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Ex-President Lectures on "The World Movement."

UNIVERSITY AULA THROGGED

Modern Civilization Is Compared With That of Former Ages—Speaker Is Hopeful for the Future of Mankind.

Berlin.—Before an audience of learned men and officials of high rank, Theodore Roosevelt lectured Thursday in the University of Berlin. Every seat in the aula was occupied, and many hundreds of requests for admission had to be denied. The distinguished American was introduced to his hearers by the rector of the university. His subject was "The World Movement," and he spoke in English instead of in German as he at one time intended.

Beginning with an eloquent eulogy of the German race and its achievements, the lecturer soon reached the main theme of his discourse, and reviewed the civilization and culture, so far as we know them, of the earliest peoples and their contributions to the modern world. He then continued:

Modern Movement Begins.—At last, a little over 40 years ago, the movement towards a world civilization took up its interrupted march. The beginning of the modern movement may roughly be taken as synchronizing with the discovery of printing, and with that series of bold sea ventures which culminated in the discovery of America, and after these two epochal facts had begun to produce their full effects in material and intellectual life, it became inevitable that civilization should thereafter differ not only in degree but even in kind from all that had gone before. Immediately after the voyage of Columbus and Vasco da Gama there began a tremendous religious ferment; the awakening of intellect went hand in hand with the moral uprising; the great names of Copernicus, Bruno, Kepler, and Galileo show that the mind of man was breaking the fetters that had cramped it; and for the first time experimentation was used as a check upon observation and theorization. Since then, century by century, the changes have increased in rapidity and complexity, and have attained their maximum in both respects during the century just past.

Instead of being directed by one or two dominant peoples, as was the case with all similar movements of the past, the modern movement was shared by many different nations. From every standpoint it has been infinitely greater moment than anything hitherto seen. Not in one but in many different peoples there has been extraordinary growth in wealth, in population, in power of organization, and in mastery over mechanical activity and natural resources. All of this has been accompanied and signified by an immense outburst of energy and restless initiative. The result is varied as it is striking.

Conquest of the World.—In the first place, representatives of this civilization, by their conquest of space, were enabled to spread into all the practically vacant continents, while at the same time, by their triumphs in organization and mechanical invention, they acquired an unheard-of military superiority as compared with their former rivals. To these two facts is primarily due the further fact that for the first time there is really something that approaches a world civilization, a world movement. The spread of the European peoples since the days of Ferdinand the Catholic and Ivan the Terrible has been nearly everywhere, and over every continent. In places the conquests have been ethnic; that is, there has been a new wandering of the peoples and new commonwealths have sprung up in which the people are entirely or mainly of European blood. This is what has happened in the temperate and sub-tropical regions of the Western Hemisphere, in Australia, in portions of northern Asia and southern Africa. In other places the conquest has been purely political. The Europeans representing for the most part merely a small caste of soldiers and administrators, as in most of tropical Asia and Africa and in much of tropical America. Finally, here and there instances occur where there has been no conquest at all, but where an alien people is profoundly and radically changed by the mere impact of western civilization.

There are of course many grades between these different types of influence, but the outcome of what has occurred during the last four centuries is now exercise a more or less profound effect over practically the entire world. There are no continents to which it has not yet penetrated; but there is at present no large space of territory in which the general movement of civilized activity does not make itself more or less felt. This represents something wholly different from the conquests of the past. In the greatest days of Roman dominion the influence of Rome was felt over only a relatively small portion of the world's surface. Over much the larger part of the world the process of change and development was absolutely unaffected by anything that occurred in the Roman empire; and those communities the play of whose influence was felt in action and reaction, and in interaction, among themselves, were grouped immediately around the Mediterranean. Now, however, the whole world is bound together as never before; the bonds are sometimes those of hatred rather than love, but they are bonds nevertheless.

