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4th Liberty Loan



Handbook for **Speakers**

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BY
A
SERIES

“Now therefore go, and I will be
with thy mouth, and teach thee
what thou shalt say.”

Exodus iv, 12



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Foreword

The success of each of the preceding Liberty Loan Campaigns has given every good citizen new cause for pride in his country. Each has surpassed all reasonable expectations, and in addition to the direct result of securing from millions of loyal Americans the investment in billions of Liberty Bonds, each campaign has been a great patriotic revival.

Many thousands of unselfish men and women have rendered devoted service, and they with countless others are now preparing to do even greater work for the Fourth Liberty Loan.

Of these, no one has been of greater importance than the public speaker.

Secretary McAdoo and those having the War Loan organization in charge are grateful to the thousands of men and women who thus bring to millions of people the message of their country's needs.

All are asked to prepare themselves at once for an even greater task in the Fourth Liberty Loan.

We need not deal in promises alone, but can

well offer as a reason for the purchase of Liberty Bonds the great things that already have been achieved by a united nation.

Of the four great Liberty Loans, the Fourth should be and must be the most successful of all.

SPEAKERS BUREAU

War Loan Organization

Treasury Department

Washington

President Wilson on the Liberty Loan

[From an Address delivered at Baltimore, April 6, 1918]

The Nation is awake. There is no need to call to it. We know what the war must cost—our utmost sacrifice, the lives of our fittest men and, if need be, all that we possess. The loan we are met to discuss is one of the least parts of what we are called upon to give and to do, though in itself imperative. The people of the whole country are alive to the necessity of it, and are ready to lend to the utmost, even where it involves a sharp skimping and daily sacrifice to lend out of meagre earnings. They will look with reprobation and contempt upon those who can and will not, upon those who demand a higher rate of interest, upon those who think of it as a mere commercial transaction. I have not come, therefore, to urge the loan. I have come only to give you, if I can, a more vivid conception of what it is for.

The Reasons for the War

The reasons for this great war, the reason why it had to come, the need to fight it through, and the issues that hang upon its outcome, are more clearly disclosed than ever before. It is easy to see just what this particular loan means because the Cause we are

fighting for stands more sharply revealed than at any previous crisis of the momentous struggle. The man who knows least can now see plainly how the cause of Justice stands and what the imperishable thing is he is asked to invest in. Men in America may be more sure than they ever were before that the cause is their own, and that, if it should be lost, their own great Nation's place and mission in the world would be lost with it.

I call you to witness, my fellow countrymen, that at no stage of this terrible business have I judged the purposes of Germany intemperately. I should be ashamed in the presence of affairs so grave, so fraught with the destinies of mankind throughout all the world, to speak with truculence, to use the weak language of hatred or vindictive purpose. We must judge as we would be judged. I have sought to learn the objects Germany has in this war from the mouths of her own spokesmen, and to deal as frankly with them as I wished them to deal with me. I have laid bare our own ideals, our own purposes, without reserve or doubtful phrase, and have asked them to say as plainly what it is they seek.

We have ourselves proposed no injustice, no aggression. We are ready, whenever the final reckoning is made, to be just to the German people, deal fairly with the German power, as with all others. There can be no difference between peoples in the final judg-

ment, if it is indeed to be a righteous judgment. To propose anything but justice, even-handed and dispassionate justice, to Germany at any time, whatever the outcome of the war, would be to renounce and dishonor our own cause. For we ask nothing that we are not willing to accord.

Germany wants Dominion

It has been this thought that I have sought to learn from those who spoke for Germany; whether it was justice, or dominion and the execution of their own will upon the other nations of the world that the German leaders were seeking. They have answered, answered in unmistakable terms. They have avowed that it was not justice but dominion and the unhindered execution of their own will.

The avowal has not come from Germany's statesmen. It has come from her military leaders, who are her real rulers. Her statesmen have said that they wished peace, and were ready to discuss its terms whenever their opponents were willing to sit down at the conference table with them. Her present Chancellor has said—in indefinite and uncertain terms, indeed, and in phrases that often seem to deny their own meaning, but with as much plainness as he thought prudent—that he believed that peace should be based upon the principles which we had

declared would be our own in the final settlement. At Brest-Litovsk her civilian delegates spoke in similar terms; professed their desire to conclude a fair peace and accord to the peoples with whose fortunes they were dealing the right to choose their own allegiances. But action accompanied and followed the profession. Their military masters, the men who act for Germany and exhibit her purpose in execution, proclaimed a very different conclusion. We cannot mistake what they have done,—in Russia, in Finland, in the Ukraine, in Roumania. The real test of their justice and fair play has come. From this we may judge the rest. They are enjoying in Russia a cheap triumph in which no brave or gallant nation can take pride. A great people, helpless by their own act, lies for the time at their mercy. Their fair professions are forgotten. They nowhere set up justice, but everywhere impose their power and exploit everything for their own use and aggrandizement; and the peoples of conquered provinces are invited to be free under their dominion!

Germany wants a free hand in Russia

Are we not justified in believing that they would do the same things at their western front if they were not there face to face with armies whom even their countless divisions cannot overcome? If, when they have felt

their check to be final, they should propose favorable and equitable terms with regard to Belgium and France and Italy, could they blame us if we concluded that they did so only to assure themselves of a free hand in Russia and the East?

Their purpose is undoubtedly to make all the Slavic peoples, all the free and ambitious nations of the Baltic peninsula, all the lands that Turkey has dominated and misruled, subject to their will and ambition, and build upon that dominion an empire of force upon which they fancy that they can then erect an empire of gain and commercial supremacy,—an empire as hostile to the Americans as to the Europe which it will overawe—an empire which will ultimately master Persia, India, and the peoples of the Far East. In such a program our ideals, the ideals of justice and humanity and liberty, the principles of the free self-determination of nations upon which all the modern world insists, can play no part. They are rejected for the ideals of power, for the principle that the strong must rule the weak, that trade must follow the flag, whether those to whom it is taken welcome it or not, that the peoples of the world are to be made subject to the patronage and overlordship of those who have the power to enforce it.

That program once carried out, America and all who care or dare to stand with her

must arm and prepare themselves to contest the mastery of the World, a mastery in which the rights of common men, the right of women and all who are weak, must for the time being be trodden under foot and disregarded, and the old, age-long struggle for freedom and right begin again at the beginning. Everything that America has lived for and loved and grown great to vindicate and bring to a glorious realization will have fallen in utter ruin and the gates of mercy once more pitilessly shut upon mankind!

Germany Judged on its Record

The thing is preposterous and impossible; and yet is not that what the whole course and action of the German armies has meant wherever they have moved? I do not wish, even in this moment of utter disillusionment, to judge harshly or unrighteously. I judge only what the German arms have accomplished with unpitying thoroughness throughout every fair region they have touched.

What, then, are we to do? For myself, I am ready, ready still, ready even now, to discuss a fair and just and honest peace at any time that it is sincerely proposed,—a peace in which the strong and weak shall fare alike. But the answer, when I proposed such a peace, came from the German commanders in Russia, and I cannot mistake the meaning of the answer.

I accept the challenge. I know that you accept it. All the world shall know that you accept it. It shall appear in the utter sacrifice and self-forgetfulness with which we shall give all that we love and all that we have to redeem the world and make it fit for free men like ourselves to live in. This now is the meaning of all that we do. Let everything that we say, my fellow countrymen, everything that we henceforth plan and accomplish, ring true to this response till the majesty and might of our concerted power shall fill the thought and utterly defeat the force of those who flout and misprize what we honor and hold dear. Germany has once more said that force, and force alone, shall decide whether Justice and peace shall reign in the affairs of men, whether Right as America conceives it or Dominion as she conceives it shall determine the destinies of mankind. There is, therefore, but one response possible from us: Force, Force to the utmost, Force without stint or limit, the righteous and triumphant Force which shall make Right the law of the world, and cast every selfish dominion down in the dust.

I

Points for Speakers to put before Local Committees

(1) Work to be done by local Liberty Loan Committee

When you reach a city, town or village, you can do important and helpful work.

Get in touch with the local Liberty Loan Committee, and see that they are doing the things set out below. Possibly you might ask them to meet you for a conference.

Use the Chart of Publicity for Selling Liberty Bonds on pages 10 and 11, to suggest to the local Committee profitable fields of action. It might be well to check off on that chart the activities that are being carried on.

In all publicity, certain ideas should be selected to dominate the campaign. In order to get the benefit of repetition these ideas should, so far as possible, be played up in every form of publicity—oral, printed and pictured—that is used. If, for instance, we adopt as a dominating idea “support our boys in the trenches,” this thought should be brought out in speeches, advertisements, posters, cartoons and pamphlets.

The first thing that a committee must recognize is that in order to sell the amount

Chart of Publicity for Selling Liberty Bonds

We must use simple and easy-to-understand words and pictures to carry the message to the greatest number of our people

Form	Medium	Method of Distribution
I ORAL	1 Lectures or Addresses	1 Special Audiences 2 Ready-made Audiences a) Conventions b) Granges c) Chautauqua lecture courses d) Schools and colleges e) Cantonments
	2 Four-Minute Men	1 Theatres and Motion Picture Houses 2 Churches 3 Outdoor Audiences
	3 Songs	
	4 Phonograph Records— Speeches of National and International Leaders Patriotic Songs, Musical Pieces	1 Everywhere through Phonograph Record Dealers (22,000 schools have phonographs)
	5 Plays and Pageants	
II PRINTED (Words and pictures)	Advertisements and material for reading matter for	1 Newspapers 2 Trade Press 3 House Organs 4 Periodicals
	5 Circular Letters	

III
PICTURED

6 Pamphlets		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Patriotic societies 2 School children 3 Boy Scouts of America 4 Stores 5 Sales forces of large organizations 6 Mercantile houses, mail 7 Special Mailing Lists 8 Councils of State Defense
7 Hand-bills		
8 Cards or slips of pay envelope size		1 Pay envelopes
9 Programmes		1 Theatres, concerts, patriotic and athletic meetings
10 Flags and Banners		1 In parades and on buildings
1 Posters		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Billboards and buildings 2 Street Cars 3 Railroad Stations and Steamboat Docks 4 Official Bulletin Boards (Factories, etc.) 5 Shop Windows (Chain stores, etc.) 6 Automobile Windshields and Windows 7 Trucks, Wagons and Busses 8 Post Offices
2 Poster Stamps		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Mercantile Houses 2 Private Sale
3 Cartoons		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Newspapers 2 Periodicals 3 Trade Press, etc.
4 Motion Pictures		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Motion Picture Houses 2 Special Audiences, Schools, Colleges, Churches, "Open Air" Audiences, etc.
5 Slides		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Special Audiences, etc. 2 Schools 3 Churches
6 Transparencies		1 Parades

of bonds allotted to the committee's district, it will be necessary to "popularize" the Loan. Every person of thinking age in the territory covered by the committee must be made acquainted with the nature and purposes of the Fourth Liberty Loan and imbued with a desire to be a buyer of the bonds.

There are two parts to every successful Liberty Loan campaign, viz.: *Publicity*, which sows the seed, and *Personal Solicitation*, which reaps the harvest. The Chairman should place on the committee the editors of the local newspapers. Every person in the committee's district must be seen during the campaign.

The members of the committee must, at the outset, have brought home to them the *importance of their work*.

In the great war program of our country the work of the Liberty Loan Committeemen is just as essential as the work of the soldiers in the trenches. If the Bonds are not sold the Government will not have the necessary money to equip and feed the Army and Navy. This point cannot be emphasized too strongly.

Committeemen must realize that it is their duty to their country to *give their entire time*, day and night, to the work of the campaign. In the short time allotted for the campaign every moment must be utilized. It is not brillianey that is going to win, so much as persistency. It will take patient, systematic hard work to secure results.

Whenever a committeeman who has attended a meeting or has made a few calls, wants to slacken his efforts, he should remember our sailors on the high seas, and our soldiers in the trenches. Let him consider our chances of winning the war if these sailors and soldiers slacken their efforts when they feel so inclined.

(2) How to plan and hold Patriotic Meetings

A rousing, thrilling meeting cannot be expected from haphazard methods. Like a weak offensive, a badly managed meeting is not only a failure—it is a distinct injury to our cause.

