

Colonel Theodore Roosevelt. President Luther, Bishop Acheson, men and women of Connecticut, my friends and my fellow Americans, --and no man living in the United States whom I cannot call a fellow American is a friend of mine. (Applause)

No one could fail to be moved and touched by such a greeting as you afford me, and by the opportunity under these surroundings to address such an audience; and above all, I am glad to come here as the special guest of President Luther and to be introduced by him in words which, however ill deserved, I would like my children and grandchildren to think were deserved. (Applause) President Luther seems to me, and has long seemed to me, to just about realize in his life what an American citizen should be, along a great many different lines. (Applause) For example, he shows by his life that we can in this country approach the true democratic ideal of an absolute democracy of the soul, coupled with the finest cultivation of the mind and the spirit. (Applause) The true conception of democracy is leveling up, not leveling down, and there isn't anything more necessary in this country than to show that an absolute simplicity of life, an absolute acknowledgment of the essentials of democracy, can go hand in hand with the achievement of culture. (The word has been discredited, but it will outlast Germany!) An achievement of culture undertaken not with a view to any possible money return, but because knowledge and beauty are good things in themselves, and because no nation that fails to appreciate the need of cultivating knowledge and beauty for themselves will permanently win a great part in the tremendous epic of the ages.

President Luther typifies, as it is given but a few men in any generation to typify, entire democracy of soul with lofty achievement of intellect. And there is another thing that is typified by Presi-

dent Luther (and that is why I am here!) President Luther never says anything he does not mean, and his words are always translated into deeds. (Applause)

I have been accused, with a certain semblance of justice, of liking to preach. I do. (Applause) My text for today is to be found in the chapter of Kings which President Luther read, in the eleventh verse, where the King of Israel answers Ben-hadad the boaster and says: "Let not him that girdeth on his harness boast himself as he that putteth it off."

Now I want to translate that from the days of Ben-hadad to our own. I am here primarily because President Luther when he says a thing means it. I am here to ask that our people act on that theory in their lives. There is a good deal about the system of censorship that we have established which has an unpleasant suggestion of being applicable only to out-patients of an idiot asylum. Much of it has been exceedingly foolish. But there is one line along which I wish the censorship could be extended. I wish it were possible to censor all boasting, (Applause) and devote ourselves to achievement,—not to improper exaggeration of what we have done, and above all not to grandiloquent statements of what we are going to do. Censor the boasting! Remember that every great speech that has come down through history has obtained and kept its place only because it represented either achievement in the past, or a resolute purpose for achievement in the future. The Gettysburg speech is immortal. Why? Because men by tens of thousands had died at Gettysburg before the speech was made. (Applause) If it had not been for the valor of the men who wore the blue and of the men who wore the gray, both alike, on the field of Gettysburg; if now every man in our country could not look back with pride to the deeds of the Americans who under the two

flags fought at Gettysburg, each for the right as it was given him to see the right,—if that were not the case no one today would care to read the Gettysburg speech. It is because what was said represented what had been done and the high purpose to carry the deeds further to fulfillment. That is why that speech was of value. But nobody remembers with pleasure the people who yelled "On to Richmond," in 1861, but who went the other way!

Boasting always has a bad effect upon the people who boast. It may sometimes have a more mischievous effect still. I received a letter the other day from a colonel of engineers in France who had just come back from the trenches, saying that there were no American airplanes to defend the infantry in that sector at that time; that the German airplanes came down and attacked the machine gunners in the trenches, and that enlisted men and officers with their revolvers fired back futilely at those German planes. This colonel went on to say that this condition was due to the fact that last Fall we kept loudly and complacently announcing that we were going to have 20,000 airplanes with Pershing's army this spring. The boast took in our own people, but above all it took in the Germans; and the Germans, unlike our own people, built to meet it. Therefore when in March the great drive began, and when England and France had to make a rampart of the bodies of the best of their young men to shield themselves and to shield us just as much as themselves,—when they had to do this they found that the Germans had built thousands of airplanes to meet the airplanes we were going to build and hadn't built; and therefore the French and English had to meet the added strain of the increased air war made against them, because we had boasted, as Ben-hadad did, before putting our armor on, instead of waiting to boast until after we had taken our armor off.

