizenship? Is it not strange that any should be indifferent? In time of war all are willing to die for the government, is it not strange that in time of peace any should be unwilling to live for it? And yet we must have long campaigns and put forth every effort to get the vote out. Even after all is done that can be done we never get the full vote out. If ninety per cent is polled after a heated Presidential campaign we do well; it may not exceed seventy-five or eighty per cent at an intermediate election, and at a primary, which may be more important than an election, the vote may fall below sixty per cent, or fifty, or forty or even thirty. And what excuses do men give for not voting? They are as absurd as those mentioned in the Bible when all with one accord began to make ex-