Every effort and every dollar must be expended to the greatest advantage, so as to show the public clearly what victory or defeat may mean.

Unless we first fill our hall, no matter how eloquent our speakers, or how inspiring our program, our efforts will fail. Empty benches gain no helpers.

We are competing with movies and theatres which owe their success largely to the principle that "it pays to advertise." They put write-ups and skilfully prepared advertisements in newspapers and on billboards. The announcement "It is your duty to attend this meeting" will never draw a crowd. To succeed we must advertise in the right way.

The Place and the Time

1] You must beat other attractions at their own game. The hall should be well known and easily accessible to the class of public to be reached.

2] The date of meeting should not clash with other local meetings.

Get Hearty Co-operation

3] Circular letters signed by Chairman of the Local Liberty Loan Committee should be sent to the following, asking their co-operation in making the meeting a success:

Patriotic bodies, especially veterans of Civil and Spanish wars, and Boy Scouts of America

Churches

Chambers of Commerce and Granges

Trade and labor organizations

Women's organizations

Prominent men and women

4] The superintendents and principals of schools, presidents of chambers of commerce and of trade organizations, etc., should be seen and their personal assistance obtained.

5] A Committee on Attendance should be appointed. Let one man on it be responsible for the attendance of manufacturers, another for the members of a certain lodge, another to see that the meeting should be announced from the pulpit of all the churches, etc. The

committee should go after the people who are not supporting the war to their utmost.

6] In small communities it pays to have each member of the Committee on Attendance telephone ten or a dozen people, asking them to be present.

Get Full Publicity

7] Select an able man to act as Publicity Agent. Such a man should give full time to this work, and should have associated with him the local editors.

8] He should secure from the proper organization photographs or plates of the speakers, and see that the newspapers insert them.

9] A week before the meeting he should get a "human interest story" about the career of the speakers and their successful meetings and furnish it to the press.

10] After a successful meeting, the local chairman should immediately send an enthusiastic report to the towns where the speakers are to appear later.

11] Lively posters should be put up in rooms of public organizations previously mentioned, in stores and in other prominent places.

12] Stirring postcards should be sent to farmers.

The Meeting Itself

13] Much care should be used in the selection of a chairman for the meeting. He should *not* make a speech. He should be supplied with a time schedule and an interesting statement concerning the speakers. His introductions should be short.

14] Representative men should act as ushers. Proper reservation should be made for organized bodies, such as Veterans, Home Guards and Boy Scouts. The front seats should always be filled. Girls should distribute programs.

15] Moving pictures or slides, and a band, orchestra, or "Liberty Chorus," a quartet, or a good soloist should be secured. Advertise your music or other features. In case you have a band, let it play one stirring piece outside the hall and then march inside.

16] If trophies are to be auctioned or subscriptions to bonds taken, be sure to leave sufficient time. People won't subscribe who are tired and want to go home.

17] Don't undertake to secure subscriptions at a meeting without due preparation. Ushers or others should be supplied with pledge cards and pencils and scattered about the hall to secure the signatures of those who wish to subscribe.

18] Fix a convenient hour and then start on time. Open the meeting with music. Have a definite arrangement with each speaker as to how long he shall speak. Keep the program down to two hours or less. Long-drawn-out meetings hurt the cause.

19] Give thought to arrangement of program. Seek for a strong ending, avoiding any anti-climax.

20] Flags always help. We are fighting that Old Glory may continue to wave. A reminder may well be made from the platform to uncover whenever the flag goes by.

21] A committee should be appointed to meet the speakers on arrival, look after their accommodations, etc.

22] Early in the day the press should be furnished with copy of the speeches of the evening, which should be obtained in advance from the speakers. The "breakfast table audience" is often as important as the audience at the hall.

23] Printed matter concerning the Liberty Loan should be distributed at the close of the meeting. The speakers should refer in their speeches to this literature.

24] If there is an afternoon paper and the speaker arrives in time, see that he meets the newspaper men and has matter for a story or for editorial comment. This should be

different from his speech. For one thing, he can tell what other towns are doing.

25] Have the speakers meet the local Liberty Loan Committee. They may have valuable information as to campaign methods in use elsewhere.

26] Don't be afraid to borrow ideas from the communities that have had rousing meetings.

27] If you have a speaker who really knows how to talk to boys and girls, try to have him give an afternoon talk to the children of the upper grades and the high school. If he makes good with them, they will send their parents in the evening.

(3) How to use Posters

Remember that the most important thing about a poster is that it shall be seen.

Display your posters with intelligence. They are expensive to make and display, and should be placed with thought.

If you have a limited quantity of posters, do not display them too thickly in one locality. Take a motor trip around town and in its vicinity and study the best possible distribution.

Unless you have a great quantity of posters allotted to you, do not display the same poster more than once in any one space.

It may be well to make your first round with posters to the more important places, such as the post office, the library, hotels, banks, clubs, and railroad stations. This special distribution should be followed by more general posting around town.

Do not wrap posters around telegraph poles, or trees, or paste them on other irregular surfaces.

Posters should be so placed that they can be seen in their entirety and in as good a setting as possible; they must never be crookedly pasted.

Impress these points on the bill poster. Let him understand that his work will be checked up.

When posters are given to merchants or

others for window display, it is well to offer to place them yourself, in order to insure good placing, as regards location and security. When placing posters in windows, avoid any conflict with lettering on the windows.

The local Committee may be able to secure very valuable co-operation from stores which are in a position to stage in their windows a miniature battlefield or a war tableau. These displays make people think, talk and act.

(4) How to use motion pictures

By all means urge the extensive use of motion pictures on patriotic subjects.

For details as to how to get and use motion pictures and slides, many of which may be obtained without charge, see pamphlet "Patriotism that Registers," issued by National Committee of Patriotic Societies, Union Trust Building, Washington, D. C.

II

The Art of Making a Speech

(1) Putting your message across

Plan carefully.—Plan your speech with care. Don't trust to inspiration. Assume to speak only when you have thought out beforehand what you are going to say.

The boast of some speakers that they always speak extemporaneously, that their speeches are never twice the same, may well be the cause of the failure of some patriotic meetings.

One of the greatest speeches of all time, Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, was drafted three times before it was delivered. If that great master of English and oratory felt it necessary thus to work over his material before addressing an audience fully aware of his position and power, how much more necessary is it for the average speaker to do likewise. If it be distasteful to write out the whole speech, the safe and wise thing to do is to prepare a comprehensive outline. As the campaign progresses revise your speech as experience dictates.

Be consecutive.—Plan your speech so as to keep it moving forward. Let one thing lead to another. When you have made a point, pass on in logical order; your audience will travel with you.

Be specific.—Visualize things for your hearers. If your speech presents word pictures, the impression is both stronger and more lasting.

Appeal to both the emotions and the intellect.—People fight their best, work their hardest, and make their biggest sacrifices when both their reason and their emotions are appealed to. They must not only be *moved* to subscribe, but *convinced* that they should keep up their payments and not sell their bonds.

Sell Bonds.—Always remember that this is the definite object of your speech, and the test of your success.

Character of appeal.—Avoid “high brow” methods. This is democracy’s war and you should talk democracy’s language. Therefore be clear and simple, using short words and crisp sentences.

Avoid equally the other extreme. Don’t be too colloquial, too slangy. It is perfectly possible to keep the thought and the sentiment on a high plane and yet do so in simple language.

Be adaptable.—Find out about the place and the audience. Ascertain local conditions. Get the figures for that town as to the men in service, the number of casualties, the record on former loans, on the Red Cross, the Y. M. C. A. Inquire about local organizations, Home Guard, Red Cross branches, etc.

Let your speech fit your audience. Draw your illustrations from things they know about and care about. Consider what is the best appeal to farmers, to factory workers, to tradesmen, etc.

“Canned” speeches will get few subscriptions. Select those topics that you believe will appeal most to that particular audience. Assimilate them, think them over, dress them up in your own way, with your own illustrations. Make them *your* ideas, and the speech *your* speech.

Forceful presentation.—Though orators may be born, not made, yet almost any speaker can greatly improve his effectiveness by study and observation.

As a master of speaking has tersely said, “Attack your audience, or it will attack you.” An audience to which you do not give your best will be slow indeed to respond to any message you bring.

If inattention occurs in any part of the audience, the speaker must not turn away from that section and speak to those who appear interested. Inattention spreads rapidly and should be stopped at its source. Let the speaker address his words to the inattentive, and through natural courtesy they will assume the attitude of attention.

Always remember the man in the far corner of the room. You want his subscription too. Therefore speak so that he can hear you.

People soon tire of the effort of trying to hear, and thus drift into inattention.

Enthusiasm is born of conviction. It is earnestness, not noise, which counts. An American audience quickly realizes whether a speaker means what he says. Nothing is more contagious than enthusiasm that is genuine.

Finish strong.—Daniel Webster tells us that he always worked out and memorized a strong closing sentence, no matter how extemporaneous the other portions of the speech might be. With a comprehensive outline and a strong closing sentence or paragraph the speaker is less likely to exceed the proper time.

Many speeches otherwise effective have lost all effect because the speaker did not know when he was through. It is a matter of mere courtesy, both to the audience and to other speakers, to be as brief as logic and clearness allow. A college president, when asked by a visiting clergyman how long the latter could preach to the students, replied, "There is no time limit, but rumor has it that no souls are saved after the first twenty minutes."

Keep these points in mind

Begin with a positive, concrete, striking statement. Tell them something at the start that will immediately grip their attention.

Use short sentences. Try to make one word do the work of two.

Avoid fine phrases. You aren't there to give them an ear-full, but a mind-full.

Talk to the back row of your audience; you'll hit everything closer in.

Talk to the simplest intelligence in your audience; you'll touch everything higher up.

Be natural and direct. Sincerity wears no frills.

Speak slowly. A jumbled sentence is a wasted sentence.

You represent the United States of America. Don't forget this. And don't let your audience forget it.

Finish strong and sharp.

(2) Outline for Speech

The following is a specimen outline for a speech on Liberty Bonds:

1] *Visualize the war*

- a. The spirit of sacrifice of all classes.
Quotation from President Wilson (p. 1).
- b. The devastation of Belgium and France.
Shall this happen to us?
- c. Stories of valor and humor of America's sons at the front. (See page 105.)

2] *Why we are fighting*

Contrast the principle for which we and our enemies fight. (See page 45.)

- a. America's Declaration of Independence versus German Kultur. (See page 45.)
- b. Quote poetry. (See Chapter VII.)
- c. Germany's plans for world conquest. (See page 42.)

3] *Buying Liberty Bonds will help us win*

- a. Money for building ships.
- b. Money for munitions.
- c. Money for food.
- d. Money for airplanes.
- e. Money for general equipment. (See Chapter VIII, 2, 3.)

4] *Describe Liberty Bonds shortly, terms, interest, et cetera.* (See page 30.)

5] *Think of what your boy is offering to win the War.*

What are *you* doing?

(3) Points of Appeal

In preparing his speech a speaker should have in mind the following points of appeal:

A. *Democracy*

- a. The beginning of a nation
- b. Washington's ideals
- c. Lincoln's ideals
- d. President Wilson's ideals
- e. Is a German a free man
- f. Kaiserism vs. freedom

B. *Self-preservation*

- a. Your duty to your family
- b. Your duty to yourself
- c. American safety at stake
- d. Defeat and subjugation
 1. What you will lose
 2. What will happen to your country
 3. What will happen to your family
 4. What will happen to you
 5. What will happen to your ideals
- e. The curse of having a master
- f. Reversion to savagery
- g. Murder enthroned

C. *Enjoyment*

- a. Liberty Bonds provide an income that can be used in enjoying yourself after the war.

D. *Comfort*

- a. Purchase of Liberty Bonds will provide for comfort in old age.

E. *"Carry on"*

a. It is important to bring out the point that the first three loans furnished money that was used to equip and train the boys that are now at the front. The next step is to furnish them money, coal, munitions, etc., and help win victory.

F. *Self-interest*

a. Emphasize the fact that the person who saves and invests in Liberty Bonds gets the best security in the world and is absolutely sure of his interest and his principal.

G. *Emulation*

- a. The man who buys Liberty Bonds is doing his share in the war just as much as the man who fights in the trenches.
- b. The record of other countries and other communities in sending men and buying bonds.