Let us learn the lesson; let us quit boasting; let us not humiliate our men in the trenches by headlines in the papers, which treat a heavy skirmish by our troops with a German battalion as equal in importance to a terrible battle with ten German divisions by the French or the English. Let us quit boasting until we have done something to boast of; and a nation of a hundred million people must not sit down complacently merely because a small fraction of its army has done well.

Yet indeed we have every right to lift our heads higher as Americans because of the valor and soldierly efficiency shown by the men under Pershing on the other side of the water. (Applause) I thank Heaven for it. These men have a right to feel the pride that can come only to those who render service through sacrifice. Our boys, our young men, have given and are now giving and in ever-increasing proportion will give their lives for the faith that is in them, and their blood ennobles all of us. If we had not gone into this war; if our sons and brothers were not fighting on the other side; why, after the war was over no self-respecting American would have been able to look a foreigner in the face. (Applause) Thank Heaven that we did our duty; but let us not deceive ourselves as to the duty being done--it has only begun. We have only just begun to harden our giant, but our soft and flabby, strength. We have been able to prepare it only because for their own purposes our allies shielded our soft, unhardened body while we hardened it. Let us accept that fact. For the first six months of the war our navy was utterly impotent and it was a year before we developed any army at all; and during this time we would have been utterly powerless to defend our own homes if we had not been protected by the fleet of England and the armies of France and England. Let us realize our

derelections in the past, and let us face the future in no spirit of empty and complacent selfcongratulation, but with the purpose to show by our deeds that we are worthy of being the spiritual heirs of the men who in the early '60s fought the great Civil War to a conclusion. (Applause)

Now friends, I have peculiar associations with Trinity. One of my dearest and closest friends, my first cousin, Frank Roosevelt, was a graduate of Trinity. He entered the National Guard and died in the performance of duty as a guardsman in New York, died just as much for his country as any man has died over in France recently. I have long known and appreciated the kind of spirit necessary in a crisis like this. Terrible though this war is, dreadful though it is for those whose nearest of blood are going abroad to face if necessary the last ultimate sacrifice of devotion, yet I believe that it means a rebirth of the country. I think it means a new, and glorified American nationalism in this country; I think it means a gain of perspective on our part, so that we shall no longer confound the essentials and the non-essentials of life, as we have confounded them in the past.

About four years ago, when this war broke out, the antics of many of our people really made one hesitate as to whether we could ever recover from the effects of living in a stew of sordid materialism, flavored with a make-believe sentimentality. There has been a good deal of talk--ninety-five percent of it absolutely dishonest talk--about profiteering in this country. There was an immense amount of profiteering in this country before the war. The profiteering in this country took place during the years of our ignoble neutrality. With the breaking out of the war 90 percent of the profiteering stopped. It used to make me fairly shudder with horror three years ago,

When I would read in the Wall Street news of "war brides," a sacred name that was used to designate successful money-making by speculation in the blood of others. Such use of the word was a common thing, not only in the newspapers, but in the stories printed for our amusement, in those days. Again, again, and again we came across that notif of the "war bride," of the man who made money out of war brides. The very use of the term was enough to make any decent man cringe with shame.

That is past. When we speak of a war bride now we mean a girl who has sent her lover, her husband, to fight, and if necessary, to die. (Applause) We have finished with the sordidness of the profiteer. As I have said before, there isn't one tenth the profiteering now, since we entered the war, (I am not quite sure when we did (laughter); sixteen months ago Germany went to war with us; fourteen months ago we went to war with Germany; and somewhere in the twilight zone between our people finally opened their eyes.) But since we went to war the profiteering has stopped, compared to what it was before, and now we force those who make profits to pay most heavily for making them, and we exercise some supervision over them. I don't mean that we have stopped it all. In a hundred million people there are dead sure to be some off-oxen! We have immeasurably lessened the number of capitalists who think only in terms of profit. Three years ago those were the terms in which most of our people were thinking; and hand in glove with them went the sentimentalists. Remember that sentimentality and sentiment have nothing to do with one another, save as pathos has to do with bathos--there is just the same difference between sentiment and sentimentality that there is between pathos and bathos. A sentimentalist is the foe of sound morality and of sound sentiment. The sentimentalist three years ago,