All the Nations Linked.—Frowning or hopeful, every man of leadership in any line of thought or effort must now look beyond the limits of his own country. The student of sociology may live in Berlin or St. Petersburg, Rome or London, or he may live in Melbourne or San Francisco or Buenos Aires, but in whatever city he lives, he must pay heed to the studies of men who live in each of the other cities. When in America we study labor problems and attempt to deal with subjects such as life insurance for wage-workers, we turn to see what you do here in Germany, and we also turn to see what the far-off commonwealth of New Zealand is doing. When a great German scientist is warring against the most dreaded enemies of mankind, creatures of infinitesimal size which the microscope reveals in his blood, he may spend his holidays of study in central Africa or in eastern Asia; and he knows what is accomplished in the laboratories of Tokyo. Just as he must know the details of that practical application of science which has changed the isthmus of Panama from a death-trap into what is almost a health resort. Every progressive in China is striving to improve western methods of education and administration, and hundreds of European

and American books are now translated into Chinese. The influence of European governmental principles is strikingly illustrated by the fact that the emperor has broken down the iron barriers of Moslem conservatism, so that their introduction has become a burning question in Turkey and Persia; while the very unrest, the impatience of European or American control, in India, Egypt or Ethiopia, takes the form of demanding that the government be assimilated more closely to what it is in England or the United States. The deeds and works of any great statesman, the preachings of any great ethical, social, or political teacher, now find echoes in both hemispheres and in every continent. From a new discovery in science to a new method of combating or applying Socialism, there is no movement of note which can take place in any part of the globe without powerfully affecting masses of people in Europe, America, and Australia, in Asia and Africa. For well or for woe, the peoples of mankind are knit together far closer than ever before. The advance has been very great during the past four or five centuries, and in both directions it has gone on with ever increasing rapidity during the last century. After the great age of Rome had passed, the boundaries of knowledge shrank, and in many cases it was not until well-nigh our own times that her domain was once again pushed beyond the ancient landmarks. About the year 150 A. D. Ptolemy, the geographer, published his map of central Africa and the sources of the Nile, and this map was more accurate than any which we had as late as 1850 A. D. More was known of physical science, and more of the truth about the physical world was known in the days of Plato than was known or guessed until the modern movement began. The case was the same as regards military science. At the close of the Middle Ages the weapons were what they had always been—swords, spears, bows, and any improvement in them was more than offset by the loss in knowledge of military organization, in the science of war, and in military leadership since the days of Hannibal and Caesar.

A hundred years ago, when this university was founded, the methods of transportation did not differ in the essentials from what they had been among the highly civilized nations of antiquity. Travelers and merchants went by land, in wheeled vehicles or on beasts of burden, and by sea in boats propelled by sails or by oars; and news was conveyed as it always had been conveyed. A graduate of your university today can go to mid-Asia or mid-Africa with far less cost and ease of performing a feat of no less than would have been the case a hundred years ago with a student who visited Sicily and Andalusia.

Moreover, the invention and use of machinery run steam or electricity have wrought a revolution in industry as great as the revolution in transportation; so that here again the difference between ancient and modern civilization is one not merely of degree but of kind. In many vital respects the huge modern city differs from all preceding cities than any of these differed one from the other; and the giant factory town is of and by itself one of the most formidable problems of modern life.

Steam and electricity have given the race dominion over land and water such as it never had before; and now the conquest of the air is directly impending. As soon as we have thought through time, so the telegraph and the telephone transmit the words of their amphibious, and therefore minds are swayed one by another without regard to the limitations of space and time which formerly formed each community to work in comparative isolation. The modern city, with its wealth and the farm enormously multiplies its power and vigor. Countless trained intelligences are at work to teach us how to avoid or counteract the effects of waste.