H. *Sympathy*

A picture of the dangers to the boys in the trenches, emphasizing:

- a. Help the boys in the trenches.
- b. Buy bonds and bring them home soon.

I. *Gratitude*

Laying stress on the fact that we have the finest government in the world and should do all in our power to maintain that government and support the war.

(4) Objections to be met

It is to be expected that objections exist in the minds of many persons, some of which may be legitimate, others of which may have been put there by German propaganda. Accordingly, it may be necessary to discuss:

- a.* German intrigue against the Loan
- b.* Insidious peace propaganda
- c.* A depression in the price of Bonds
- d.* Complaints about high taxes
- e.* What a Russian peace means
- f.* High prices
- g.* Helping our Allies
- h.* This is a rich man's war. The argument is quite frequently heard that the rich men are the cause of the war and that they are not sending their sons. It is important to combat both these arguments

III

Facts About Liberty Bonds

(1) What a Liberty Bond is

A Liberty Bond is the direct and unconditional promise of the United States of America to pay upon a certain date a sum of money in gold, with interest semi-annually upon such sum until the bond is paid. It is the promissory note of the United States.

(2) The two kinds of Bonds

Bonds are of two kinds: Registered bonds and coupon bonds.

A registered bond is payable only to the person whose name is written on its face by the Treasury Department and to no one else. The interest is paid by check sent to the registered owner. The owner may transfer this bond to another by the simple process of writing his name on the back of it in the presence of a witness and having a record made by the Government of the change of ownership.

By reason of the safety and protection against loss or theft afforded by registered bonds it is recommended that as far as possible all persons not having safe deposit boxes or other means of protection should have their bonds registered.

A coupon bond has interest coupons attached, and both bond and coupons are to bearer and ownership thereof can be transferred merely by delivery.

Exhibit a bond as you describe it, not only to show what it looks like, but also to show that you yourself believe in Liberty Bonds to the point of having invested your own money in them.

Bonds of the Fourth Liberty Loan are sold by the Government at their face value; that is, at the rate of 100 cents on the dollar.

You may buy these bonds by filling out and signing an application blank and delivering to any bank or trust company, bond dealer or broker, or to one of the Federal Reserve Banks, or to the Treasury Department at Washington. These applications must be on the form prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, obtainable at any bank or from any Liberty Loan Committee. It is important that application blanks be filled out so as to give all information asked for.

Always be provided with application blanks so that people wishing to subscribe may do so at the meeting. They should not be allowed to go away and cool down before the buying point.

Show how easy it is to buy a Bond

Buying a bond is a simple and easy way to save money. Explain that some employers and some banks and stores have offered to

handle the sale of bonds on instalments. Have the names of such banks and stores with you. Many employers will, if desired, withhold \$1 or more weekly from the employee's salary and apply it to the purchase of a bond.

Persons should be encouraged to buy Liberty Bonds with the definite idea of keeping them as permanent investments. Should it be necessary for the owner to raise money on his bonds he may do so by requesting any bank to accept it as security for a loan. United States Government bonds are the best security which can be offered and will obtain the best terms possible. If it is necessary to sell the bond, a sale can be arranged for through any bank, trust company, reliable bond dealer, or broker. It is extremely important that owners should deal only with reliable persons in selling their bonds.

In each of the 12 Federal Reserve districts which cover the entire United States there have been organized Liberty Loan Committees for the purpose of assisting the government to place its bonds. These committees are made up of representatives from large cities, states, counties, townships, and other political subdivisions. The personnel consists of business men and women, bankers, lawyers, representatives of labor, farmers, professional men, etc. Co-operating with these committees and assisting in the sale

of bonds will be found hundreds of thousands of Liberty Loan volunteers, representing organizations and associations of all kinds. Men, women, and children of our country are assisting in this great work to the fullest extent. Each and every one of the workers is a part of the Liberty Loan organization.

*Details of Bonds
of the Fourth Liberty Loan*

These are not available as this Handbook goes to press. Speakers should familiarize themselves with the rate of interest, date of maturity, tax exemption privileges, and other features of the issue.

(3) Security

A United States Government bond is frequently referred to as "the best security in the world." This is so because the Government's promise to pay is backed by the faith and honor of the nation, and by the taxing power of this whole country, the richest in the world. Our total wealth is back of these bonds and the United States has always paid in full and on time every bond it ever issued.

The wealth of the United States in the year 1917 was estimated at \$250,000,000,000.

Our national income is estimated to be \$50,000,000,000.

Our annual net earnings are more than three times the total amount of bonds required to be issued annually for the conduct of the war. When peace comes these bonds should command a high premium.

No one can question the security back of a United States Government bond.

It is very impressive to compare our situation with that of the other belligerents. Such a comparison shows how much we have and how little we are asked to give. Figures on that point will be found in Chapter VIII.

IV

Facts That Sell Bonds

(1) Why we all must buy Liberty Bonds

The following are by way of suggestion only. No one can cover all of them in one speech. No two men would select the same points.

Things have changed materially since the former loans—especially since the first one. Then it was necessary to take valuable time explaining to practically every audience what a bond was. We only had 230,000 bond investors in the country and few of them held Government bonds.

We have a population of about 103,000,000 people—perhaps 21,000,000 families or households.

There were 4,000,000 individual subscriptions to the First Liberty Loan, 9,400,000 to the Second, and 17,000,000 to the Third. This 17,000,000, their families and friends, need no further explanation of what a Liberty Bond is.

No loyal American can have the least doubt as to his duty to subscribe to these bonds.

A campaign to urge him to pay his rent or support his family would in a certain degree be comparable to the present plea to support the Government and render that obligation which he owes to his country.

We Americans should carefully examine our expenditures with a view to eliminating extravagance and waste. A man or woman may decide that he has fulfilled his obligation by taking a certain amount of bonds, whereas if he were to practice a little more economy—economy that perhaps would not interfere with his comfort or happiness in the slightest—he might materially increase his subscription.

The Fourth Liberty Loan will be a message to the boys with the flag on land and sea. It will be a message to our fighting allies. It will be an answer to the Kaiser. It will be taken as an expression of our faith in the Declaration of Independence.

In one aspect war is a great business and it is a business that requires a high working capital. The funds must be supplied by those who have a stake in the outcome of the venture, and that includes every citizen of the United States and every man and woman who perceives the menace of a world ruled by Germany.

The Will to Win

Marshal Foch says "The will to win is half the battle."

Ludendorff told the Germans recently that "the eighth war loan must prove our will power, which is the source of everything."

The Fourth Liberty Loan is up to the

American people. It must prove *our* will power.

Let us prove it so that Germany will understand, so our Allies will understand, so our fighting men on land and sea, the equal in courage and devotion to any fighting men on earth, will understand that behind our army and our fleet is a will power which will never falter till victory is won.

Count von Roedern, secretary of the German Imperial Treasury, speaking in the Reichstag of taxation revision, said "We don't know yet the amount of indemnity we shall win."

This ought to give an American a new reason for hunting up a Liberty Bond salesman without waiting to be hunted up by him. It will be more pleasant to receive the interest on an American Government loan than to pay an indemnity to the Kaiser.

Of course, speakers will make much of what our men and women,—yes and our children,—soldiers, sailor, marines and civilians are doing in this war.

What we are Doing

There is no need to suggest special topics here. The papers and magazines bristle with accounts and incidents. We have such matters as:

Our soldiers and marines in France; what they have done against Germany's best.

Our navy's part in checking the submarine.

Our wonderful record in helping transport troops—1,450,000 to the middle of August, with a program of further detachments sent across to the number of 250,000 per month.

Our engineers in France—their warehouses, docks, terminals, port facilities; the railroad behind the lines, greater than the whole Lackawanna system and with heavier equipment.

Our hospitals. The health of our men, and their freedom from disease.

Our shipbuilding.

Our supplies of bread and meat to the Allies both for the armies and for their civilian population.

The loans we have made to our Allies totalled on July 27, 1918, \$6,390,040,000.

All this requires money “without stint or limit.”

We cannot be tender with our dollars

Mr. McAdoo has said: “We must make this loan a success. We can make it a success. The failure of a single issue of Government bonds would be worse for America than a disaster upon the field of battle. We must never let that happen. *We have conscripted our young men. Shall we be more tender with our dollars than with the lives of our sons?*”

Urge your hearers to buy bonds for self-preservation; show them that their jobs, their

opportunity to earn, their industrial and personal liberty will be jeopardized if Germany wins.

Buying bonds, therefore, is insurance of life, liberty and property, for which the buyer, instead of paying a premium, *receives* one.

If money is not provided for the prosecution of the war, we will not be victorious. That would mean paying an indemnity the size of which no one can predict. Your own imagination can supply what the term "German victory" or an inconclusive peace suggests. Germany has never yet published her peace terms. They are such that she has never dared make them public.

Liberty Bonds are Industrial Insurance

In this way you can show the business man that buying Liberty Bonds is an industrial insurance. Where will his business be if we lose the war?

Suppose he owns bonds already. What of it? Then buy some more. You can't own too many bonds. They are the best investment the world can offer. There is nothing speculative about them. They are the Government's promise to pay—a promise based upon the whole of our National assets.

Show how well our soldiers are paid, fed, clothed and cared for.

Refer to the soldiers' insurance. The Government's rate to its soldiers and sailors is

the flat cost to a man in civilian life as determined by the scientific actuarial tables—none of the overhead charges, such as commissions, advertising, or the other costs of doing business are figured in.

There is nothing heroic about buying Liberty Bonds. No one expects to be applauded for putting money into a savings bank. Lending money to the country in this crisis at a good rate of interest upon the best security in the world is an opportunity—a patriotic obligation—a simple act of common decency.

The man who can invest in a Liberty Bond and fails to do so is a slacker.

Secretary McAdoo has stated that: "All of this financing is for the nation merely a matter of shifting credits. Practically all of the money will remain in this country and will not involve any loss of gold or any loss of values."

(2) The Boys in France

Last winter we *hoped* to have a million men overseas by 1918. Instead of that, when the Loan drive comes off, we shall actually have there at least a million and a half troops. They have seen hard fighting and have "made good." The plan is for at least 2,000,000 men in France before Christmas, and at least 3,000,000 next spring.

Our casualty lists are growing. Our

wounded are coming back. Thousands of our boys will never come back. There can be no appeal like that appeal. It isn't a case of "some day" and "perhaps" any longer. "Some day" is here, and our boys are in the line, in the hospitals, or lying in their graves in France.

We can begin to talk more about what we are doing; less about what we are going to do.

The success and the lives of the boys "over there" depend on how fully and how fast we supply their needs. The more they get, and the sooner they get it, the sooner the war will end.

Every day the war is prolonged means more of our boys dead and wounded. Every Liberty Bond shortens the war, and saves lives.

Make your hearers realize the present situation—the state of the war at the moment—the dependence of the Allied cause upon our help. Treat your hearers as earnest Americans not afraid of the truth. There is a hard, critical time ahead.

What we do this fall and winter in preparation for next spring will decide whether the war can be ended next year or must run on. The way to assure a short war is to prepare for a long one. Advise against expecting an early peace. None is in sight.

Tell them this: Every time you read, you purchasers of Liberty Bonds and War Sav-

ings Stamps, of what the United States is doing in France in building wharves and railroads; or deluging the Germans with gas or shelling them out of position with big guns or shrapnel or of bombing their arsenals or cities; or of the building of ships here; or of any or all of the great or small achievements of America, here or abroad or on the seas, then you buyers of Liberty Bonds and War Savings Stamps truthfully can say, "I had a hand in this;" "I contributed to this;" "I am working to do this;" "It is part of my work."

(3) Germany's plans for World Dominion

This is the time to teach the people of this country the real purpose of Germany to acquire World Dominion. America is not in the war merely to help the Allies. A German victory or an inconclusive peace means real present peril to us and to our institutions.

Speakers are especially recommended to consult a book entitled "Out of Their Own Mouths" (Appleton), consisting of quotations from the speeches and writings of the Kaiser, the Hohenzollern family, and prominent generals, admirals, preachers, teachers, writers, historians and other representative Germans. These quotations can be used most effectively to show Germany's avowed and studied purpose over many years to become the over-lord of both hemispheres.

