

DECLARES AMERICA HAS FALLEN DOWN IN ITS WAR WORK

Senator Chamberlain Finds In- efficiency in Every Depart- ment and Bureau.

CONGRESS SEEKS REMEDIES

Bill for a 3-Man War Cabinet to be Pressed, Whatever Ad- ministration's Attitude.

DEMAND FOR A 'NEW DEAL'

New Cabinet Probably to Consist of Three Civilians, Who Will Be Above Baker and Daniels.

United States Senator George E. Chamberlain of Oregon, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, speaking at a luncheon given in honor of himself and Congressman Julius Kahn of California by the National Security League at the Astor yesterday, made the unqualified statement that "the military establishment of America has fallen down," and the reason it fell, he added, was "because of inefficiency in every bureau and department of the Government of the United States."

The Senate Military Affairs Committee, Senator Chamberlain said, was trying to give the army "one man who can say no and has the nerve to say no when the time comes to say it." Later in the afternoon, in a speech at the Republican Club, Senator Chamberlain announced that a bill to create a War Cabinet, to consist of three members, would be introduced in the Senate tomorrow.

The luncheon was attended by nearly 1,900 men and women. Ellhu Root presided, and the only speaker besides Senator Chamberlain and Congressman Kahn was Colonel Theodore Roosevelt. Others present included some of the best-known men and women in the country, and the ovation which followed the close of Senator Chamberlain's speech lasted a full minute. Colonel Roosevelt jumped to his feet and led the applause.

Might Mean National Dissolution.

Senator Chamberlain declared that "if America had nothing else to fight for in this war but to preserve the magnificent French Republic, every drop of blood and every dollar of the Treasury would be well spent for this splendid people." The war, he added, was a thing so terribly serious that to lose it might mean the dissolution of the United States.

Mr. Kahn, who led the fight on the floor of the House which resulted in the selective draft law, indorsed the utterances of Senator Chamberlain and caused a wave of applause when, referring to those who would obstruct the military operations of the country, he said that "a few prompt trials and a few quick hangings would prove most salutary at this time."

In his introduction of Senator Chamberlain, Mr. Root, after paying tribute to the efforts of the two guests of honor in behalf of universal military training, said that in the nature of things it would have been a miracle if a great body of public servants, selected in time of profound peace "for the performance of the largely routine duties of peaceful administration, had all proved to be the right men for the performance of the stringent and difficult duties in time of war.

"It would have been a miracle," added Mr. Root, "and that miracle has not happened. England has had to change and change again; France has had to change and change again; Italy has had to change; Germany has had to change—that is one of the necessary incidents of human nature. It rests on the Congress of the United States, under the wise and patriotic leadership of these gentlemen, to find out what changes we must make if we love our country and will win the war. Godspeed to them in their patriotic service. God give them safe judgment to put the energy and power of the American people on a sound basis of effective and competent organization and achievement. I present Senator Chamberlain."

Mr. Chamberlain's Address.

This is Senator Chamberlain's speech in full:

"I assure you it is a very great pleasure and privilege to be permitted to be with you today, because I feel that we are all engaged in the same great work—the work of the preservation not only of our country, but the preservation and perpetuation of civilization itself. Let me disclaim, my friends, any further credit for what has been accomplished and for what we hope to accomplish in the great task that confronts us in this emergency. Let me say to you that I have had the co-operation and effort of the great mass of the members of Congress, without regard to party; and in addition to that, and above and over everything else, we have had the support of such distinguished men as the ex-President and ex-Commander in Chief of the Armies and Navies of the United States, and such men as my friend Ellhu Root.

"In season and out of season these distinguished gentlemen have gone out among the people of the country and have tried to impress upon them, and they have begun to realize, that America, for the first time in its history, is involved in a war which may, my

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SAYS AMERICA HAS FALLEN DOWN IN WAR

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Friends, mean its life and its dissolution unless America and her allies happen to be successful in it.

