

ley of watchful waiting. All for the death and outrage, the suffering and ruin of our own brethren, the hatred and contempt for our country and the dishonor of our name in that land the administration at Washington shares responsibility with the inhuman brutes with whom it made common cause.

When we turn to the administration's conduct of foreign affairs incident to the great war in Europe we cannot fail to perceive that there is much dissatisfaction among Americans. Dissatisfaction is not in itself ground for condemnation. The situation created by the war has been difficult and trying. Much of the correspondence of the state department, especially since Mr. Lansing took charge, has been characterized by accurate learning and skillful statement of specific American rights.

Three Errors in European Policy.

A study of the administration's policy toward Europe since July, 1914, reveals three fundamental errors: First, the lack of foresight to make timely provision for backing up American diplomacy by actual or assured military and naval force; second, the forfeiture of the world's respect for our assertion of rights by pursuing the policy of making threats and failing to make them good; third, a loss of the moral forces of the civilized world through failure to truly interpret to the world the spirit of the American democracy in its attitude toward the terrible events which accompanied the early stages of the war.

First, as to power.

When the war in Europe began, free, peaceable little Switzerland instantly mobilized upon her frontier a great army of trained citizen soldiers. Study little Holland did the same, and both have kept their territory and their independence inviolate.

Great, peaceable America was farther removed from the conflict, but her trade and her citizens traveled on every sea. Ordinary knowledge of European affairs made it plain that the war was begun not by accident, but with purpose which would not soon be relinquished. Ordinary knowledge of military events made it plain from the moment when the tide of German invasion turned the battle of the Marne that the conflict was certain to be long and desperate. Ordinary knowledge of history—of our own history during the Napoleonic wars—made it plain that in that conflict neutral rights would be worthless unless powerfully maintained.

The Democratic government at Washington did not see it. Others saw it, and their opinions found voice. Mr. Gardner urged it, Mr. Lodge urged it, Mr. Stimson urged it, Mr. Roosevelt urged it, but their argument and urgency were ascribed to political motives, and the president described them with a sneer as nervous and excited.

Wilson Has Shifted Ground.

But the warning voices would not be stilled. The opinion that we ought no longer to remain defenseless became public opinion. Its expression grew more general and insistent, and finally the president, not leading, but following, has shifted his ground, has reversed his position and asks the country to prepare against war. God grant that he be not too late. But the Democratic party has not shifted its ground. A large part of its members in congress are endeavoring now to sidetrack the movement for national preparedness, to muddle it by amendment and turn it into channels which will produce the least possible result in the increase of national power of defense. What sense of effectiveness in this effort can we gather from the presence of Joseph Daniels at the most critical post of all—the head of the navy department—when we see that where preparation has been possible it has not been made, when we see that construction of warships already authorized has not been pressed and in some cases after long delay has not even been begun?

If an increase of our country's power to defend itself against aggression is authorized by the present congress it must be largely through Republican votes, because all the traditions and convictions of that party are for national power and duty and honor.

As to the policy of threatening words without deeds:

When Germany gave notice of her purpose to sink merchant vessels on the high seas without safeguarding the lives of innocent passengers our government on the 10th of February one year ago informed Germany in unmistakable terms that in attacking and sinking vessels of the United States and in destroying the lives of American citizens lawfully traveling upon merchant vessels of other countries she would act at her peril. They pledged the power and courage of America, with her hundred million people and her vast wealth, to the protection of her citizens, as during all her history through the days of her youth and weakness she had protected them.

On the 28th of March the passenger steamer Palaba was torpedoed by a German submarine and an American citizen was killed, but nothing was done. On the 28th of April the American vessel Cushing was attacked and crippled by a German aeroplane. On the 1st of May the American vessel Quilflight was torpedoed and sunk by a

German submarine and two of our Americans were killed, yet nothing was done. On the 7th of May the Lusitania was torpedoed and sunk by a German submarine and more than 100 Americans and 1,100 other non-combatants were drowned. The very thing which our government had warned Germany she must not do, Germany did of set purpose and in the most contemptuous and shocking way. Then, when all America was stirred to the depths, our government addressed another note to Germany. It repeated its assertion of American rights and renewed its bold declaration of purpose. It declared again that the American government "must hold the imperial German government to a strict accountability for any infringement of those rights, intentional or incidental," and it declared that it would not "omit any word or any act necessary to the performance of its sacred duty of maintaining the rights of the United States and its citizens and of safeguarding their free exercise and enjoyment."

Still nothing was done and a long and technical correspondence ensued, haggling over petty questions of detail, every American note growing less and less strong and peremptory until the Arctide was torpedoed and sunk and more American lives were destroyed, and still nothing was done, and the correspondence continued until the allied defense against German submarine warfare made it unmistakable and led to its abandonment, and the correspondence is apparently approaching its end without securing even that partial protection for the future which might be found in an admission that the destruction of the Lusitania was forbidden by law. The later correspondence has been conducted by our state department with dignity, but it has been futile. An admission of liability for damages has been secured, but the time for real protection to American rights has long since passed.

The brave words with which we began the controversy had produced no effect, because they were read in the light of two extraordinary events. One was the report of the Austrian ambassador, Mr. Dumba, to his government that when the American note of Feb. 10 was received he asked the secretary of state, Mr. Bryan, whether it meant business and received an answer which satisfied him that it did not, but was intended for effect at home in America.

"Too Proud to Fight."

The other event was the strange and unfortunate declaration of the president in a public speech in Philadelphia the fourth day after the sinking of the Lusitania that "a man may be too proud to fight." Whatever the Austrian ambassador was in fact told by the secretary of state, the impression which he reported was supported by the events which followed. Whatever the president did mean, his declaration, made in public at that solemn time, amid the horror and mourning of all our people over the murder of their children, was accepted the world over as presenting the attitude of the American government toward the protection of the life and liberty of American citizens in the exercise of their just rights, and throughout the world the phrase "too proud to fight" became a byword of derision and contempt for the government of the United States.

Later, in another theater of war—the Mediterranean—Austria, and perhaps Turkey also, resumed the practice. The Ancona and then the Persia were destroyed, and more Americans were killed. Why should they not resume the practice? They had learned to believe that, no matter how shocked the American government might be, its resolution would expend itself in words. They had learned to believe that it was safe to kill Americans, and the world believed with them.

Shaking Fist and Finger.

No man should draw a pistol who does not shoot. The government that shakes its fist first and its finger afterward falls into contempt. Our diplomacy has lost its authority and influence because we have been brave in words and irresolute in action. Men may say that the words of our diplomatic notes were justified; men may say that our inaction was justified, but no man can say that both were wise and creditable.

I have said that this government lost the moral forces of the world by not truly interpreting the spirit of the American democracy.

The American democracy stands for something more than beef and cotton and grain and manufactures; stands for something that cannot be measured by rates of exchange and does not rise or fall with the balance of trade. The American people, informed by their own experience that is confirmed by their observation of international life, have come to see that the independence of nations, the liberty of their peoples, justice and humanity cannot be maintained upon the complaisance, the good nature, the kindly feeling of the strong toward the weak; that real independence, real liberty, cannot rest upon suffering; that peace and liberty can be preserved only by the authority and observance of rules of national conduct founded upon the principles of justice and humanity; only by the establishment of law among nations, responsive to the enlightened public opinion of mankind.

(To be continued)

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Dr W P White of Italy delivered the baccalaureate address to the graduating class of the high school at the Federated church last Sunday evening to a large and appreciative audience. He is an able speaker and gave the graduates some good advice.

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