two years ago, sixteen months ago was primarily a pacifist, and he worked hand-in-glove with the materialists at home and the militarists in Germany. The pacifists played the game of the German militarist abroad and of the American materialist at home, and he was helped play it by all the decent citizens who in a puzzle-headed way forgot that righteousness is the end and peace only the means to the end.

In 1864 there were any number of people who cried "Peace, peace!" Now understand me. I am half southern. If I had been old enough I should have carried a musket for the Union, but I am extremely proud of the fact that three of my kinsfolk fought in the Confederate Army, and fought as it was in them to fight for the truth as it was in them to see the truth. We can afford now to be equally proud of the men who wore the blue and the men who wore the gray. But there is one set of men of whom we are not proud, and that is the men who did not do any fighting on either side. In 1864 you veterans remember there were any number of men who cried "Peace, peace!" We could have had peace at once by simply quitting the fight, and thereby we would have put a stop to the bloodshed and horror. We could have had peace; and we could have kept the peace for just about two or three years. Then we would have had another war, then another, and then another; and Heaven knows what this country would have ultimately become. It would have been something on the general lines of Central America; but more than that we are not able to say. Thank Heaven that our fathers had iron in their blood; that our fathers were resolute to fight the war through to a decision, so as to secure a permanent peace based upon the foundation of right, before they quit the fight. That is what we have to do now. The pacifist who objected to our preparing for the war, who objected to our going into the war, was the

enemy of mankind; and the pacifist who now wishes an indecisive peace, a negotiated peace, is the enemy of this country and of mankind. (Applause)

I wish peace--I wish peace granted by us on our own terms to a Germany beaten to her knees. (Applause) I am willing to negotiate about peace; but I wish to negotiate about it, not with Germany, but with Belgium, Serbia, Roumania, Italy, France, and England. The negotiations must be such as to justify those peoples for their sufferings. Let it be such a peace as to guarantee them, so far as it is humanly possible to guarantee anything, against a recurrence of the disasters that have overwhelmed them. To talk about doing justice to Germany as well as to Belgium is like prattling about doing justice alike to the blackhand and to the mother whose child he has kidnapped.

I refuse to accept the doctrine that there is a gulf between right as we see it displayed in the acts of an honorable man toward his neighbor, and international right as we see it displayed by an honorable nation. I believe on the contrary that every nation should act toward other nations fundamentally as an honorable man acts toward other honorable men. (Applause) As yet, there has to be a different sanction of force in the two cases, simply because international law does not rest on any international sanction of force, and at present cannot rest on any such sanction, so that the method of application must differ from what is the case with municipal or civil law within the nation. But the ethical principle is the same in the two cases. The really great statesman is the statesman who combines strength with a high sense of right dealing. The really great statesman is the man with Bismarck's strength who possesses the scruple which Bismarck lacked. In other words, the really great statesman of the

future will be the man who models his conduct on the conduct of Washington and Lincoln in the past. (Applause) One of them fought to a successful conclusion the first great war in our history, and the other directed the fighting of the second great war in our history, and paid with his life for the victory.

This means that you must ask from the nation what you ask of the individual in his private relations. I appeal to all fathers and mothers (I was going to say to my fellow-fathers and mothers, but I have moved into the grandfather class, and have now got eight grandchildren, thank the Lord!) All of you wish your sons as they grow up to show themselves incapable of wronging the weak and incapable of submitting to wrong by the strong. You would abhor seeing your boy a brawler, and you would abhor seeing him a coward; if you don't have both feelings then you are a mighty poor father or mother. If you don't bring up your boy to feel that he is ashamed of himself, that he is a cur, if he bullies the weak, you are a poor creature; and if you don't bring him up to feel that if anyone slaps his sister's face he will fight even if it is against a prize-fighter, you are also a poor creature.