"Because of the limitation upon my time, and I know you are all glad of it, [cries of "No! No!"] it is absolutely impossible to go into this subject as I would love to go into it with you and to discuss the military policy of the United States, or its lack of military policy, since the earliest Revolutionary time. It has not been the fact that we have had a faulty military policy during all of those years; it has been, my friends, that we have had no military policy that has led us into these troublous times and conditions. We are wont to talk of the magnificent courage of our forefathers, but it has often seemed to me, my friends, that the most unfortunate thing that ever happened in this country was the fact that an unorganized militia at Bunker Hill was able to defeat an organized army of Great Britain, because there was then established what was later to be called the traditional policy of the United States against the organization of a standing army, or, rather, of a trained army to be called into service whenever the emergency required.

Base of "Traditional Policy."

"From that day to this the histories of our country have talked about the traditional policies of the United States, and have commended the valor of the Revolutionary troops. I have no disposition to criticize that statement, or to question the valor—the individual valor—of the splendid men who fought the battles of the Revolutionary days, but the lack of organization which was decried by the commanding officers then and which has been decried by them since, and has been criticized, my friends, are the troubles which confront us today; and if their recommendations had been followed we not only would have had a splendid army today, but that army would have been organized and raised under a system of universal military training that would have made us absolutely unconquerable.

"Washington called attention to it, and I have sometimes wondered how that distinguished commander of the American forces, with his splendid aid, Alexander Hamilton, ever had time to organize an army, because they devoted much of their time to appeals to a Continental Congress and to the States to assist them in organizing an army that might be successful in accomplishment of victory. I wish I could go into these matters and discuss the various battles that were fought; but, incidentally, let me tell you, my friends, that America did not owe the accomplishment of victory in 1783 to its own splendid army organization, but she owed it to France and the splendid efforts that France made.

"With all the pacifists that are abroad in the land denouncing America for sending a few hundred thousand men, or a million, to France in this day of rapid transit, it is well to remember that when America, on account of Washington's efforts, appealed to France for assistance they sent to us under Rochambeau five or six thousand troops across the water, and instead of taking them five or ten days or two weeks to reach America, they were seventy-seven days from the time they left a French port until they landed at Newport, R. I., afflicted with disease, and chased every foot of the way by a British fleet. My friends, if America had nothing else to fight for in this war but to preserve the magnificent French Republic, every drop of blood and every dollar of the Treasury would be well spent for this splendid people.

"I am going to skip through it all, because my time is almost up now. We have got to get out of here at 3 o'clock, mind you.

"Traditional policy? It seems to me that a war policy called for by Washington and advocated by him would sustain a policy now of training young men to do battle for their country. We have departed from traditional policy, thank God, and in the last two years we have enacted a law that, as your Chairman has said, compels Americans to know that the duties of citizenship carry with them the responsibility for service whenever that service happens to be needed.

Vicious Volunteer System.

"The selective draft law which has been mentioned here, put into service every man between 21 and 30; and it may be said to the credit of these young men who have been drafted that they are rendering just as effective and just as patriotic service as those who have volunteered. I sometimes regret that volunteering has ever been permitted, for the reason that in the loss that we sustain in the battles where there is a volunteer system, as there was in Great Britain, we have a horizontal loss, taking the young, red-blooded people that volunteer for service and leaving those who ought to have shared the fate of their colleagues at the first sound of war. On the other hand, under this system we take from the walks of industrial and commercial and everyday life young men of all classes, so that there is not this horizontal loss that I speak of, but rather a perpendicular loss, where the high and the low, the rich and the poor, the professional man and the artisan, stand shoulder to shoulder, and when losses come, the loss falls on all, every social stratum of life.

"Let me tell you that we are going to extend that. We are going to commence to train the young men from 18 to 21, so that when they become 21 we will have an army of young men to draw from every walk of life.