On this point read in other parts of this Handbook President Wilson's speech (p. 1), Dr. Lyman Abbott's article (p. 64) and secure if possible "Know Your Enemy" (Committee for Patriotic Education, Fraunce's Tavern, 54 Pearl Street, New York).

Doctor Arthur Davis, the Kaiser's dentist from 1904 to 1918, says the Kaiser told him:

"From my childhood I have been under the influence of five men—Alexander, Julius Cæsar, Theodoric II, Napoleon and Frederick the Great. These five men dreamed their dream of a world empire; they failed. I am dreaming my dream of a world empire, but I shall succeed."

Germany's Guilt for the War

In the last few months some revelations have been made that show unmistakably Germany's utter guilt for beginning the war.

Prince Lichnowski—German Ambassador to England, 1912–1914—has made this statement:

"We [Germany] encouraged Count Berchtold to attack Serbia, although no German was involved, and the danger of a world-war must have been known to us—whether we knew the text of the ultimatum is a question of complete indifference. On July 30, when Count Berchtold [Austrian Premier] wanted to give way, we, without Austria having been attacked, replied to Russia's mere mobiliza-

tion by sending an ultimatum to Petersburg, and on July 31 we declared war on the Russians, although the Czar had pledged his word that so long as negotiations continued not a man should march—so that we deliberately destroyed the possibility of a peaceful settlement.”

Point out how slow we were to credit Germany's real motives.

Make it plain that this is a contest between absolutism, on one side, and on the other, everything we believe in and hold dear.

Tell how Germany has for years been a bully among nations—a bully that has demanded a finger in the pie and a chance to grab small nations—Schleswig-Holstein from Denmark; Alsace-Lorraine from France; the Partition of Poland.

Germany's Attitude at Manila Bay

Recall the arrogant attitude of Admiral von Diedrichs at Manila Bay and the fine conduct of Admiral Chichester and the British Navy.

How the Germans, with no German population in Manila, had a very large squadron there—how they violated all of Admiral Dewey's rules for the blockade of the Harbor and how they fraternized with the Spaniards on shore. In contrast to this, Admiral Chichester, the British Admiral, showed the utmost courtesy and consideration to Admiral Dewey, gave every moral support and stated

his willingness to do more, and at a critical time placed his fleet between the Germans and the Americans.

(4) Our tradition of Freedom

Tell the people that this country has a history. It stands for something worth fighting for. Our free institutions are not the results of accident. Others fought and sacrificed for what we enjoy. They did so in vain if the Potsdam gang is to triumph in this war.

Show how our wars have been for the very opposite of the things that Prussia stands for.

(a) The Revolution secured for us self-government; self-determination.

How much self-determination has Prussia allowed Alsace-Lorraine? Poland? Russia? None.

America's Declaration of Independence asserts that Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

The Kaiser asserts the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings.

(b) The War of 1812 was fought for the freedom of the seas.

Prussia believes in submarine piracy and murder—the barred zone—the Lusitania horror—“*spurlos versenkt*” (sunk without a trace).

(c) Our Civil War freed the slaves. Prussia has already enslaved the population of Belgium.

(d) Our war with Spain established the principle of freedom of all America from European tyranny and misrule,—the very opposite of Prussia's lust for World Dominion.

Our speakers have not always made best use of the inspiring incidents of our own history. Every speaker should utilize striking examples of patriotism in our past.

In talking to *farmers* quote the tablet on Concord Bridge where:

“once the embattl'd farmers stood,
And fired the shot heard round the world.”

In talking to *bankers*, use the example of Robert Morris, who beggared himself in the Revolution to finance Washington's army.

In talking to *seafaring people* or ship-builders, remind them of the War of 1812, name some of the noted fighting ships. Recall to them the famous clipper ships that carried the American flag and American trade into every sea.

Historical Slogans

We have many striking historical slogans:

General Stark:—“Tonight our flag floats from yonder hill—or Mollie Stark sleeps a widow.”

John Paul Jones:—"Surrender? I have not yet begun to fight."

Commodore Perry:—"We have met the enemy and they are ours."

Captain Lawrence:—"Don't give up the ship."

Admiral Farragut:—"Damn the torpedoes. Go ahead!"

Nathan Hale:—"I only regret that I have but one life to give for my country."

Patrick Henry:—"I know not what course others may take, but as for me—give me liberty or give me death!"

General Bundy, in command of American forces south of the Marne on Monday, July 15, 1918:

"We regret being unable on this occasion to follow the counsels of our masters, the French, but the American flag has been forced to retire. This is unendurable, and none of our soldiers would understand their not being asked to do whatever is necessary to remedy a situation which is humiliating to us and unacceptable to our country's honor. We are going to counterattack."

For other striking quotations look in your American history.

(5) Sources of Revenue—Taxes and Bonds

Make it perfectly plain that the country has just two sources of income—taxes and bonds.

While we get back the *benefits* of taxation, we never get back the tax money itself.

Taxes represent money which the Government *gets* and *keeps*.

Bonds represent something the Government *borrow*s and *repay*s. We get back from our bond purchases *both the benefits and the money*.

It would disastrously affect business and industry to try to finance the war on taxes alone. Yet if bonds are not sold, the Government will have to increase taxes still further.

Bond issues distribute the burden of the war over the future as well as the present. That is fair, as we are in the war for the sake of future generations as well as for our own sakes.

(6) Necessity for individual subscriptions

The American ideal of government is based on the individual and his perfect freedom of action, as opposed to the German ideal, where the activities of the individual are circumscribed in a thousand ways and where the voice of the German people in government affairs is only advisory.

The United States Government gives freedom and protection to the individual. It was the first government ever constituted

among men to secure the equal rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

By the volume and distribution of our subscriptions to the loan we shall advertise to the world the sincerity of the American people in its protestations of democracy.

The 142 years since the Declaration of Independence have proved that this government by the people is worthy of a place on this earth, and should not be lost under the heel of a ruthless German autocracy. Our Government has every right to expect from its people their unqualified support in this hour of danger and should look to every individual to do his share in the buying of bonds.

In commenting upon the First Liberty Loan, Secretary McAdoo said:

“One of the chief purposes of the campaign was to distribute the Liberty Bonds widely throughout the country and place them, as far as possible, in the hands of the people. This was important because the *strength of government finance*, like the strength of government policies, rests upon *the support of the people*. The large number of subscribers, especially the large numbers of small subscribers, was most gratifying, and indicated that the interest of the people had been aroused as never before in an issue of bonds.”

After the prime necessity for selling the bonds of our Liberty Loans our chief con-

sideration should be to secure the widest possible distribution of them.

With twenty million bondholders, the great majority of whom may be classed as small investors, we have a mighty potential army of patriotic reserves from whom vast forces may be drawn to supplement the work of the greatest sales organization of the world.

Upon the way this loan is subscribed depends the market value of the bonds of previous bond issues. Therefore it is to your personal interest as a holder of bonds of previous issues to make the Fourth Liberty Loan a success.

(7) Why you should hold your Liberty Bonds

One who subscribes for a Liberty Bond and gets credit for doing so is not acting patriotically if he sells that bond, unless he imperatively needs the money, says Secretary McAdoo. It is not the mere subscription that helps the Government, it is the actual loan; shifting the bond to someone else does not help.

The same objection lies in exchanging Liberty Loan Bonds in trade. Merchants offering to take Liberty Loan Bonds in exchange for merchandise are doubtlessly actuated by patriotic motives, but such transactions tend to defeat a primary object of

the bond sale—the encouraging of thrift and the discouraging of expenditures. Bonds so exchanged are in most cases immediately sold in the open market, which tends to depress the market price and affects adversely the sales of future issues.

Secretary McAdoo expressly states that there is no desire on the part of the Government to prevent or interfere with legitimate trading in good faith in Liberty Bonds.

It is one of the great objects of the Treasury Department to have these bonds held as permanent investments by the people and paid for out of savings, thus at once providing funds for the Government and conserving labor and material.

Our soldiers are enlisted for the period of the war. We can do no less than enlist our money for at least an equal period.

Purchasers of bonds ought to be warned against the efforts of promoters, stock salesmen, etc., to induce them to sell their bonds in order to invest in mining stocks or unproved securities, upon the argument that they can secure a much better return on their money. These propositions may be in the form of offers to take the bonds in exchange for securities of greater face value than the bonds themselves.

(8) Thrift and the need of
personal sacrifice

“I suppose not many fortunate by-products can come out of a war, but if the United States can learn something about saving out of this war it will be worth the cost of the war; I mean the literal cost of it in money and resources. I suppose we have several times over wasted what we are now about to spend. We have not known that there was any limit to our resources; we are now finding out that there may be if we are not careful.”—President Wilson.

Cut out the buying of unessential things that consume labor, material and transportation. The high prices are largely a result of our competing with the Government in its purchase of what it must have in order to prosecute the war. If we deny ourselves the non-essentials we remove one of the causes of inflation or high prices, and then, by taking the next logical step, we loan the money we have saved to the Government. It can buy just as much more with that money because we are not its competitors. For the first time in our history there is not enough labor, material and transportation to go around.

Our part in the Liberty Loan should involve some sacrifice. There ought to be a margin of inconvenience in the subscription of every earnest American. He is not doing

his full duty unless he subscribes in excess of the amount that he can conveniently save out of his income. Anyone who complacently adjusts his contribution so as perfectly to harmonize with personal convenience and good business is at best only a fifty-fifty patriot.

Early in the war Lord Kitchener said:

“Either the civilian population must go short of many things to which it is accustomed in times of peace or our armies must go short of munitions and other things indispensable to them.”

Thrift is the opposite of waste, and waste is costly and useless and needless. England has learned this lesson from the war. In the year 1916, although purchasing billions of dollars of war bonds, the small savings-bank depositors in England increased their deposits over \$60,000,000.

Save for Our Country's sake

It was patriotism that started this great change in the people of the nation. The English people started saving their money because they saw that it meant saving England. But thrift and economy begot thrift and economy. They economized and saved for their own sake as well as for England's sake. Not only did they save money but they economized in food, fuel, in dress, in luxuries. More than 1,000,000 English work-

ers were purchasers, out of their savings, in the second great war loan of Great Britain, and 8,000,000 out of a population of 40,000,000 subscribed to their latest war loan.

The question whether the civilian population should economize and do without certain things or the soldiers and sailors be denied things necessary for their effectiveness and safety was answered in a positive and patriotic way by the masses of the English people. They did their part in financing their country.

Neither in ability nor in patriotism are the American people second to the English or the French or the German or any other nation.

The great difficulty is to impress this lesson of economy upon the American people. It will require widespread publicity and constant effort.

(9) Saving for the next Loan

If we are to buy bonds from our savings, we must begin to save that money before the bond-selling campaign begins.

We are not going to be ready for the next loan unless we prepare for it. We must get ready for it. We must begin to save definitely and strictly for it.

Every family, every individual, ought to sit down and look that fact in the face right now. If we don't, the fact will run into us

with a suddenness and force unpleasant to all concerned. We cannot go on "spending as usual" and do our patriotic duty. We have got to look over our expenditures, especially the kind that leak out between our fingers. We have got to check over our private budget, if we were wise enough to have one, or to make one up for the first time, if we were not.

We must ask ourselves, each and every one of us, what we are spending for familiar necessities, what for things we recognize as luxuries, and last, but not least, what is getting away from us without our knowing it.

If we do this we shall pay our increasing taxes and subscribe for the recurring loans with an ease which will surprise us. We spend a great deal more money than we realize and we shall save a great deal more than we expect to be able to. When we begin to weed out unnecessaries we shall realize how little we miss them and how much they cost.

One of the benefits of this war which the nation will be able to set off against its sacrifice will be this lesson, which we hope Americans will not forget when peace comes.

The United States is spending at an enormous rate. It will continue to spend for some years, even after the war ends. But the American people are so rich, and their powers of recuperation are so great, that they will be able to provide the funds and pay the debts

of this war without permanently crippling themselves.

But we must begin to check over our personal expenditures at once and to reorganize them so as to cut out those which are not for absolute essentials. And we must begin to put by a reserve fund to pay taxes which will increase, and to purchase bonds that will be offered to us from time to time. If we cut our expenditures wisely and save throughout the year, we shall meet our new responsibilities without embarrassment, and we shall not disorganize the industries which ought to be maintained.