Well, my advice to the nation would be the same as I would give to a son,—don't fight at all if you can help it, but when you fight, fight. (Applause) Never hit anyone if you can avoid it, but never hit soft. Nobody is grateful after being hit soft. If you hit a man but only hit him a little, he will hurt you. Don't hit a man at all if you can possibly help it; but if you do hit him, put him to sleep! (Applause) (I am particularly glad to see the sympathetic appreciation of the technical language I use by the bishop).

This is true of the individual and it is true of the nation. We are in this war—we must put it through with every ounce of strength

and energy we have got. We should no longer act as if the war were three thousand miles away. The submarines have brought it up to the three-mile limit in the last two or three weeks. We should act as if the war was next door to us. We should so act because it will be next door to us, unless we win it far off. Every now and then you still meet the honest fool who says: "O, I am perfectly willing to fight on this side if they will come over here, but why should our boys go over there to fight?" The answer is, we send our sons to fight abroad beside our allies because unless they do it they will have to fight here at home without the allies. (Applause) We fight to support France and England and Italy, because if they broke tomorrow we would have to fight beside our own ruined hearthstones without any allies, and while still only half armed here on this side of the water. Remember that as yet we are not even half-armed.

Let us proceed; let us do everything as if we knew the war would last seven years, and yet do it as quickly as if we thought we could put an end to it in seven weeks. (Applause) Any man who fails at this time to do all in his power toward the steps that will make us permanently able to hold our own, no matter how long the war lasts, is acting falsely to this country, and any man who in any way advocates or connives at delay is acting falsely to this country. At last, since March, we have been putting across the water hundreds of thousands of men. That means vacancies in our camps here. Last March we should have provided for raising another three million men, so as to reach the five million limit in our army. We ought to do it now. I haven't the slightest interest in bandying words as to whether you say five million or ten million. My concern is with deeds, not with talk. My concern is in passing the law at once to prepare for an army of five million men. Make that the lowest limit--

make it ten million, if anyone wishes to make it ten million--make it any amount, but make it now. Make it not less than five million and start doing the work now. (Applause) In other words, make the Gettysburg speech after the battle of Gettysburg--not before. Prepare now, prepare our strength, and prepare it as speedily as possible.

There are some hundreds of thousands of gallant Americans on the other side. Don't leave them any longer than we must without putting a couple of million more men behind them. (Applause) And, friends, I would be willing to risk the decision of the argument I make for putting the war through, and for preparedness, with the mothers of this country. (Applause)

I think it is one of Anthony Trollope's heroines who says: "My dear, I am not denying that women are foolish; the Lord made them to match the men." The women three years ago were not a bit more foolish than the men--they were just about as foolish. I remember about that time a good woman in the North writing me, evidently a hard-working woman, who had brought up I think six sons, saying she had always admired me, but had separated from me since I was advocating preparedness, because she did not wish her sons to go up against the cannon. Three years have passed, and her sons at this moment are going up against the cannon, and without our cannon to back them. That good woman didn't understand that I wished preparedness, not for the sake of war, but to render war unnecessary, to enable us to achieve the great purposes we ought to have in view without the necessity of fighting for them; and if the necessity came where we had to fight, then to fight at a maximum of advantage instead of at a minimum.

My prime objection to the pacifist is not that he won't fight in the long run. Even the pacifist, if you kick him long enough,

will fight. The trouble is that prolonged and pernicious indulgence in pacifism renders a man unfit to accomplish anything when he does fight. The pacifist does not keep the country out of war--he merely keeps the country unfit to do its duty in war by making it prepare after the war has come. I ask all representatives of the higher education if I am not correct in stating that a football team that deferred training until the day of the game wouldn't make a good showing? (Applause) I can see this is a cultural college!