"But, say the pacifists, it is unnecessary in the United States to train the young men or to have an army. My friends, there were those in Great Britain who said it was unnecessary; and yet, but for the fact that republican France trained her young men, what would have become of France when the German forces went down and attacked her on her western front? Nothing saved her, my friends, but the universal military training which that splendid republic had in vogue. Ah! my friends, let us get away from that idea. When those who now advocate universal military training began to advocate it nobody was with them; now the country, thank God, is with them, and the country will see to it that Congress gets with them, too.

"Now, in conclusion, and I have only touched a few of the high spots, let me say that the military establishment of America has fallen down. There is no use to be optimistic about a thing that does not exist.

Every Department Inefficient.

"It has almost stopped functioning, my friends. Why? Because of inefficiency in every bureau and in every department of the Government of the United States. [Applause.] We are trying to work it out. I speak not as a Democrat, but as an American citizen."

A voice: "You are telling the truth, Senator."

"We are trying, my friends," the Senator continued, "and I have burned the midnight oil in an effort to do it—we have tried to centralize the power of supplying the army in one man who can say 'No' and has the nerve to say 'No' when the time comes to say it. We have reported a bill, following the experience of Great Britain and France, creating a Director of Munitions for this purpose. We have gone one step further, and we have provided a bill for the creation of a Cabinet of War, whose duty it shall be to lay out what we never have had and haven't now—a program to carry on this war to a successful conclusion. My friends, this is not an Administration measure; it is an American measure and comes from Republicans and Democrats both.

"I want this splendid audience, I want the citizenry of New York, I want you, Mr. President, and you, Mr. Secretary, and you, Mr. Kahn, to get behind it and see to it that this law reaches the statute books of America, so that America may play her part in the war. Let us, my friends, rally to the flag of our country without regard to party. Let us see to it that the Stars and Stripes are planted upon the plains of France and be there, as it is here, the

emblem of freedom, liberty, and the rights of man.

Your flag and my flag, and how it flies today
In your land and my land, and half the world away,
Rose-red and blood-red, the stripes forever gleam,
Snow-white and soul-white, the good forefathers' dream,
Sky-blue and true-blue with stars to gleam bright,
The glorious gulf of the day is shed right through the night.

"And so, my friends, whether our flag be planted here or in France, or where it may be, let us see that it may be the symbol of the emblem of a better civilization and a better form of Government. I thank you."

Age-Grown Red Tape.

In his speech at the Republican Club, Senator Chamberlain, referring to the introduction of the War Cabinet bill tomorrow, said that "the roll of red tape has grown with the ages, and it can only be destroyed in the same way that a tank destroyed the barbed wire in front of the enemy trench."

"We are seeking," he continued, "to put the supply department of the Government under one head, that is, with one man responsible, and when things go wrong the people will be able to put their finger on the place that goes wrong and locate the source of the trouble. We are going to apply business methods to the administration of Government affairs. America has been groping in the dark for ten months with able hands but with no head responsible for a war program. We want to put a responsible head there.

"Some people say that the investigation now going on tends to discredit the Administration. I do not care a hoot for that argument, for if anything is wrong, the best friend of the Administration is he who can show it where inefficiency and weakness exist. That such an investigation tends to injure the country is not true. The American people are taxing themselves as never before. They are yielding to the orders of the Commander in Chief willingly. The men and women who are making sacrifices ought to know what is being done in their interests. That's what the committee is doing, and, in the name of God and the American people, we are going to go on doing it, no matter what happens!"

Mr. Kahn's Address.

Congressman Kahn, who followed Senator Chamberlain at the Security League luncheon, said:

"No nation is the sole arbiter of its own destinies. That is where the pacifists' theories fell down. There were millions of people in these United States who did not want to go into this war. They hoped to avoid it. But when on Jan. 31, 1917, the Imperial Government of Germany notified the President that on the following day any American ship that dared to go beyond certain lines in the Atlantic Ocean, which Germany herself drew, and where under international law we had an absolute right to go, would be ruthlessly destroyed and the people on board perchance drowned, the red blood of the American people was stirred, and we did that which has always been done in the world's history when dictation of that sort is attempted to be forced upon a people—we got ready for war."

(Colonel Roosevelt, in a low tone)— "We didn't get ready; we tried to."

