WHY DEFEND THE NATION?

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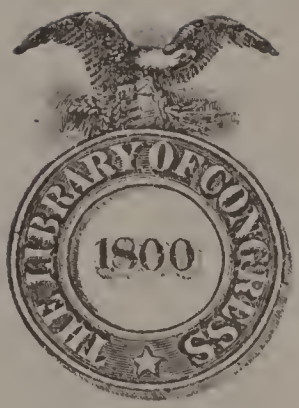

Why Defend the Nation?

"The volume is small—
The drops are precious."

"When the basic truths herein written are more universally implanted in American homes, the heritage of posterity will be safer."—W. B. G.

Why Defend the Nation?

Sound Americanism
for
Mother, Dad, and the Boys

By

COLONEL FRANK D. ELY, U. S. A.

Chief of Staff, VI. Corps

"More Majorum"

(After the Manner of Our Forefathers)

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Dedicated
to
The American Boy

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FOREWORD

"AFTER the manner of our forefathers" is inspirational to patriotic Americans. I know of no finer motto to point these humble thoughts on my country's faults, needs, and glories.

The lifeblood of the Republic is education; and more especially the thorough understanding and correct evaluation throughout the masses of the people of those principles and ideals of free government for the sound establishment of which our forefathers fought and died on the battlefield, and adherence to which has made America truly great.

We cannot draw blood from a turnip. Mediocrity and superficiality are crimes when caught in high places. Truth is mighty, but requires dissemination that it may exert a free influence. The principles which govern advertising in business apply with no diminished force in teaching good government; and no less qualifications than those requisite in the high professions and in representative business can possibly fit men to hold public office. We must inculcate American traditions and ideals in our present and in our oncoming generations to the end that they too shall prize freedom and liberty above all other earthly gifts, and shall ever guard them as precious treasures. For even as we ourselves prize and live this inestimable heritage of ours may we rest assured that our children, and our children's children, shall likewise cherish and enjoy its blessings.

In all the real tests of her manhood America has stood staunch and unyielding. Great dangers are easier of national recognition, diagnosis, and vigorous treatment than is the insidious decay which threatens even in our outward prosperity. The *why* of America lies in her traditions and ideals, which must ever be preserved.

On additional duty as Reserve Affairs Officer in the Sixth Corps Area I learned that the building up of the Reserves is best accomplished by the broader work of building National Defense; and the latter term is really synonomous with "Ameri-

canism." The hearty assistance and loyalty given in this work by over eight thousand Reserve officers in the States of Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, together with the active support received from the press, have encouraged this wider effort to get the message home to the youth of the whole country. Our boys of today will tomorrow be holding the helm of the good ship Destiny, America, Unltd., and every good American should do all he can to insure fair sailing.

If these pages may arouse some added fulfillment of the need for intelligent, well directed, and sustained effort to instruct our youth in the value of their great heritage, thus insuring a sounder basis for the forming of true individual American opinion on all the great questions where these successively arise as the years roll on, then will they have accomplished the author's fondest hopes and desires.

FRANK D. ELY.

Chicago, Illinois,
January 1, 1924.

Why Defend the Nation?

CHAPTER I

Americanism

ARE we doing all that is essential to insure that in the present and future this Nation shall not only endure, but shall healthily grow and develop in full keeping with the advance of science and of civilization, while still sacredly preserving American ideals?

Three hundred years ago this country was a virgin wilderness. Today it leads the world in power and wealth and in offering a desirable residence for free men. How did it all come about?

This Nation wasn't invented. It didn't "just grow." It is an evolution, due to earnest effort of real men and women who, possessing high principles and high ideals, devoted their lives to them. It has cost much blood and treasure. It is ours to enjoy—ours to improve and glorify, and ours to perpetuate and hand on to posterity. This means we must ever defend it against all its foes, whether within or without; and the most subtle and dangerous foe is the one who works from within. This heritage is never to be regarded in the light of a personal gift, as we regard an inheritance of real or personal property; it is too precious, and other rights than our own are involved.

The ever increasing complexity and hurry of modern life are such that, unless purposeful effort be made to preserve and safeguard the national heritage, our oncoming generations may lose sight of those high ideals adherence to which has wrought this Nation—ideals which we today include under the term "Americanism."