The Government has begun a campaign of *war savings*. Keep this in mind. Reorganize, save, put the savings away for Uncle Sam, and be ready for the next Loan.

The National Need for Thrift

(1) Conservation of materials and labor

People can put into Government securities only such money as they do not spend for something else. Everyone, accordingly, who wishes to encourage the sale of Government securities will be interested in having people curtail in buying other things.

Every purchase of a Liberty Bond or a War Savings Stamp is the result on the part of the purchaser of two definite acts: *first*, he does not spend his money for something else: and, *second*, he does use it to buy the Bond or the Stamp. It is first *save* and then *buy*, even if he subscribes on the installment plan.

To try to sell a bond to a man who is using up his income from month to month is useless, unless one first persuades him to curtail his accustomed expenditures. The more he can be persuaded to curtail, the more bonds he can buy.

(2) When we buy things we don't need, we help the Hun

But the object of Thrift goes deeper than the sale of Government securities. The best sol-

diers, in however great numbers, and the ablest leadership, cannot win this war without vast amounts of equipment, munitions, food, transportation, etc. These can be produced in abundance only if enough labor can be applied to the task. We have potential coal, steel, food and wool, in stupendous quantities. What we need is to have it mined or grown, transported and prepared for use in the necessary forms. Every commodity necessary for winning the war is useful only through the labor of head and hand put into it.

In the United States we have somewhat more than one hundred million people. Many millions of these are children, aged, or otherwise unavailable as workers to turn raw material into war-winning forms. Millions of our best workers have been withdrawn from the labor of producing to take up the duty of fighting. A limited number of pairs of hands is left to do the work necessary for ordinary purposes as well as to maintain those who are fighting.

Every time anyone in the United States buys anything, whatever it may be, he buys some of the labor of those hands. Every time he hires anyone to work for him he buys some of the labor of those hands. He thus depletes the amount of labor available to supply the needs of the men at the front.

To win the war the Government needs all

the labor it can get. No one should buy it for his own purposes when he can possibly avoid so doing.

“What can I do without?”

To everyone comes the question: “How much and what materials and labor can I possibly do without?” The Secretary of the Treasury has given the answer. He says:

“The people of the United States can render the most far-reaching patriotic service by refraining from the purchase of all unnecessary articles, and by confining themselves to the use of only such things and the expenditure of only such money as is necessary to maintain their health and efficiency.”

To conscientious people it is unnecessary to say more. Each of us must keep himself well and able to work. If he does not, he becomes a burden on the country's resources and contributes less to them than he should. What is necessary for “health and efficiency” may not be the same for different individuals. Each man, woman and child must be guided by his or her own conscience.

Habits are difficult to change. But the greater the intelligence of a people, the more rapidly they can change their habits. When Americans understand that they must combine their intelligence and their patriotism on this problem and that only by the self-sacri-

face of each can they release labor to preserve the life of their country and the lives of their loved ones, the problem will be solved.

Even a child can be shown that when it spends a nickel for an unnecessary article, it takes for itself, in addition to the labor that grew the raw materials, that transported them, the labor that manufactured and sold the article, the labor that dug the coal that entered into its transportation and manufacture, and the labor that made the containers. All of this labor should be used not for the child's pleasure but for the nation's welfare. Everything that costs money has required labor. We must buy food, clothing and transportation only in such quantities and of such quality as will keep us well and able—not one cent's worth more. We must apply our consciences to our purchasing and weigh the needs of our soldiers and sailors against our personal desires: we must sanctify our buying.

(3) We must not "spend as usual"

Someone may ask: "But should we not keep on with our accustomed expenditures, so as to keep workers in their accustomed employments?"

The answer is: "No, the whole point to stopping such labor-wasting expenditures is to allow these workers to be engaged in work that will help win the war. It transfers the available man-power from callings that ham-

per us to industries that will help us. There are more than enough jobs for everybody.

“Usually the change to a war-winning industry can be made with little or no inconvenience to the worker. But even if it entails great inconvenience or even hardship, it will be nothing compared to the inconvenience and hardship met by millions of our men who have changed their peace time jobs here for the hard and dangerous one of fighting over there.”

Someone may ask: “Should we not keep money in circulation?”

The answer is: “If as soon as a man gets money he buys Liberty Bonds or War Savings Stamps, money will be in circulation. Uncle Sam will spend it for ships, shells, uniforms, etc., etc., so that it comes back to the people in wages. That kind of circulation has all the advantages of any other kind, and the tremendous additional one of helping to win the war.”

Someone may ask: “Is it not right to buy the things that are already made and on which the labor has already been spent?”

The answer is: “No, not unless such things really are needed by the purchaser. To buy them is to stimulate their further production.”

Someone may ask: “What will be the effect of all this Thrift on the cost of living?”

The answer is: “The cost of living in a

thrifty nation will be lower than it could possibly be without Thrift. More of the things we all must have will be produced and therefore will be cheaper than could otherwise be possible.”

Summary

1] Materials and labor in vast amounts are needed to win the war.

2] Into every purchase enters the labor which alone can make materials available.

3] Every purchase made above the requirements of personal “health and efficiency” subtracts from the materials and labor which can be used to win the war.

Therefore, any one who wants to win the war will buy nothing except what is absolutely necessary for his “health and efficiency.”

Striking Statements and Speeches

(1)

A Scrap of Paper—Prize Essay

Prize essay by Marcus Duffield of San Diego (California) High School, in the National Contest held by the National Committee of Patriotic Societies

I am a mere scrap of paper yet I am the means by which this war is to be won. I have but a little writing on me but I am better to own than fifty dollars' worth of solid gold. I am known all over the world and am hailed as the right hand of freedom's champions. Many a scrap of paper has the Kaiser torn up but I am the scrap of paper which will tear up the Kaiser. I am, as probably you have guessed, a Liberty Bond.

Possibly you would like to know something about my family. My family tree is as old as time. Before Christ, my ancestors saved civilization when, thru their services, Rome was delivered from the clutches of Carthage. Ever since then my family have served faithfully and truly; and now, with my tremendous duty I am going to be more than worthy of my name as I show the back stairs to Kaiser Bill.

A while ago I said I was the right hand of freedom's champions. Well, I surely am. For

three years my French and English brothers supplied the millions of dollars a day spent by these Allies. But the people of France and Great Britain can't loan forever, and now, as they are nearing financial exhaustion, I come to their aid thru Uncle Sam, supplying the money that they must have if they are to fight any longer.

That is the least of it though, for Uncle Sam has to roll up his own sleeves. From the time of Washington down to 1917 our Government spent twenty-six billions of dollars, and now is preparing to spend twenty-four billion dollars in one year for the war. How is it going to get all this money? With a magic wand? No! with me, a scrap of paper, civilization's best friend, savagery's worst enemy.

Without me, Uncle Sam can get no money; no money, no ships; no ships, no men; no men, no victory; no victory—the Prussian yoke! And it all rests on me. I am ready and waiting but there is one thing more needed: how about *YOU* and your money?

(2)

Statement by Dr. Lyman Abbott

We talk of a war in Europe. If we used language with accuracy we should not talk of a war in Europe. There is no war in Europe. There is a *posse comitatus* summoned from the various civilized nations of the world to protect the peaceable nations of Europe from the

worst and most efficient brigandry the civilized world has ever seen.

There are two things necessary to make a war. It must be to determine a question of justice, and it must be under international law. There is no question of justice at issue in Europe today.

When this war was begun in Germany her Prime Minister said to the Reichstag, "We are going to do an act of injustice to Belgium. We shall try to repair it afterwards."

In 1913, the year before that declaration, Bernhardt, one of the leaders of the military party in Germany, had said:—"War is a biological, a moral and a Christian necessity." He had said: "We are going into this war, among other things, to so crush France that she can never cross our path again."

A few weeks ago a paper appeared before the public, issued from the pen of a German prince who, in 1914, was the German Ambassador to England. In that paper he declares explicitly that Germany egged Austria on to make war against Serbia; that Germany refused the urgent entreaties of Italy, France, England and Russia to attempt a peaceable settlement of the controversy. He unmistakably declares that Germany is guilty of having brought this war upon Europe. With that paper was published another by a one-time director of Krupp's carrying home to the Kaiser, the Emperor of Germany, that guilt.

I go back eighteen years. In 1900 the Kaiser, in the dedication of the monument, declared that his ambition was to re-establish a Roman Empire, giving to Germany the same domination of the world that the Roman Empire had in the first century.

In the face of these facts it is impossible to say that there is any question of justice to be determined in this war. I must call it war, because there is no other short word to use.

Nor is this war conducted under the sanction of international law. Germany has openly, flagrantly, avowedly and with frankness—let us give her credit for that virtue—she has openly and avowedly declared that she does not recognize the law of nations, that she does not recognize the laws of war, that she does not recognize the laws of humanity, that she does not recognize the laws of God.

“Thou shalt not steal.” She has robbed France and Belgium of their iron and their coal; she has robbed their banks of their money; she has robbed their churches of their treasure; she has robbed the homes of their pictures and their statuary and their furniture, and what she could not carry away she has in her wantonness destroyed.

“Thou shalt not kill.” She has not only killed soldiers in open warfare, she has murdered men, women and children—not a few, but by the score, by the hundreds, by the thousands.

“*Thou shalt not commit adultery.*” Her soldiers, with the apparent sanction of the government, certainly with no opposition from the government, have raped more women than has ever been known before in the history of warfare.

The great theme today is, “Democracy or Autocracy—Which?” What do we mean by democracy? It is not a mere form of government. France is a republic and Italy is a monarchy, but Italy is as truly a democracy as France. America is a republic and England is a monarchy, and England, in some respects, is more democratic than the United States.

Democracy is not a political opinion. It is a religious faith: it is faith in our fellow-men; it is faith in one another; it is respect for each other’s rights; it is regard for each other’s opinion; it is human brotherhood; its name, or its motto, might well be—“Democracy is the land of brotherly love.”

Nor is autocracy a form of government. I will not go into the history of the past. Enough to say that autocracy, as we face it today in Europe, is organized brigandry which denies the elemental rights of humanity—the right to life, the right to liberty, the right to the pursuit of happiness.

Any man who proposes a compromise or a peace negotiation with this band of brigands is guilty of treason to the kingdom of liberty.

(3)

Speech by Rudyard Kipling

[Made at Folkestone, England, February 15, 1918]

Nothing else under Heaven matters today except that the war shall go on to victory. The money we loan to the Government helps to set our land and our world free. Our security for our loan is not only the whole of the British Empire, but also the whole of civilization, which has pooled its resources in men, money, and material to carry on this war to victory.

What is the personal aspect of the case for you and me? We are fighting for our lives and the lives of every man, woman and child here and everywhere else.

We are fighting that we may not be herded into actual slavery, such as the Germans have established by force of their arms in large parts of Europe.

We are fighting against 18 hours a day forced labor under lash or at the point of the bayonet, with a dog's death and a dog's burial at the end of it.

We are fighting that men, women and children may not be tortured, burned, and mutilated in the public streets, as has happened in this town and hundreds of others. And we will go on fighting till the race which has done these things is in no position to continue or repeat its offense.

If for any reason whatever we fall short of victory—and there is no half-way house between victory and defeat—what happens to us? This:

Every relation, every understanding, every decency upon which civilization has been so anxiously built up will go, will be washed out, because it will have been proved unable to endure. The whole idea of democracy—which at bottom is what the Hun fights against—will be dismissed from men's minds, because it will have been shown incapable of maintaining itself against the Hun.

It will die, and it will die discredited, together with every belief and practice that is based on it.

The Hun ideal

The Hun ideal, the Hun's root notion of life, will take its place throughout the world. Under that dispensation man will become once more the natural prey, body and goods, of the better armed neighbor. Women will be the mere instrument for continuing the breed—the vessel of man's lust and man's cruelty—and labor will become a thing to be knocked on the head if it dares to give trouble and worked to death if it does not. And from this order of life there will be no appeal, no possibility of any escape. This is what the Hun means when he says he intends to impose German Kultur—which is the German

religion—upon the world. This is precisely what the world has banded itself together to resist.