"The Colonel," repeated Mr. Kahn, "says we did not get ready; we tried to."

Dock Commissioner Hulbert: "You ought to have been ready."

"Yes," replied Mr. Kahn, "and there are a great many people, unfortunately, even today in this country of ours who do not want to get ready for this war, and the time has come when the strong arm of the Government should reach out and get those people. And a few prompt trials and a few quick hangings [applause and cries of "Good!"] would prove most salutary at this time."

Commissioner Hulbert: "And a firing squad."

"The pacifist," Mr. Kahn added, "the ultra-pacifist, never will want this country to prepare. He is living in the clouds, he takes no lessons, he learns nothing from the teachings of history. Why, they think this is going to be the last war! I picked up my volume of Shakespeare a short while ago and happened to turn to the play of Antony and Cleopatra. I came down to the Fourth Act, the sixth scene, Octavius Caesar is on the stage; one of his Generals, Agrippa, tells him that Antony is going to be destroyed, and that Octavius will be the ruler of the world; and Octavius grandiloquently exclaims: 'The time of universal peace is near.' The time of universal peace is near."

Commissioner Hulbert: "How like the present day that seems."

1900 Years of Wars.

"And that was thirty-one years before Christ was born," Mr. Kahn continued, "and the pacifist has been talking of universal peace ever since. And in this year, 1918, we have the greatest war the world has ever seen."

"What must be our attitude as a nation? Wisdom will teach us that we must get ready to meet every emergency at any time in our country's history. This is the time to write upon the statute books a law for universal military training. [Great applause.] We have been in this war ten months—we are not nearly ready. The Senator has told you that we ought to declare a program. I agree with him. We have done nothing of that kind. The Administration has sent to the two Committees on Military Affairs, the committee of the Senate and the committee of the House, a bill to amend the draft law so that every young man who has attained the age of 21 years since the 5th of June shall be registered for service. If I can shape the legislation, I shall write it so that every boy of 16 and over up to 21 shall register. [Applause.]

"The psychology of that alone would be great. It would be notice to the Imperial Government of Germany that these United States intend to mortgage their man power for a six years' war. They would learn in the Imperial Empire that we are in for business and that we mean to win this war. It will also encourage and hearten the English and the French and the Italians. These young men would become eligible to military service when they attain their majority, when they become 21, but I would train them when they became 20 so that they would be full-fledged soldiers when they became 21. And then I would insert in the legislation this further provision, that when the war is over that the training of the young American shall not cease in the piping times of peace, but that as boys become 18 years of age in this country they shall be compelled to take military training for at least six months. [Cries of "Longer!"] Yes, I prefer to make it a year, because you cannot train inside of a year. And the camps that have been established in this war have amply demonstrated to the people of this country that if nothing else is accomplished, we will at least create in this country a race of rugged, virile American citizens."

Prussia Always Perfidious.

"My time is almost up, but I cannot sit down without referring to one thing that has been in the back of my head for some time. In early Roman history the Romans used to speak of Carthage and Carthaginians with contempt. They sneered at what they called Punic faith. They knew that in international affairs the word of Carthage could not be relied on. In our day Teutonic faith has become a word of contempt. The Chairman referred to the position we are in in this war. German did not begin her violation of international obligations with the breaking of the treaty of Belgium. Way back in Prussian history, Napoleon, who tried in his day to curb the power of those nations that were opposed to him, undertook to prevent Prussia from raising armies. Some of our pacifists are trying to emulate his example in these days. And he wrote into the Treaty of Tilsit a paragraph that Prussia should not have more than 42,000 soldiers. Prussia accepted the treaty, and forthwith began to train 42,000 every year and put them into the reserves. [Laughter.] She lived up to the letter of the law, but violated the spirit of it. So that we can see from her actions that this country must be prepared to meet her at every turn. She is a wonderfully efficient country. I never delude myself in regard to those things; but I feel the only way we can maintain those great principles for which our fathers bled and died, the only way in which we can maintain this as the land of freedom, is to prepare to defend our rights wherever and by whomsoever they may be attacked.