Our forefathers sought these shores to escape oppression and tyranny in one form and another—in a word, for freedom.

They brought with them many Old-World prejudices which retarded early growth. But the desire for representative government; for tolerance of worship, each according to his own conscience, for justice, and for peace, was strongly inherent in all the Colonies. Throughout two centuries of growth and development the need of a Union to secure strength and protection became increasingly apparent; but such a Union was impossible so long as the Colonies remained subject to a foreign power. Finally, in 1776, independence was declared; but the mere declaration alone did not secure it. Only after long years of war, entailing untold suffering, hardship, and deprivation, during which the Colonies were held together by the force of character and fortitude of Washington, Franklin, Samuel and John Adams, Robert Morris, Madison, Hamilton, and other patriots of equally high ideals, determination and enduring fame, was the enemy forced to surrender and the war terminated. But even then Independence was not conceded by the mother-country, which a quarter of a century later forced upon us a further effort to defend our birthright.

The same men who were so instrumental in winning independence for the country were prominent in the early welding of the Colonies into this Nation—the United States of North America. Not until eleven years after independence had been declared was a Constitution agreed upon; and two years later it was ratified by all of the thirteen Colonies. Thus was born in 1789, or one hundred and thirty-four years ago, this great free Nation which always has been, is now and ever must be the envy of the oppressed throughout the world—a land of the free!

In any study of American history it will be noted that through all the trials, tribulations, and growth of this country its development has been accomplished only through strict adherence to the high ideals which gave it birth. Real devotion to the idea of "Union" reached its height a considerable period after the adoption of the Constitution. The settlement of one of the great questions which the new Nation fell heir to—the question of slavery—rent ties asunder, cost a million lives, and rocked the young Nation to its very foundations. But the question was settled for all time, and happily settled, as now conceded alike by North and South. And

the settlement of this trying question further settled, and forever, the fact of an inseparable Union of the States.

From the very birth of the Nation there have always been elements in its population (as there are in all peoples) inimical to the best that was in it—inimical to its development as a free people, tolerant, good-natured, and true to all mankind but mighty and terrible in just wrath. Such elements have gone by various names at different times, and at present are known as bolshevists, communists, etc. One glance over the map, and we see what has resulted where such elements of society have gained the ascendancy. We have much to learn from other peoples; but nothing that is desirable is to be learned from any political creed wherein hatred, intolerance, waste, ignorance, and disrespect for law and established institutions take the place of those virtues reverence for which has carried America to the very pinnacle of progress among all the nations of the world.

The necessity for adopting a Constitution and establishing a government that should be a Union and possess strength and coercive power are clearly stated in the preamble to our Constitution. The Confederation had failed, principally for lack of power to impose taxes and to raise armies, both sovereign powers. A more perfect union—justice—domestic peace—a common defense—the general welfare—and the insuring of all these blessings and of liberty to posterity were all actual needs, and these constitute a set of ideals for accomplishment which demand not only the exercise of our own best efforts but the best effort of each succeeding generation so long as the world shall endure.

No structure can be more enduring than its foundation, or than the material of which it is built. The *foundations* of the structure of this Government are our Constitution and our truly American ideals; and these have been proved to be sound throughout all our history. These foundations are permanent, unchanging. But the *material* of the structure of our great Republic is our whole body politic—our entire population, ever changing with the generations. To date this material has been sufficiently resistant to false theory and so true to American interests that it has successfully foiled every attack, whether from foe within or from foe without. This

has been so because of the true understanding held in the masses of the people. In the changed conditions and increased complexity of life in this country, education in the basic American ideals and principles is far less universal than formerly; and we must assume the duty of properly preparing this material of government to serve all its needs, purposes, and ends by education during its growth, just as the steel-maker insures the quality of his product by correct processes and treatment during manufacture. So the question arises, and must hereafter be ever with us: *Are we doing all that is essential to insure that in the present and future this nation shall not only endure, but shall healthily grow and develop in full keeping with the advances of science and of civilization, while still sacredly preserving American ideals?*

That, fellow Americans, is the great all-inclusive question before us, now and forevermore. With the ever increasing complexity of life; with the increased difficulty of properly assimilating our foreign populations; due to the prevalence throughout much of the world of unsound and revolutionary doctrines—because of these and other and new difficulties which will arise from time to time to be met and solved by this and each succeeding generation, it behooves every true American to be now and forevermore on guard.