In the Realm of Intellect.—The advances in the realm of pure intellect have been of equal note, and they have been both intensive and extensive. Great virgin fields of learning and wisdom have been discovered by the few, and at the same time knowledge has spread among the many to a degree never dreamed of before. Old men among us have seen in their own generation the rise of the first rational science of the evolution of life, the astronomer and the chemist, the psychologist and the historian, and all their brethren in many different fields of wide endeavor, work with a training and knowledge and method which are in effect instruments of precision differentiating them from the laborers of their predecessors as the rifle is differentiated from the bow.

The play of new forces is as evident in the moral and spiritual world as in the world of the mind and the body.

One Danger of Civilization.—One of the prime dangers of civilization has always been its tendency to cause the loss of the virile fighting virtues, of the fighting edge. When men get too comfortable and lead too luxurious lives there is always a danger lest the softness eat like an acid into their manliness of fiber. The barbarian, because of the very conditions of his life, is forced to keep and develop certain hardy qualities which the man of civilization tends to lose, whether he be clerk, factory hand, merchant, or even a certain type of modern soldier. Now I will not deny that the very conditions of modern life have been wholly overcome; but there has been a much more successful effort to overcome them than was the case in the early civilizations. This is curious when we consider the military history of the Graeco-Roman period as compared with the history of the last four or five centuries here in Europe and among nations of European descent. In the Graeco-Roman military history the citizen was steadily from a citizen army to an army of mercenaries. In the days of the early greatness of Athens, Thebes, and Sparta, in the days when the Roman republic conquered what world it could, the armies were filled with citizen-soldiers. But gradually the citizen refused to serve in the armies, or became unable to render good service. The Greek states described by Polybius, with but few exceptions, hired Romans to do their fighting for them. The Romans of the days of Augustus had utterly ceased to furnish any cavalry, and were rapidly ceasing to furnish any infantry, to the legions and cohorts. When the civilization came to an end, there were no longer citizens in the ranks of the soldiers. The change from the citizen army to the army of mercenaries had been completed.

Modern Citizens' Armies.—Now, the exact reverse has been the case with us in modern times. A few centuries ago the mercenary soldier was the principal figure in most armies, and in great numbers of cases the mercenary soldier was an alien. In the wars of religion in France, in the Thirty Years' war in Germany, in the wars that immediately marked the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Polish and Prussian regiments and brigades of foreign soldiers formed a striking and leading feature in every army. Too often the men of the country in which the fighting took place were the standard-bearers of the victors, the burghers and peasants appearing in but limited numbers in the

mercenary armies by which they were plundered. Gradually this has all changed, until now practically every army is a citizen army, and the mercenary has almost disappeared, while the army exists on a vaster scale than ever before in history. This is as among the military monarchies of Europe.

In our own Civil War of the United States the same thing occurred, peaceful people as we are. At that time more than two generations had passed since the War of Independence. During the whole of that period the people had been engaged in no life-and-death struggle, and yet, when the Civil War broke out, and after some costly and bitter lessons at the beginning, the fighting spirit of the people was shown to better advantage than ever before. The war was peculiarly a war for a principle, and while faults and shortcomings were plentiful among the combatants, there was comparatively little sordidness of motive or conduct. In such a giant struggle, where across the continent many citizens are not the work of so many purposes, dark strands and bright, strands somber and brilliant, are always intertwined; inevitably there was corruption here and there in the Civil War, but all the leaders on both sides, and the vast majority of the enormous masses of fighting men, wholly disregarded, and were wholly uninfluenced by, pecuniary considerations.

Wealth and Politics.—Another striking contrast in the course of modern civilization as compared with the later stages of the Graeco-Roman or classic civilization is to be found in the relations of wealth and politics. In classic times, as the civilization advanced toward its zenith, politics became a recognized means of accumulating great wealth. Caesar was again and again on the verge of bankruptcy; he spent an enormous fortune; and he received his fortune back in the form of a public career, his political-military career. Augustus established Imperial Rome on firm foundations by the use he made of the huge fortune he had acquired by plunder. What a contrast is offered by that career, and the career of Lincoln! There were a few exceptions in ancient days; but the immense majority of the Greeks and the Romans, as their civilizations culminated, accepted money-making on a large scale as one of the decided means of a successful public career. Now all of this is in sharp contrast to what has happened within the last two or three centuries. During this time there has been a steady growth away from the theory that money-making is permissible in an honorable public career.