"The National Security League is doing a great work in arousing the spirit of the American people. May go on, and on and on, until every public servant, until every member of Congress, who has not the mental vision to look into the future and see that our only safety is in doing what Washington told the American people in the

very youth to do; namely, in time of peace to prepare for war. The public official who cannot see that, has been relegated to the seclusion of private life.

"I thank you for this opportunity of coming before you and saying these few words to you. Like Senator Chamberlain, I could talk to you long time on these questions, but I know that the seeds you are planting will fructify into the delicious fruit of universal training."

Colonel Roosevelt's Address.

Colonel Roosevelt was the last speaker.

"I wish at the outset," he said, "to make a concrete suggestion. I hold that the training camps today are the greatest universities of American citizenship in the country. They are the great factories of Americanism. They turn out—they are going to turn out—their men, not only fit for the tasks of war, but infinitely fitter for the tasks of peace than when they went in. Remember always to insist that the training, we propose to give the young man so that he may defend his country in time of war, is precisely the training which will best fit him to do his work as a citizen in time of peace. It will set the man up physically, morally, and intellectually; it will take the moral stoop out of his shoulders as well as the physical stoop. It will teach him that an increase of self-respect comes from respect for the rights of others. It will teach him that self-respect necessarily means mutuality of respect. It will teach him to obey orders on the spot, without questioning, without letting his lower jaw hang down while he says 'Why?' It will teach him to do that, and it will also teach him to act on his own initiative and act at once. It will train him in cleanliness, in alertness, in the performance of manual work; and I hope ultimately to see the time when there won't be any man in this country who has not been trained to some form of manual work.

"And that man is going to be better able to achieve success for himself, and better able to do good work in a bank or a store or a mine or on a railroad twice over, because he has been in the training camps."

Learn to Love Camp Life.

"I was told the other day by General Glenn, out at Chillocothe, that many of the men of the national army who came there to Camp Sherman were very reluctant to come. The doctors had to examine them and see if they had been properly passed. He said that the men who were sent away during the first two weeks were glad to go away, but that any man who had stayed there five weeks fought tooth and nail against being sent away, insisted he should be kept, insisted that he could do his duty; that he would do it, at no matter what cost, because of the benefit that was accruing to him. And they train men to a sense of fellowship with one another, to an understanding of the need of acting in common with their fellows, and that is a need we have got to learn; that is a need we have got to meet here in civil life more and more as time goes on.

"I wish that we could see the men of those camps parade in our cities. I wish we could take the men from Camp Upton, regiment by regiment, or all of them, and have them parade here. (A voice: "Why can't we?")

"It would be everything for them and everything for the city to have that done, and, gentlemen, as we have now slowly emerged from our first stage of broomstick rifle preparedness, we can now have the infantry regiments parade armed. I don't know quite the brand of rifle they have, but they have got some rifles. I won't yet ask that the artillery regiments parade with their guns, because we are still in the telegraph pole cannon stage in artillery preparedness. France is helping us, so that does not apply abroad. Our army we have here at home has logwood cannon. The army abroad has cannon and machine guns, both of them obtained from our hard-pressed ally France, to whose help we nominally came.

No Military Policy.

"I wish, Senator Chamberlain and Congressman Kahn, to bear testimony to the gratitude every American worth calling an American must feel for men of your type, for you two personally and for those of your type who are standing for the interests of the United States absolutely without regard to distinction of party. You are entitled to the support of all decent Americans. And, as the Senator has said, the United States military policy has strikingly resembled that chapter on the snakes of Ireland which ran, 'There are no snakes in Ireland.' We have had no military policy. I took part in one small war—a less exclusive war than the present war—and it was accurately described by that profound humorist and philosopher Mr. Dooley, when he said, 'We were in a dream, but the Spaniards were in a trance.' And, Senator Chamberlain, I am happy to say that when I told the truth absolutely and fully about that war and about the way it had been waged, although it was waged by an Administration of which I was a part and with which I afterward became even more closely connected. When I was Governor of New York in 1890 I described the Santiago campaign, and some of the sentences I used would apply just as accurately today. I stated that our artillery was worthless; that for thirty-five years nothing had been done effectively for it.