"WE, THE people of the United States, in order to

1. Form a more perfect union,
2. Establish justice,
3. Insure domestic tranquillity,
4. Provide for the common defense,
5. Promote the general welfare and
6. Secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity,

do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."—*Preamble to the Constitution.*

The form in which the above is arranged sets forth more clearly the six great basic purposes of our forefathers in the forming of this Nation. They were the fundamental and determining reasons why all the Colonies, after over two centuries of individual struggles, found it necessary to form a strong central government in and through which all might endure and benefit.

CHAPTER II.

National Defense—Its Need

WE ARE a heterogeneous people of widely differing ancestral traditions, past environment, and future hopes and ambitions, but with ample justification for belief in all. As citizens of a common country in which we live and have our being it becomes our duty, in all wisdom, to now and again pause, take stock of the times, reckon on the trend of events, and to seriously ask ourselves and our neighbors whether this or that course now being run is wise or right; just as the mariner who, his transit on the sun at its zenith by day and on the stars by night, checks and verifies his position on the chart that he may know to a certainty that his vessel will avoid the rocks and shoals and make safe harbor. And so if we would run true as a nation we who are responsible must first know the course, and then by checks and balances constantly prove that those whom we have placed in charge are holding to that course.

Those who go down to the sea in ships have grave concern that the captain and mates should be competent navigators; and so with the Ship of State, we, as fellow owners and travelers therein on the common journey of life, must feel interest in the skill and wisdom of those we charge with the care and guidance of the affairs of the Nation.

Insurance of life and property is a national trait—an American custom and habit of highest business sagacity; yet no insurance compares in value with insurance of the Republic; for with that lost, all is lost.

There is, there always has been, and there doubtless always will be, much misunderstanding among the people over that part of their own affairs which pertains to government. Life offers much to interest and divert; time is fleeting, the human mind is limited, and the demands of those dependent upon us are perhaps so insistent that we know not how to pause in our daily work. But as we love those near and dear to us,

and as we see, day after day, our country affording homes of peace and joy and plenty and gladness to over a hundred millions of our countrymen, while just across the sea destitution and suffering prevail in many lands—lands where new and strange ideas of government have gained alarming credence among despairing peoples filled only with a natural desire to ease their sufferings and improve their position, but whose efforts have resulted in their more complete undoing—it behooves us the more to look to our own safety and to the safety and prosperity of those we shall leave behind us here, and to know just where our course leads.

Ours is a country of the people and for the people, where the people rule through direct representation. From its very origin it has been a land of the free and a home for the oppressed of other and less happy lands. What it has been it must always be, and this is best assured by holding fast to those principles, ideals, and traditions that are purely American and adherence to which has brought wealth, gladness, prosperity and peace to the land. Liberty and freedom, truth and justice have been our watchwords. Respect for the will of the majority and for the rights of the minority; respect for law and established institutions; respect for other men's opinions and beliefs; respect for the processes of evolution as against those of revolution; and respect for the dignity of labor with complete freedom to engage therein as we desire, and to worship according to the dictates of our own conscience with no man or set of men to say us nay—these are some of the ideals which have served in the building of this Nation, and which all true Americans cherish; and, please God, let us all by our united effort, and by His aid, assure that America shall ever go forward, ever a land of liberty for her sons and for all others who here gain asylum.

Such a heritage as ours seldom comes to any people. Once gained, it must be insured to all posterity by the wisdom, foresight, and unflinching courage of generation after generation as these in turn succeed to the temporary charge as well as to the blessings thereof, so long as time and the world shall endure.

Despite ancient and inherited prejudices detrimental to the

development of needed powers, this country has always arisen to meet every emergency with which it has been confronted. Many of these efforts have proved costly, and have strained the Nation well nigh to the breaking point, but, like the race from which we sprung, we have somehow "muddled through." But even though successful in the past, those very successes, in the light of deeper knowledge and changed conditions, warn us against any implicit faith in dependence upon emergency action. A city does not wait until the flames rage and the mob loots to organize fire and police protection, nor await the ravages of disease and pestilence to insure good water supply and establish proper health measures.