It will take every ounce in us; it will try us out to the naked soul. Our trial will not be made less by the earnest advice and suggestions that we should accept some sort of compromise, which means defeat, put forward by Hun agents and confederates among us. They are busy in that direction already. But be sure of this: Nothing, nothing we may have to endure now, will weigh one featherweight compared with what we shall most certainly have to suffer if for any cause we fail of victory.

(4)

Speech by Hon. Benedict Crowell

Assistant Secretary of War

We are now at war with the greatest military organization that the world has ever known. We are locked in a death grapple with this monster of militarism. It is a fight to a finish with an enemy that gives no quarter to the vanquished.

We realize the enormous task before us and we are confident of winning, but it will take the combined punch of the whole American people and will require an immense expenditure of men and money.

Did it ever occur to you to think what

would happen if we failed? If we are beaten in France the struggle will probably be transferred to American soil. Plans for the invasion and subjugation of the United States are now on file in the office of the German General Staff. This we know definitely. This invasion will mean that we are to suffer here all the horrors of Belgium and Poland. Do you wish your wife and children to be actors in such a drama of frightfulness?

I am appealing for the success of the Liberty Bond issue. It is a matter which directly affects every man in the United States. I strongly urge you to buy all the Liberty bonds that you can afford, and then a few more. There is no better investment for you on earth. Remember that the Germans issue no bonds for the money they extort from conquered peoples.

(5)

Speech to Women by Katherine Synon

Why should we women work for the Liberty Loan?

Why shouldn't we work for it?

Shall we leave it all to our men—and to the women of other countries to fight our fight for us?

Over in France, where our men have gone or are going, the women are ploughing in the fields that the men of their armies may be fed.

The women of England from the highest to the humblest are toiling in munition factories—giving up youth and beauty and health and strength to make guns and shells for their fighting men.

The women of Serbia starve that their men may have food as they fight back the enemy.

The women of Italy go under fire day after day to nurse their suffering wounded.

The women of Flanders have suffered worse than death.

You say that all this is overseas? Do you believe that because the ocean lies between, you can shirk your duty? What will you say to your boys when they come home? They will know what other women have done for their men. They will know what our neighbors, the women of Canada, have suffered and sacrificed for their soldiers. From Halifax to Vancouver, from the Lake of the Woods to far Peace River Valley, our northern sisters are bearing a burden of hardship and hunger that their fighting men may be fed and clothed. Will you do less than they?

America is a woman's country

Of all the countries of the world America is a woman's country. What have we been given? Opportunity, security, comfort and care. Contrast our lot, if you will, with the women of Germany. The men of Germany

have given them always the second place. But today the women of Germany are backing their men by sacrifices. Will we do less than they?

What can we do?

The Government of the United States asks you to do only two things: to save and to invest your savings in Liberty Bonds. Liberty Bonds are not a gift to the Government. A Liberty Bond is not a contribution. It is an investment for a definite period of years and the safest investment in the world.

A Liberty Bond pays good interest.

It is guaranteed by the resources of our Government and our Government is the richest on earth.

Some of you may say, "I have already bought a Bond." You probably all know the story of the three chorus girls who were talking of buying a Christmas present for a fourth member of their company. "Say," said one of them, "let's buy her a book." "Oh, no," said the others, "Gwendolen has a book." Now, if Gwendolen could stand having another book, you can certainly buy another Bond. If you have two, make it three and if you don't want any more for yourself, buy one for someone else.

What does a Liberty Bond do?

You may ask yourself how your investment of fifty or a hundred dollars is going to help our country win the war. Well, every Lib-

erty Bond has a definite purchasing power. Whenever you buy a bond, you buy something for a soldier or sailor. The Liberty Loans are clothing, feeding and sheltering our men. They are buying them all possible safeguards. Liberty Loans are providing their pay and their allowances to their families. They are building transports and food ships and hospital ships. They are paying insurance to the families of the men who die and will pay pensions to disabled men. Whenever you pay one dollar down on an installment or a thousand dollars cash for a Liberty Bond, you are helping to care for some soldier, or sailor, or marine of our own United States.

I wonder if you know what it means to be hungry? Or to know that your boys are hungry? Thanks to the first and the second Liberty Loans, our soldiers have not gone hungry—but the soldiers of our Allies, even sick men in hospitals, have gone without food they should have had. Only the other day I had a letter from an American soldier who had been taken ill on the transport and sent to a base hospital in England. There he has been put—necessarily—on the rations of an English sick soldier; tea and war bread for breakfast, tea and war bread for dinner; cocoa and war bread for supper. One day there came to the ward an old man and woman, the American consul at Southampton

and his wife. They had travelled miles to visit this sick American boy who was a total stranger to them, and they had brought to him the greatest luxury in England—one fresh egg.

“*What have YOU done?*”

When the war is won—thanks to those men of America who are giving up their lives or their fortunes to its winning,—there will be a day of reckoning. Your country, your friends, your soul will ask you, What have you done? If you have gone your comfortable ways, giving nothing to the country that shelters you, what will your answer be?

When the war is over, will you dare to say this?

“What have I given, bold sailor on the sea,
In earth or heaven,
That you should die for me?
What can I give, oh, soldier leal and brave,
Long as I live to pay the life you gave?”

Sleepless and hungry, standing erect in the trenches as the dawn is breaking, the soldier dreams of victory and of home. That he may realize the first, and see the other again, subscribe to the Fourth Liberty Loan.

Speech to Farmers by Herbert Quick

The farmer everywhere loves peace. The American farmer especially loves peace. Since the dawn of history, the farmer has been the man who suffered most from war. All that he possesses lies out of doors in plain sight, and is spoil of war—his house, his grain, his livestock. He knows that he pays the price of war “in steer and gear and stack,” and that the flames that light the skies in the rear of every invading army are consuming the things that yesterday represented his life work, and the life labors of past generations of farmers—the little coral islands of comfort and wealth that decades of toil on the farm builds up.

If the Imperial German Government had made and enforced an order that no American farmer should leave his own land, that he could not haul a load of grain or drive a head of stock to town—if in fact the Kaiser had laid an interdict on all intercourse between farm and farm and between farm and town, he would have done only a little more than he accomplished by his interdict against American farmers' use of the sea. What was the order against which we rebelled when we went into this war? Look at the condition of the American farmer in the latter part of 1914 and the first half of 1915 and see.

When the war broke out through terror and surprise and panic we gave up for a while the uses of the sea as a highway. And so long as we gave it up, we, the farmers of America, were ruined. I know an Iowa farmer who sold his 1914 crop of 25,000 bushels of wheat for seventy cents a bushel. Farmers in the South sold their cotton for half the cost of producing it. All this time those portions of the world whose ports were open were ready to pay almost any price for our products; and when we finally rallied and set once more in motion the ships of the world, prosperity returned to the farms of America. But prosperity never returned to the farmers of those nations which remained cut off from the seas.

Why we drew the sword

But why did we draw the sword? Was it to protect the price of wheat and cotton, and to protect trade only? If someone should order you to remain on your farm and not to use the public highways, would your resistance be based only on the fear of loss in property, the profits from failure to market your crops, in inconvenience in not being able to buy your supplies in town? By no means! You would fight to the last gasp, not to make money, but to be free.

This then is the war in which we are fighting. Whenever the time comes for new sacri-

fices, let us remember that we fight for liberty. Not only for the liberty of the Belgians, the French, the Servians, the Italians, but of all nations, even for the German people themselves, and most of all for our own liberties. Not for our own liberties tomorrow, or next year, or twenty years from now, but for our freedom today. Not for the right to live in the future, but for the right to make a living this year.

The Farmers can whip Germany

The farmers of this country could carry the war to a victorious conclusion even if all the rest of the nation should quit. The rest will not quit; but we could win it without them if we had to do it.

The farmers of the United States can whip Germany.

We can whip them with guns.

We can whip them with our products.

We can whip them with our money.

Every farmer in the United States must remember that the war has a first mortgage on every cent he has. The last spare cent in the pockets of every farmer in America should be devoted to the war.

The Kaiser began foreclosing his mortgage on our farms when he declared ruthless submarine warfare, and the war is our answer to his bill of foreclosure.

Our contribution is, first our sons and

brothers for the trenches; second, the last pound of food products which we can grow by mobilizing our scanty labor-supply; utilizing the men, women and children and the townspeople about us; and third, money for Liberty Bonds.

We are at the crucial period of the war. Our soldiers are at the front, more than a million overseas and as many more ready to go. The whole burden of carrying on our part in the war and of aiding our sister nations in arms rests on the United States Treasury.

If the Treasury fails or falters or finds itself unable to respond to every call upon it, the war is lost. Do you realize this?

Your son and all the nation's sons are relying on the United States Treasury to furnish things with which they may fight.

Their lives are lost if the Treasury fails. Our country is lost if the Treasury fails.

Germany wins if the Treasury fails.

(7)

Speech to Industrial Workers

by William Mather Lewis

[National Committee of Patriotic Societies]

Someone has said of Charles M. Schwab—the man who is building the bridge of boats to Pershing—that no man ever worked *for* him. His success lies in his ability to get

men to work *with* him. It is also true that in this great war no man or woman works for Uncle Sam but all work with him to the end that we shall win this war and bring peace and happiness to the whole world.

It is a sad fact that everybody is not yet willing to work with the Government. I heard a very unpleasant thing in a hotel lobby the other day. A man was asked to buy a War Savings Stamp and he exclaimed, "Oh, they are working this thing to death, there is a drive every other day, they will drive us to death. I subscribed to three Liberty Bond issues, to the Red Cross, the Y. M. C. A. and the Knights of Columbus and I am going to lay off this time."

Well now, what if one of those boys in Pershing's Army should say—"Oh, they're working this thing too hard; there is a drive every other day, they will drive us to death. I have helped resist three German attacks—and here comes another. I am going to lay off on this one and beat it back to billets?"

Now you know what would be done to that boy—he would be treated as a deserter; and yet he would be no more responsible for losing this war than was that man in the lobby. We have no more right to lay off on our job or quit our support of the war than that boy has.

When the United States went to war 100,000,000 people were supposed to give their

service to the country either in the first line trenches in France or the second line trenches at home; may the day soon come when soldier and civilian receive the same treatment. If a tired boy who goes to sleep on his post is in danger of being shot as punishment, that man in America who sells the Army rotten beef or poor uniforms should be hung to the nearest tree, and the man who starts a strike and gets men to quit work or slow up on war production should be tarred and feathered and run out of town.

This war has been going on for over four years and Germany is far from being whipped yet. Those first line trenches in France are not 3000 miles away from our second line trenches here in America but only seven days away, and if the line breaks they will be still nearer. The Kaiser was in dead earnest when he said to Ambassador Gerard, "America had better look out, I shall stand no nonsense from America."

We have got to win this war in Europe or fight it out in America—and we will win it in Europe if every soldier in our second line trenches at home does his duty as well as Pershing's boys in the first line trenches do theirs.

We are having some trouble with our housing conditions—and many of us are uncomfortable—but the boys in the trenches are sleeping in mud. We have to fight our

way out of crowded street cars—but the boys at the front have to walk with shells falling all around them. We have had plenty of hot weather this summer—but the Germans will make it hot over there for our boys, summer and winter. So it's up to you and me to "Pack up our troubles in our old kit bag and smile, smile, smile," because we are part of the biggest game that has ever been played in the world and we are playing it on the side of the best government in the world.

The war has brought about a period of high wages for the industrial worker, not only in munition plants but in every line of work. As a result of it he has, or can have, something over at the end of the month, in spite of the high cost of living. That is where his wife comes in. She was always the one that made a little go a long way when times were hard and work was slack, and she can now join with her husband in putting something by.

We must Save and Lend

Your country asks you to save and buy Liberty Bonds, for three good reasons:

It's *wise*. Good times and high wages may not last forever. Now is the time to lay something aside for the future. There is nothing so sad as to see the hard-earned dollars of the worker lost in bad investments. The soundest provision you can make for the

future is to put your savings into Liberty Bonds.

It's *fair*. We all know that the high wages of today are the direct result of the war. So are high taxes. If the profits of the rich are taxed all the way up to 80%, isn't it the decent thing for the worker to put a good deal of his war profits into Liberty Bonds? Taxes are never paid back. United States Bonds always are.