"I said that the bureaus at Washington were enmeshed in red tape and held by nice elderly officers of good record in the past, utterly incompetent to break through the wall of routine that surrounded them. I said that the Santiago campaign was a matter of confusion. It was, I remember perfectly. We sent the guns down on one ship and the locks to fire them off with and the breech-blocks on another ship, which got mislaid on the way down. That was only one example of it. I stated that we were saved from disaster by the incompetency of our foes, and that to go against a well-led, well-trained, well-handled foe under such conditions would have meant ruin. Now, instead of being saved by the incompetency of our foes, we are saved by the competency of our friends."

Colonel Roosevelt said that one of the great military faults of the past was the failure to train the regular army in time of peace for its duties in time of war. The country must expect, he added, a great proportion of the older men in the army to break down under the strain of totally new work due to the war. The boss broke into an uproar when Colonel Roosevelt referred to "a very excellent and amiable man," who some months ago stated that in the event of war "a million Americans would spring to arms between sunrise and sunset."

"They have been springing for twelve months now," said Colonel Roosevelt, "and they have had to spring hard to reach rifles. And they have not got any cannon to spring to as yet."

Colonel Roosevelt then made a plea for the speeding up of the war, along the lines of the speech he delivered at the Ohio Society dinner a week ago. He said that it was all very well to applaud and shout for the Allies but the shouting should be accompanied by shooting.

Plea to the Women.

In conclusion, Colonel Roosevelt addressed himself to the women present.

"Now," he said, "I want to speak especially to you women. Again and again in the past we have had the appeal made by the pacifists to the women, and I have had women write to me that they were against preparedness, for they did not want to send their sons against the cannon. The surest way to send them against the cannon is to be unprepared to have them do their duty. The surest way to make it necessary that they go against the cannon is to persuade the brutal managers of the destinies of militaristic nations that your sons have not been prepared to go against the cannon. Once we convince Germany that there is nothing to fear from America, you will some time or other see not only your sons but your daughters doing the bidding of evil men in spiked helmets. And, on the other hand, you have your sons trained so that they may fight for their hearthstones, fight for their sisters and wives and sweethearts, and while you may not be able to guarantee that war will not come, you will have rendered it infinitely less likely that it will come.

"I ask for universal service in the name of the women of this country quite as much as of the men. I ask it in the name of the mothers of the country, not so that war shall come, but so that there may be a good chance that it will not come."

Mushy Pacifist Brains.

"Never forget that the pacifist does not keep you out of war. Nine out of ten pacifists have something wrong with their heads rather than their hearts. It is only the tenth that is thoroughly vicious. Nine-tenths of them

are nice people with rather mushy brains, and if you kick them hard enough they will fight, but they won't be of any earthly consequence when they do not succeed. They do not succeed, they do fight, they do not keep you out of war. The pacifist does not keep you out of war. He merely keeps you unprepared to be effective in war. Now, look at the last three and one-half years. Isn't that exactly true? The pacifist kept us unprepared for two and one-half years, and then we went to war. We had unpreparedness, and we had the war, too. Preparing said that if we were only harmed enough and not too sensitive about being booted we would be at peace. Finally, the kicking became such that we had to go to war, only we were then incompetent to do anything after we had gone to war. We had to wait a year before we could finally rouse our people to such a point as to give a reasonable chance of success for the work that Senator Chamberlain and Congressman Kahn are now undertaking.