Our ability to meet and solve the great questions which have been vital to our development as a great free nation has rested mainly on the sound basic training of the entire body politic. The "little red schoolhouse" was the forum which primarily fitted for their life's work many of the greatest leaders known to our history. The nineteenth century was one devoted in the main to the settlement and upbuilding of our undeveloped territory and lands. Living thus close to the soil as a great agricultural people, simplicity was the rule in life, and the absorbing questions thought out and discussed were in the main those fundamental to the development of the Nation.

Now the free lands of our great West are no more. The industrial strides of the Nation have placed our industrial products ahead of the agricultural in value, and the environment of great masses of our people has changed from the freedom of the farm to the congestion of the cities. Life has grown harder and more complex. The fundamental has become clouded and overshadowed by the immediate questions of how to live and how to gain a competence, our avenues for which are concededly unequaled elsewhere.

Under these changed conditions the foundation for assured safe action, which is well-informed, sound judgment in all men, has become weakened. The motives for the establishment of the Nation, and which have set it free and far above all others on this globe, are in danger of becoming hopelessly obscured. As against party government and majority rule we

are drifting toward the dangerous shoals of the bloc, of many parties, and of minority rule. In these conditions the politician, rather than the statesman, flourishes, and his breed is not the one which builded this Nation from a wilderness.

The conditions of our masses to which we have alluded as establishing a danger line exist in practically all of the older countries, where they have been of far longer duration; but there they have fewer of our blessings, such as our higher wages, regulated industries, free hospitals and libraries, free schools, improved and sanitary living conditions, amusements unending and within the reach of all, in addition to our full possession of the individual rights guaranteed under our Constitution. Thus our dangers are less than theirs, and our structure of government safer. But with lesser questions permitted to fill and sufficing to occupy the public mind, lesser men suffice to meet the demands for filling public office; mediocrity rules, and superficiality may be said to be one of the crimes of the day and age. Mere politicians are hailed as statesmen, malingerers and profiteers abound, and the public treasury is oppressed with demands the meeting of which has inordinately taxed agriculture and industry and endangered stability. To cure our real and imaginary political and economic ills, legislation is invoked on the slightest pretext, regardless of the fact that wealth results from the untrammeled operations of commerce under the laws of supply and demand. Freedom of speech too frequently verges on license, and discipline has all but vanished. Over-regulation of personal habits; the over-development of reforms into well established, well paying occupations for the professional reformers; governmental interference in business to an illogical degree; and widespread neglect of our religious duties to our own very decided detriment, are among our most common evils. Radicalism threatens established property interests, and until the rights of property are clearly respected—until the frame of mind throughout the great body politic demands most thorough respect for property as well as for life, business cannot gain that volume and stability which the natural impetus of world growth offers to impart. When business flourishes there is ample employment, fair prices, and good times for all.

With business chained, threatened, constantly railed against, capital in very self-protection withholds that which it has, awaiting a more opportune day for release. Cities and States, seizing the opportunity in unemployed capital desirous of some safe return, are becoming increasingly burdened with debt through the ceaseless issue of tax-exempt securities to secure funds for local improvements, thus defeating the Federal aim for income to meet the national budget and throwing the burden of the load upon the merely well-to-do and the poorer classes, as against the rich, upon whom Congress intended it to lie.

Thus the fact stands clear that the time is at hand when we must take inventory, separate truth from fallacy, and discard the latter.

It was John Ruskin, a man far ahead of his day, who said that if we would see a thing correctly we must see the whole of it. Any correct view of the needs and duties of government in America must, then, start with its beginning—with the Constitution or framework of the government in which we live. Better yet, it should go into Colonial history and note the facts which led our forefathers to the adoption of that Constitution, after trying weaker and unsatisfactory measures; study the failures of the Continental Congress and its successor, the Articles of Confederation; and when that is done any fair-minded American will concede that the purposes of government, so clearly enunciated in the preamble to the Great Document, are one and all as vital and essential today as when so decreed by those high-minded patriots who, with clear brains and stout hearts in rugged bodies, builded for themselves and for all posterity the very highest "place in the sun" known to the nations of the world.