It is too late to prepare when the time for war has come, and somebody then has to pay for the lack of preparation. In our case we had allies who paid. Our allies paid with their bodies. We have been able to prepare behind the fleets and armies of France and England and Italy, and no American who will really think out the matter and who has any self-respect can think without shame of this fact. Never again must Uncle Sam be put in the position of letting others shield him because he hasn't been willing to take thought in advance. After this, let Uncle Sam prepare to defend himself by his own strength. (Applause) It is the only position compatible with self-respect, and it is the only position that will enable him to render help to others.

As for the pacifist, he is not dangerous in war time, but don't you forget that you will hear his shrill voice raised, very loud, the instant that peace comes and it is reasonably safe for him to raise it. Don't misunderstand me about the pacifists. I don't dislike them--I despise them, but I don't dislike them. (Applause) I have known very admirable pacifists of both sexes, as far as you can predicate sex of a pacifist. (Applause) What I do object to is that they don't pay themselves for their folly--they make others pay for their folly. The sons of the men and women here today, those boys who are over in France, will pay for the folly of the pacifist in the past.

The pacifist won't pay; he is safe--he stays at home.

Now one variety of pacifist was the conscientious objector. I am going to repeat what I said at Hartford a good many months ago about him, because I want to keep that drilled into your minds. A year ago you heard much about the conscientious objectors. One of them wrote to me, asking me to respect his conscience. I told him all right, if he would respect mine. I will always respect a man's conscience; but if it makes him act like a fool then I wish he would take it out and look at it to see whether it really functions properly.

Now I want to find out from the conscientious objector, first, what he is conscientious about. If he is only conscientious about killing someone else, all right, put him in the army and send him up to the extreme front to dig trenches. He won't kill anybody. Let him dig the trenches at the risk of his life, and then let the fighting men with rifles go into them. If he prefers a seafaring life put him on a mine-sweeper. A mine-sweeper is a small, slow, unarmed boat that hunts for mines. If it finds them it sometimes blows up. The man on the boat won't hurt anyone else--he may go skyward himself.

Now if the pacifist, if the conscientious objector will do that kind of work I have nothing to say against him, but if he is too conscientious to expose himself to danger, then I would say, all right, I won't bother with you; if your conscience bids you stay at home, you stay at home; but my conscience forbids me to permit you to vote in a country which can only continue to exist by the willingness of its citizens to face death in battle. I hope to see universal military training of all our young men in time of peace on the Swiss system. Let no man vote who has not had that training, and who has not taken an oath that he will bear arms to support the government in the case

of malice domestic or foreign levy.

I have spoken of defending the nation. But the first necessity is to have a nation to defend; and there cannot be any such thing as a nation if its citizens are permitted to divide their allegiance. There is no room in this country for any such thing as a fifty-fifty Americanism. Either a man's an American and nothing else, or he is not an American at all. We used to hear--we haven't heard it so much recently--a good deal of talk about the man who loved America and loved another country too. A gentleman of that expansive patriotism stands parallel with the gentleman of expansive affection in domestic matters--the man is able to love another woman as much as he loves his own wife. We haven't in this country room for but one flag--we have no room for any foreign flag. Neither have we any room for the red or the black flag. These internationalists and anarchists are out of place in this country. The internationalist, the man who says he loves other nations as much as he does this, and especially if he is of the parlor or pink tea type of internationalist, should be told that he is altogether too broadly sympathetic to find us congenial; and as he loves all other nations equally he is to get out of this nation and make his choice among the others. The same course should be pursued with the anarchist. We deport alien anarchists. We ought either to deport or intern non-alien anarchists. The anarchist does not stand on a par with any man who advocates any form of government; in other words, he is not willing to work with the rest of us on the theory that we all have a common duty, that we have a common brotherhood, a common object to achieve. His aim is simply to destroy all government. There should be no compromise with him. Let him get out of this country and destroy government somewhere else.

Let us from this time on refuse to allow the flag to be used to

cover men who claim all the privileges under it, but who will perform none of the obligations that should go with citizenship.

Friends, this by itself is not enough. I would go to the absolute limit in putting down without any compromise or any hesitation every form of Bolshevism, Anarchism, I. W. W., or German Socialism-- I would proceed to the limit against them. I believe it is necessary to do so.