"And these preachers that ask, Why do we send our boys abroad to fight? The answer is simple: So that they may not have to fight at home. We send our boys to fight abroad beside our allies so that they may not have to fight at home without allies. So, friends, make it understood by our people that universal suffrage can only justify itself by universal service; that in a democracy no man is entitled to the enjoyment of a right unless he earns it by the performance of duty applies even more in war than it does in peace. Do the great tasks, and get behind any public servant who will enable you to accomplish these two great tasks. Do the work of speeding up the war now. See that any step is taken, of no matter what character that will make us efficient at the earliest possible moment; that will make us come to the help, the substantial help, of our war-worn allies at the earliest possible moment.

Train Every Man.

"Stand by the men at the front and speed up the war, and then see to it that never again are we caught as we have been caught in this war and in almost, I think I may say ever other foreign war. See that we have ever been engaged in. See that we now introduce the permanent policy of preparedness, and base that policy on the doctrine that in a people's Government we must have a people's army, that the army and the people shall be synonymous terms, and, therefore, that we shall hereafter, as our permanent policy, have the policy of universal, obligatory military training for every young man in the nation."

Among those who sat at the guests' table were James M. Beck, Brig. Gen. E. M. Johnson, commanding officer at Camp Upton; Major John Purroy Michel, U. S. A.; Winston Churchill, Alton B. Parker, William Hamlin Childs, Mrs. Thomas J. Preston, Jr., Major George Haven Putnam, John R. Rathom, Mrs. C. A. Severance, S. Stanwood Menken, Dr. John H. Finley, Myron T. Herrick, Alexander J. Hemphill, Frederic R. Coudert, Oscar S. Straus, George W. Wickersham, Mrs. C. Van Rensselaer, and Lloyd Taylor.

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"I said that the bureaus at Washington were enmeshed in red tape and held by nice elderly officers of good record in the past, utterly incompetent to break through the wall of routine that surrounded them. I said that the Santiago campaign was a matter of confusion. It was, I remember perfectly. We sent the guns down on one ship and the locks to fire them off with and the breech-blocks on another ship, which got mislaid on the way down. That was only one example of it. I stated that we were saved from disaster by the incompetency of our foes, and that to go against a well-led, well-trained, well-handled foe under such conditions would have meant ruin. Now, instead of being saved by the incompetency of our foes, we are saved by the competency of our friends."

Colonel Roosevelt said that one of the great military faults of the past was the failure to train the regular army in time of peace for its duties in time of war. The country must expect, he added, a great proportion of the older men in the army to break down under the strain of totally new work due to the war. The boss broke into an uproar when Colonel Roosevelt referred to "a very excellent and amiable man," who some months ago stated that in the event of war "a million Americans would spring to arms between sunrise and sunset."

"They have been springing for twelve months now," said Colonel Roosevelt, "and they have had to spring hard to reach rifles. And they have not got any cannon to spring to as yet."

Colonel Roosevelt then made a plea for the speeding up of the war, along the lines of the speech he delivered at the Ohio Society dinner a week ago. He said that it was all very well to applaud and shout for the Allies but the shouting should be accompanied by shooting.

In conclusion, Colonel Roosevelt addressed himself to the women present.

"Now," he said, "I want to speak especially to you women. Again and again in the past we have had the appeal made by the pacifists to the women, and I have had women write to me that they were against preparedness, for they did not want to send their sons against the cannon. The surest way to send them against the cannon is to be unprepared to have them do their duty. The surest way to make it necessary that they go against the cannon is to persuade the brutal managers of the destinies of militaristic nations that your sons have not been prepared to go against the cannon. Once we convince Germany that there is nothing to fear from America, you will some time or other see not only your sons but your daughters doing the bidding of evil men in spiked helmets. And, on the other hand, you have your sons trained so that they may fight for their hearthstones, fight for their sisters and wives and sweethearts, and while you may not be able to guarantee that war will not come, you will have rendered it infinitely less likely that it will come.

"I ask for universal service in the name of the women of this country quite as much as of the men. I ask it in the name of the mothers of the country, not so that war shall come, but so that there may be a good chance that it will not come."

"Never forget that the pacifist does not keep you out of war. Nine out of ten pacifists have something wrong with their heads rather than their hearts. It is only the tenth that is thoroughly vicious. Nine-tenths of them