It's *patriotic*. No people love their country better than the American people. None have better reason to do so.

Your country calls. She needs the money. Make your dollars fight.

Next to the soldier himself no one is doing a bigger work than those who are working in a plant like this, that keeps the army fighting at its best because it knows that the materials so quickly used up are being produced with equal rapidity. Your job is big and worth while and every one is a necessary cog in Uncle Sam's steam roller that some day will go rumbling into Berlin. Every man who sticks on his job faithfully and patriotically is hastening that day as much as if he were fighting the Germans in France.

I congratulate you upon your work and upon the way you are holding the second line trenches. I know it is not the pay envelope you have your eye on, but the Kaiser. But the pay envelope is one of the

best fighters we have nevertheless. Uncle Sam is going to need a pile of money to clean up this job and he wants you to lend it to him.

The boys at the front are laying down their lives for their country and Uncle Sam can't give them that back. It doesn't seem much of a sacrifice in comparison to lay down our money and get it back with interest in a few years. But if that is what our country wants of you and me, the least we can do is to respond quickly and loyally. These are the orders to the second line army in the shops of America—stick on the job, deliver the goods and the money, and Pershing and our boys will do the rest.

No man can tell me that the crowd to which I now speak is not as game as any crowd in America and I know your answer to the call of America is—we are with you till the last German gun is silenced!

Speech to School Children

by William Mather Lewis

[National Committee of Patriotic Societies]

I have come to bring you a message from school children of your own age, from the children of battle-swept Europe, and the message is this—"We have suffered very, very much in the last four years, but we will be brave and do everything we can to win this war if the school children of America will help us."

This is a message to every one of you living here in security and comfort unknown to your cousins across the sea. In France today there are thousands of children who have forgotten how to smile because of the cruelty of the German invaders; children whose school room is a dark cellar in a half-ruined village.

In Belgium the children are begging for just enough food to keep them alive. They are being torn from the arms of their parents, sent through Germany into Switzerland and thrown half starved onto the French border. In Poland the bones of murdered little ones are scattered on the plains. "There are no children in Poland under six years of age," says Paderewski.

In Italy the German soldiers have forced boys and girls to march before them so that the Allies will not fire on them.

In England whole families have been wiped out by bombs from the cowardly Zeppelin.

Everywhere in those battle-torn lands the children are stretching out their arms for help. To whom? To you—children of America. To you who do not know the horrors of war because the brave fathers of those suffering little ones in Europe have kept the enemy from our land. We must pay back France and Belgium and Great Britain and Italy for fighting our battles for us. We must answer the appeal of those outstretched arms.

Waste nothing

Our Government is trying to get wheat and meat and other supplies over there where the hands are outstretched. Everything you waste on your plate, every spoonful of unnecessary sugar you take, makes it harder for our Government to supply the need and brings more tears to the eyes of the children in Europe. Everything you save, every little comfort you give up brightens the day for some little one across the seas and helps to defeat the cruel Kaiser.

Our Government is lending money to our brave Allies. In order to get this money to lend the Allies and to buy food for them and for our own soldiers, Uncle Sam has to borrow it from your parents and from millions of other parents throughout America. Uncle Sam gives every one who lends him the money a sheet

of paper, his promise to pay the money back, and this sheet of paper is called a Liberty Bond. Each one of you should ask your father tonight if he has bought a Bond, if he has done his part to feed the hungry little ones of Europe, to supply help so that the Allies can fight on, and to give our boys in the trenches all the guns and ammunition they need. Tell him that you will give him your spending money and everything else you can earn to him to help buy a Bond.

Listen! Across three thousand miles of ocean we can hear the boom of the American guns punishing those who have been cruel to children. The boys who fire them were the school children of America but a little while ago. You children are the home army that is backing up our army in France. Your weapons are saving habits and Liberty Bonds. There can be no slackers! The children of Europe depend upon you! Forward! March!

VII

Quotations and Stories

(1) Poetry on the war

A few selections of inspiring poetry on the war are given below. It is suggested to speakers that as a general rule it is inadvisable to quote more than one verse of a poem.

Team Work

It ain't the guns nor armament
Nor funds that they can pay,
But the close co-operation
That makes them win the day.

It ain't the individual,
Nor the Army as a whole,
But the everlasting team work,
Of every bloomin' soul.

RUDYARD KIPLING

I Have a Rendezvous with Death

I have a rendezvous with Death
At some disputed barricade,
When Spring comes round with rustling shade
And apple blossoms fill the air—
I have a rendezvous with Death
When Spring brings back blue days and fair.

It may be he shall take my hand
And lead me into his dark land
And close my eyes and quench my breath—
It may be I shall pass him still.
I have a rendezvous with Death
On some scarred slope of battered hill,
When Spring comes round again this year
And the first meadow flowers appear.

God knows! 'twere better to be deep
Pillowed in silk and scented down,
Where Love throbs out in blissful sleep,
Pulse nigh to pulse, and breath to breath,
Where hushed awakenings are dear—
But I've a rendezvous with Death
At midnight in some flaming town,
When Spring trips north again this year,
And I to my pledged word am true,
I shall not fail that rendezvous.

ALLAN SEEGER

(Killed in action July 5, 1916)

The Soldier

If I should die, think only this of me:
That there's some corner of a foreign field
That is forever England. There shall be
In that rich earth a richer dust concealed;
A dust whom England bore, shaped, made aware,
Gave, once, her flowers to love, her ways to
roam,
A body of England's, breathing English air,
Washed by the rivers, blest by suns of home.

And think, this heart, all evil shed away,
A pulse in the eternal mind, no less
Gives somewhere back the thought by England
given;
Her sights and sounds; dreams happy as her day;
And laughter, learnt of friends; and gentleness
In hearts at peace, under an English heaven.

RUPERT BROOKE

(Who fought and died in Gallipoli April 23, 1915)

The Dead

Blow out, you bugles, over the rich Dead!

There's none of these so lonely and poor of old,
But, dying, has made us rarer gifts than gold,
These laid the world away; poured out the red,
Sweet wine of youth; gave up the years to be
Of work and joy, and that unhopèd serene,
That men call age; and those who would have
been,
Their sons, they gave their immortality.

Blow, bugles, blow! They brought us, for our
dearth,

Holiness, lacked so long, and Love, and Pain.
Honor has come back, as a king, to earth,
And paid his subjects with a royal wage;
And Nobleness walks in our ways again;
And we have come into our heritage.

RUPERT BROOKE

When I Come Home

When I come home, and leave behind
Dark things I would not call to mind,
I'll taste good ale and home-made bread,
And see white sheets and pillows spread.
And there is one who'll softly creep
To kiss me, ere I fall asleep
And tuck me 'neath the counterpane,
And I shall be a boy again
When I come home!

When I come home, from dark to light
And tread the roadways long and white,
And tramp the lanes I tramped of yore,
And see the village greens once more,
The tranquil farms, the meadows free,
The friendly trees that nod to me,
And hear the lark beneath the sun,
'Twill be good pay for what I've done
When I come home!

LESLIE COULSON

• (*Killed in action Oct. 7, 1916*)

A Mother's Dedication

Dear son of mine, the baby days are over,
I can no longer shield you from the earth;
Yet in my heart always I must remember
How through the dark I fought to give you birth.

Dear son of mine, by all the lives behind you;
By all our fathers fought for in the past;
In this great war to which your birth has brought
you,
Acquit you well, hold you our honor fast!

God guard you, son of mine, where'er you wander;
God lead the banners under which you fight;
You are my all, I give you to the Nation,
God shall uphold you that you fight aright.

MARGARET PETERSON

To Arms

To arms! To arms! You that are men!
Fight for the right—for peace again.
Crush the vile serpent under heel;
With stern set jaws meet steel with steel,
And let the German "Kultur" feel
We're in this war to win.

To arms! To arms! You women all!
Your country sends a trumpet call.
Do what you can, you may, you must
Help to redeem the world from lust;
In you our men have put their trust;
Help them this war to win.

That right shall ever conquer might,
March on, brave boys, to win the fight;
And put to rout those hordes in gray,
While women work, and weep, and pray
That soon may come the glorious day
When Freedom's flag shall win.

FLORENCE SCRIPPS KELLOGG

April 2d

[*Inspired by President Wilson's address to Congress
on April 2, 1917*]

We have been patient—and they named us weak;
We have been silent—and they judged us meek;
Now, in the much-abused, high name of God
We speak.

Oh! not with faltering or uncertain tone—
With chosen words we make our meaning known
That like a great wind from the West shall
shake
The double throne.

Our colors flame upon the topmost mast;
We lift the glove so arrogantly cast,
And in the much-abused, high name of God
We speak at last.

THEODOSIA GARRISON

(2) Quotations for use in speeches

Some extracts from the poetry and prose of standard authors are included. The attention of the speaker is called to the fact that a speech is usually made more interesting by the use of apt quotations. Many of these quotations can be paraphrased to fit exactly the present war and our part in it.

No Peace until Victory

Peace! Peace! Peace! do you say?
What! with the enemy's guns in our ears,
With the country's wrongs not rendered back,—
What! while Austria stands at bay
In Mantua and in Venice wears
Her cursèd flag of yellow and black.

ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING

No terms except an unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works.

U. S. GRANT

We accepted this war for a worthy object—and the war will end when that object is attained. Under God, I hope it will not end until that time!

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, 1864

Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Let, if God wills, that it continue, until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk and until every drop of blood drawn with

the lash, shall be paid with another drawn by the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still must it be said, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Second Inaugural Address, March 4, 1865

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Patriotism

Those that by their deeds will make it known,
Whose dignity they do sustain;
And life, state, glory, all they gain
Count the republic's, not their own.

BEN JONSON

We join ourselves to no party that does not carry
the flag and keep step to the music of the Union.

RUFUS CHOATE

I am not a Virginian, but an American.

PATRICK HENRY

Our Country

Without a sign his sword the brave man draws,
And asks no omen but his country's cause.

HOMER

The Fathers of America

While Franklin's quiet memory climbs to Heaven
Calming the lightning which he thence hath riven
Or drawing from the no less kindled earth
Freedom and peace to that which boasts his birth;
While Washington's a watchword, such as ne'er
Shall sink while there's an echo left to air.

BYRON

By the rude bridge that arched the flood,
Their flag to April's breeze unfurled,
Here once the embattl'd farmers stood,
And fired the shot heard round the world.

EMERSON

Washington

Yes, one—the first—the last—the best—
The Cincinnatus of the West,
Whom envy dared not hate—
Bequeathed the name of Washington
To make men blush there was but one!

BYRON

Freedom Wins

For Freedom's battle, once begun
Bequeath'd from bleeding sire to son,
Though baffled oft, is ever won.

BYRON

We must be free or die who speak the tongue
That Shakespeare spake, the faith and morals
hold
Which Milton held.

WORDSWORTH

'Tis Liberty that gives to fleeting Life
Its lustre and perfume;
And we are slaves without it.

Who knew the season when to take
Occasion by the hand and make
The bounds of Freedom wider yet.

TENNYSON

Right

Because right is right,
To follow right
Were wisdom in the scorn of consequence.

TENNYSON

Let us have faith that right makes might; and in
that faith let us to the end, dare to do our duty as
we understand it.

LINCOLN

For right is right, since God is God,
And right the day must win;
To doubt would be disloyalty,
To falter would be sin.

F. W. FABER

Service

Who would not be that youth? What pity is it
That we can die but once to serve our country!

ADDISON

New occasions teach new duties.

LOWELL

Courage

Cowards die many times before their deaths;
The valiant never taste of death but once.

JULIUS CÆSAR

Soldiers to Civilians

We fail!

But screw YOUR courage to the sticking place,
And we'll not fail. SHAKESPEARE

Unconquerable France

What though the field be lost?
All is not lost; th' unconquerable will,
And study of revenge, immortal hate,
And courage never to submit or yield
And what is else not to be overcome.