But this is not enough. Remember that in this country, to make our great democratic experiment succeed, we must set our faces like flint just as much against the Romanoffs of reaction in politics and industry as against the Bolsheviks. We must face the new era. We must try to reduce our golden ideals to practice. They must not be permitted hereafter to remain only the property of the preacher on Sunday. They must be applied by his congregation on weekdays.

It isn't an easy thing that I am asking, that we as a nation combine qualities the excess of anyone of which will mean destruction. If we of this country do not in good faith each of us undertake to be our brother's keeper, we will find that we are involved in the end in the destruction that will fall on our brothers. I ask that we remember that this country won't be a comfortable place to live in for the grandchildren of any of us, unless we make it a pretty decent place to live in for the grandchildren of all of us. I ask that we remember that unless all of us go up a little, none of us will permanently go up at all. I ask this on the one hand, and I say that unless we shape our legislation, and what is much more important, our individual social and business action back of the legislation along those lines, we shall face fearful disaster.

Yet I wish also to say, with all the strength that is in me, that this kind of action must be taken having constantly before us

the danger of weakening the springs of individual initiative. Help any man up. Every man who will be honest with himself will admit that he either does stumble, or if the opportunity comes may stumble, at some time. Help any man up; help your brother up; put him on the pathway. Make the path as far as you can smooth before him. But don't carry him! If you try to carry him and he submits to it, you will find that you cannot help him and that you impair your own usefulness. The man who will submit to being carried, after a short experience becomes utterly worthless to carry. Do nothing that will impair a man's self-respect. Do what you do, not on the basis of charity from one to another--do it in the spirit of love, which is a spirit entirely compatible with the self-respect of both sides. There is only one way to permanently help any man, and that is to help him to help himself. Therefore treat him with regard to his self-respect just as much as with regard to your own. Work with him for the common good of both of you. Don't work in a spirit of patronage. If you find at any time that you don't think you can be helped by anyone else, then for the Lord's sake don't try to help anyone else!

Let us work with the vivid realization that we have a community object to serve, the common good of all of us; that the welfare of each of us must be the concern of the rest of us; and yet that we must so work as not to shrink or diminish the individual's power of self-government. *

So much for the future; so much for after the war. During the war our whole business is to win the war, and therefore to put our solid strength back of the men in Uncle Sam's uniform at the front.

In any great crisis, the men who do the deeds best worth doing, are the men who run the greatest risks. In any great crisis, those

who stay at home have cause for pride in those who go almost exactly in proportion as they also have cause for anxiety. Our pride can be measured by the anxiety we feel. The great sacrifices are to be made by the men at the front. It is they, the young men, the men whose future is open and brilliant before them, the men who are at the crest of life, who run the risk of paying, and so many of whom will pay, the supreme penalty. Of those who do not, many will come back shattered in body, disease-racked, wounded or sick. Theirs is the great task and it is they who alone are worthy of all honor.

Make no mistake about this; don't think for a moment that the work done for the Liberty Loan, for the Red Cross, for the Y.M.C.A., for the thrift savings, for anything else--is in any shape or way a substitute for the work of the fighting men at the front. Every now and then I see posters that really do irritate me; that say "Food will win the war," or "Money will win the war." They won't. There is just one thing that will win the war--the fighting strength of the men at the front. That is what will win the war! (Applause) Don't treat anything else as a substitute for this; treat it as the necessary supplement to it; remember that what we who stay at home have to do is to put every ounce of will, of strength, of energy we have into backing up the men at the front.

Friends, you have come here today to hear me, and I thank you immensely; but it wasn't worth your while to come, and it isn't worth my while to have spoken to you, unless when we separate you and I treat whatever I have said and whatever you have applauded as something to be translated into action from now on. (Applause) No man should feel contented on any week-end now--no man or woman--unless he or she can feel that during that week everything possible has been done to put our strength efficiently back of the men at the front. Our business is to win the war and to win it now.