In this respect the standard has been constantly elevated, and things which statesmen had no hesitation in doing three centuries or two centuries ago, and which did not seriously hurt a public career even a century ago, are now utterly impossible. Wealthy men still exercise a large, and sometimes an improper, influence in politics, but it is apt to be an indirect influence; and in the advanced states the mere suspicion that the wealth of public men is obtained or added to as an incident of their public careers will bar them from public life. Speaking generally, wealth may very greatly influence modern political life, but it is not acquired in political life.

Optimistic for the Future.—Mr. Roosevelt called attention to the fact that hitherto every civilization that has arisen has been able to develop only a few activities, its field of endeavor being limited in kind as well as in locality, and each of these civilizations has fallen. What is the lesson to us of today? he asked. Will the crash come, and be all the more terrible because of the immense increase in activities and area? To this he replied:

Personally, I do not believe that our civilization will fall. I think that on the whole we have grown better and not worse. I think that on the whole the great past has held. But, assuredly, the dreams of golden glory in the future will not come true unless, high of heart and strong of hand, by our own mighty deeds we make them come true. We cannot afford to develop any one set of qualities, any one set of activities, at the cost of seeing others, equally necessary, atrophy. Neither the military efficiency of the Mongol, the extraordinary business ability of the Phoenician, nor the subtle and polished intellect of the Greek availed to avert destruction.

We, the world of today and of the future, need many qualities if we are to do our most important of all, the qualities which stand at the base of individual, of family life, the fundamental and essential qualities of the every-day, all-around, all-vigilant life. If the average man will not work, if he has not in him the will and the power to be a good husband and father; if the average woman is not a good housewife, a good mother of many healthy children, then the state will be in peril, will go down, no matter what may be its brilliance of artistic development or material achievement. But these homey qualities are not enough. There must, in addition, be that power of organization, that power of working in common for a common end, which the German people have shown in such signal fashion during the last half-century. Moreover, the things of the spirit are even more important than the things of the body. We cannot laugh the hard intolerance and arid intellectual barrenness of what was worst in the theological systems of the past, but there has never been a greater need of a high and fine religious spirit than at the present time. So, while we can laugh good-humoredly at some of the pretensions of modern philosophy in its various branches, it would be worse than folly on our part to ignore our need of intellectual leadership.

Must Steer Middle Course.—Never has philanthropy, humanitarianism, seen such development as now; and though we must all beware of the folly and the weakness of a worse than folly, which marks the believer in the perfectibility of man when his heart runs away with his head, or when vanity usurps the place of conscience, yet we must remember also that it is only by working along the lines laid down by the philanthropists, by the lovers of mankind, that we can be sure of lifting our civilization to a higher and more permanent plane of well-being than was ever attained by any preceding civilization. On this we are in agreement; but we to the nation that does not make ready to hold its own in time of need against all who would harm it; and we twice over to the nation in which the average man loses the fighting edge, the power to serve as a soldier if the day of need should arise.

It is no impossible dream to build up a civilization in which morality, ethical development, and a true feeling of brotherhood shall alike be divorced from false sentimentality, and from the rancorous and evil passions which, curiously enough, so often accompany professions of sentimental attachment to the rights of man; in which a high material development in the things of the body shall be achieved without subordination of the things of the soul; in which there shall be a genuine desire for peace and justice without loss of those virile qualities without which no love of peace or justice shall avail any result; in which the fullest development of scientific research, the great distinguishing feature of our present civilization, shall yet not imply a belief that intellect can ever take the place of character; in which the standard of the nation as of the individual, it is character that is the one vital possession.

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