MILTON

Britain's Spirit

1. "The world owes much to little nations and to little men. The greatest art in the world was the work of little nations. The greatest literature of England came from her when she was a nation the size of Belgium fighting a great empire. Heroic deeds that thrill humanity through generations are the deeds of little nations fighting for their freedom. Ah, yes, and the salvation of the world came through a little nation."—Lloyd George, later Britain's Prime Minister, September 19, 1914.
2. "What we and our Allies are fighting for is a free Europe. We want Europe free not only from the domination of one nation by another but from the hectoring of diplomacy and peril of war; free from constant rattling of the sword in the scabbard and from the perpetual talk of shining armor and the war lord. . . . We are fighting for equal rights, for law, justice, peace and for civilization throughout the world,

as against brute force which knows no restraint and no mercy.”—Britain’s Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey, June, 1916.

3. “We have every reason for confidence. We have none for complacency. Hope is the main-spring of efficiency; complacency is its rust. . . . The war is not going to be fought mainly on the battlefields of Belgium and Poland . . . [but] in the workshops of France and Great Britain.”—Lloyd George to laborers at Bangor, February 28, 1915.

Belgium

Our country sinks beneath the yoke,
It weeps, it bleeds, and each new day a gash
Is added to her wounds. SHAKESPEARE

Poland’s Freedom

Hope for a season bade the world farewell,
And freedom shrieked when Kosciusko fell.
CAMPBELL

German “Necessity”

Necessity is the argument of tyrants; it is the creed
of slaves. WILLIAM PITT

Ancient Chivalry versus German Kultur

O friends, be men, and let your hearts be strong,
And let no warrior in the heat of fight,
Do what may bring him shame in others’ eyes.
HOMER

Battle Slogans

AMERICA

1. "There can be no compromise. No halfway decision would be tolerable. No halfway decision is conceivable. . . . What we seek is the reign of law based upon the consent of the governed and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind."—President Wilson, Independence Day Speech at Mount Vernon, July 4, 1918.
2. "Lafayette, we have come."—General Pershing at tomb of Lafayette in Paris.
3. "The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty."—President Wilson, War Message to Congress, April 2, 1917.
4. "We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make."—President Wilson, War Message.
5. "The right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right to such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free."—President Wilson, War Message.

GREAT BRITAIN

6. "Carry on!"—the British army's battle cry.
7. "Every position must be held to the last man. There must be no retirement. With our backs to the wall and believing in the justice of our cause, each of us must fight to the end. The safety of our homes and the freedom of mankind depend alike on the conduct of each one of us at this last moment."—Britain's General Haig, April 12, 1918, "To all ranks of the British army in France," after three weeks of terrific German onslaughts and alarming German gains, later checked because of the British army's response to the foregoing appeal and the aid given by French and American soldiers.
8. "We are fighting first to fulfil a solemn international obligation; secondly, we are fighting to vindicate the principle that small nationalities are not to be crushed in defiance of international good faith by the arbitrary will of a strong and overmastering power."—Britain's Prime Minister to House of Commons, August 6, 1914.

FRANCE

9. "The hour has come to advance at any cost and to die rather than fall back."—General Joffre to the French army at the Marne, September 5, 1914.
10. "My left has been rolled up; my right has been driven in; therefore I have ordered an advance along my center."—General Foch to his division of the French army at the first battle of the Marne, September, 1914.

11. "They shall not pass"—the slogan of the French defense against Germany's terrific onslaught upon Verdun, 1916-1917.
12. "Just now there is only one policy,—a relentless fight until we attain definite freedom for Europe by gaining a victory which will guarantee peace."—Prime Minister Viviani to the French Chamber of Deputies, December 22, 1914.

(3) Short stories of sacrifice and heroism

“Hearts are Touching”

It was only a little river, almost a brook; it was called the Yser. One would talk from one side to the other without raising one's voice, and the birds could fly over it with one sweep of their wings. And on the two banks there were millions of men, the one turned toward the other, eye to eye. But the distance which separated them was greater than the stars in the sky; it was the distance which separates right from injustice.

The ocean is so vast that the seagulls do not dare to cross it. During seven days and seven nights the great steamships of America, going at full speed, drive through the deep waters before the lighthouses of France come into view; but from one side to the other hearts are touching.

Letter of a French schoolgirl quoted by Dr. John Finley

“Desertion to the Front”

Gen. Pershing has been compelled to designate a new offense against the law of soldiers. That offense is “desertion to the front.”

It is characteristic of the spirit of the American army—the American nation in arms—that this addition to the military regulations should have been found necessary. Men put to work with pick, transit, rod and shovel back of the firing line were found to be deserting. The intelligence department, after looking into this apparent revelation of moral obliquity, discovered that these men were deserting to the front; that they had dropped the implements of engineering and of labor for the rifle, the hand grenade and the bayonet in the trenches.

“Desertion to the front” is good. It is American. It reveals the American will to victory more clearly than any event or incident since we went into the war.—NEW YORK GLOBE, EDITORIAL.

Following are given some extracts from “Stars and Stripes,” the newspaper published in France by the American Expeditionary Forces:

A Soldier's Heart

From “Stars and Stripes” of July 19, 1918

Another fortunate little child gained a very distinguished godfather. He was given the Croix de Guerre for heroic work in an American ambulance unit at Verdun, and he won the D. S. C. a few weeks ago when, although wounded when a shell wrecked his ambulance and later gassed, he refused to stop his work of succoring the wounded. He was in the hospital and received the decorations a few days ago, and, just to observe the occasion contributed 500 francs for the support of a French orphan. “Credit it to my mother,” he instructed, “and list it as Pawhusko, Okla. That’s where she lives, and don’t use my name.”

An Old Lady's Bit

Editorial “Stars and Stripes” June 21, 1918

She is an old, or at least, an elderly woman. The place where she lives is a particularly ugly little American manufacturing town; its inhabitants are largely what we used to call foreigners.

The state has been helping her for many years. It was not much, but that monthly allowance,

which she called for regularly at the office of the City clerk, was the slender thread that kept both ends of life together.

When she paid her April call, the City clerk reached for his books and began to go through with the monthly formula.

But, "Please," she said, "I don't think I need the money any more, sir. My circumstances have improved; I'm working and I think the Government needs the money more than I do."

How Fred Blakeley Helps

"Stars and Stripes" June 14, 1918

In a West Virginia mining town, one Fred Blakeley is known as the man who loaded more tons of coal in a day than any other man in the state. That means something in a year, when the miners are determined that the earth shall yield for the Allies more than it ever did before. Fred is stoking for the A. E. F. He is dog tired at night, but somehow he has managed every week to knit a sweater for some soldier in France.

VIII

Figures

(1) The Cost of the War and Statistics on War Debts

The sum of \$19,000,000,000 is almost incomprehensible. But the estimated expenditures of the United States Government for the year ending July 30, 1918 (exclusive of loans to the Allies), were in round numbers \$13,000,000,000 and the estimated amounts to be loaned by the United States to the Allies were in round numbers \$6,000,000,000.¹

The total estimated disbursements for the fiscal year 1917-18 thus reached the sum of approximately \$19,000,000,000. The actual expenses will be somewhat less than the amount of the estimate because the industries of the country will not, within the current fiscal year, complete all the goods appropriated for. But the actual expenditures cannot yet be exactly determined, and reference to the estimated expenditures (which for the reason stated are subject to deduction), is sufficient for the purpose in hand.

The total expenses of the United States from 1791, almost the date of organization of the Government, to January 1, 1917 (or a

¹ See Annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury submitted to Congress, December 3, 1917.

period of 126 years), including the cost of the Civil War, were only \$20,000,000,000, or a trifle over 1.3 more than the estimated expenses for one year of the present war.

The total cost of the Civil War, which lasted four years, was in round numbers \$3,400,000,000, or less than one-fifth of the estimated expenses of the United States in one year of the current war.

The cost of the Napoleonic wars from 1793 to 1819 for England, France and Russia, has been estimated by the Treasury Department at only \$6,700,000,000, or a little more than one-third of the estimated expenses of the United States for the current year. The cost of all the wars in the world, to all the principal powers involved, from 1793 to the outbreak of the present war (or a period of 121 years), is estimated at something less than \$25,000,000,000, or only about one-third more than the estimated expenses of the United States for this fiscal year.

ESTIMATED TOTAL WEALTH

Germany	\$80,000,000,000
France	60,000,000,000
Great Britain	60,000,000,000
United States	250,000,000,000

PUBLIC DEBT

<i>Before the War</i>		<i>1917-1918</i>	
Germany	\$1,165,000,000	\$30,000,000,000	July, 1918
France	6,598,000,000	22,000,000,000	Dec., 1917
Great Britain	3,458,000,000	27,636,000,000	Feb., 1918
Italy	2,792,000,000	6,676,000,000	Dec., 1917
Austria-			
Hungary	3,985,000,000	19,018,000,000	Dec., 1917
United States	1,208,000,000	12,000,000,000	July, 1918

RATIO OF DEBT TO TOTAL WEALTH

Germany	37%
France	37%
Great Britain	45%
United States	5%

APPROXIMATE PER CAPITA DEBT

Germany	\$450
France	550
Great Britain	600
Italy	190
Austria	380
United States	115

On the basis of population we shall have to increase our debt from \$12,000,000,000 to almost \$50,000,000,000 to equal the debt of Germany.

If we were carrying a national debt in the same proportion to our estimated wealth as England or France or Germany, it would amount to 90 billion dollars or over. Yet the bonds of both France and England have always been regarded as gilt-edged securities.

WHAT OUR MONEY HAS DONE

Loans to the Allies up to July 27, 1918

Belgium	\$145,250,000
France	1,765,000,000
Great Britain	3,345,000,000
Greece	15,790,000
Italy	760,000,000
Russia	325,000,000
Serbia	9,000,000

The nations which since 1914 have declared war against one or all of the Central Powers,—Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria,—are the following: Serbia, Russia, France, Great Britain, Belgium, Montenegro, Japan, Italy, San Marino, Portugal, Roumania, Greece, United States, Cuba, Panama, Nicaragua, Siam, Liberia, China, Brazil, Guatemala.

(2) What your Bonds have bought

The money which wise and patriotic Americans invested in the First, Second and Third Loans has fought for them in glorious fashion. Out of that money the Government has built 16 huge cantonments, the total cost of which was over \$141,000,000. This money has been used to raise and equip an army of 3,000,000 men at a cost of over \$15,000,000 merely for the process of changing civilians into soldiers. It cost \$4.93 per man to draft our armies.

Your money has transported an army of a million and a half men across 3000 miles of ocean. It has equipped them with rifles at a cost of \$7,500,000 per month; with clothing at an initial cost of about \$100 per soldier; with barrack bags, bedsacks, and blankets at a cost of \$10.62 per soldier. It has built ships at a cost of from \$1,500,000 to \$5,000,000 each to carry them overseas. It has built docks, and railroads and trucks and airplanes and tanks and big guns to help send them forward to Victory.

Altogether your money has made possible the greatest military phenomenon in history, —the changing of a peaceful, practically unarmed nation in sixteen months into the most powerful war machine ever built—a feat unparalleled in the history of the world.

What this army, raised, equipped, transported, trained and fed with your money, has



already done on the battlefield is a page of history engraved on the heart of every American. It is a record that will live forever.

(3) Make your dollars fight

The huge machine which we have built up must be maintained. The money you invest in the Fourth Liberty Loan is to feed our Army, which is destined to grow to 5,000,000; to transport as many troops again as have been sent; to supply them with arms, ammunition, artillery and all the various equipment which they need, to win.

One \$50 Bond will send 1000 3" trench mortar shells on their way, or provide bursting charge for 100 3" trench mortar shells or 110 hand grenades, or will buy two rifles or knives, forks, and spoons for a company of soldiers.

One \$100 Bond will provide bursting charge of T. N. T. for one 14" high explosive shell, or condiment (salt, pepper, vinegar, etc.) for three companies of soldiers.

Two \$100 bonds will provide 5,000 machine gun cartridges.

One \$500 bond will provide two machine guns or 300 steel helmets.

One \$1000 bond will provide one 16" shell, ready to fire.

Ten \$1000 bonds will provide 20,000 rifle grenades.

Five hundred \$1000 bonds will provide an amount of powder equal to one day's output of one of the Government powder plants.

The armies raised with your money have fought and are fighting with a spirit, a dash, and unconquerable determination that has aroused the admiration of the world.

Keep them fighting to win.

Every Bond you buy puts weapons in their hands.

Lend the way they fight.

Buy Bonds to your Utmost.