Those basic purposes for forming this government, enunciated in the preamble to the Constitution, are broad and vital: *A more perfect Union,* for union was found essential to strength and sovereignty; *the establishment of justice,* since justice was the demand of every colony from its very birth; *domestic peace,* so essential to happy internal relations and development; to *provide for the common defense,* a lesson thoroughly learned throughout Colonial history and in the dark

years immediately following on the Declaration of Independence, when the Nation's efforts were all but paralyzed in the actual establishment of that independence under the operation of the Continental Congress and, later, under the Articles of Confederation, the weakness of both establishing the necessity for centralized authority with full coercive and sovereign powers; *the promotion of the general welfare,* a broad provision carrying the necessary authority for all development and improvement for which time might develop the need and which might not be included under the other provisions; and lastly, *the insuring of the blessings of liberty to themselves and to all posterity,* than which no other desire was more strongly intrenched or more effective in securing independence.

These six broad purposes, the ground plan of the government we today enjoy, are as essential to the continued growth and the maintenance of this Nation as they were when originally enunciated and adopted. One hundred and thirty-four years of growth under the Constitution (during which period the Nation has endured through trials that would have terminated it had it other than the soundest of foundations) have thoroughly demonstrated its fitness to endure as planned, and further, *that it could not endure as a free Nation if subjected to any vital change.* Tinkering with the Constitution is most dangerous.

The facts above stated should lie deep in the minds of every man and every woman who exercises the rights of suffrage. That they are not so is very apparent from the constituencies which return to seats of power men who have demonstrated the most thorough unfitness to have voice in the affairs of government. Truly, "a little knowledge is a dangerous thing," and it should become the vow of every good American to contribute all that he may to the furtherance of knowledge of the essentials of our government, and to give his unqualified support to every vital basic purpose thereof.

From the beginning of history men formed themselves into groups for mutual self-interest—primarily for self-protection and defense. This tendency of mankind—than which there is no other so humanly fundamental—resulting in obvious ad-

vantage to those within the groups, forced those who were without, and whose interests differed materially therefrom, to form other groups according to individual and collective needs. In the course of time some of the groups grew to great proportions and were called tribes, peoples, races, and nations.

The stronger and more virile groups and nations have always dominated the weak, compelling tribute or recognition in one form or another; and this dominance will continue so long as man possesses the primitive passions and the instinct for trade and commercial advantage. The teachings of civilization will ever soften and ameliorate the effects of power held by one nation superior to another; but it is contrary to human nature to yield power without an acceptable return or as the result of conquest, and "water won't run up hill." A people who will not or cannot lead must then expect that other nations, more progressive, stronger, more virile, will seize the banner of leadership, which they can then only follow. And if they decline in emergency to defend their own—their homes, their business, their commerce, their domain—in a word, if they refuse to be soldiers when their very existence demands, then must they be prepared to yield—even to become slaves if that horrid condition be imposed; for without defensive strength and power they will be helpless to resist, however offensive to their civilization or to their sensitiveness be the demands. The mother who refuses "to raise her boy to be a soldier" in event of his country's need should then reflect: "Am I not then raising him to be a slave?"

Grave dangers to the Nation lie in our exposed and all too tempting wealth, which offers the very richest plunder to a warlike power or coalition prepared for quick struggle. They lie, too, in the discontent and the unbelief of certain classes in our ideals. They would substitute other forms, even communism (socialism), for this our heritage. The succession of communism in Russia, so recently witnessed, was a catastrophe; its establishment here would be a cataclysm. Americans mean that America shall endure. This demands our watchfulness of all nations and a wise guardianship of our own.

The purpose of good government is ever to improve the conditions and habitations of man; and an inglorious yielding by one nation to another can never serve that purpose or satisfy high ideals. A well-considered policy of National Defense is simply the sanest and the only sound insurance that our free institutions shall live and flourish. Its need is both paramount and fundamental.

CHAPTER III.

National Defense—Its Purposes

THE community desire of the country is that we be let alone in all that pertains to government. This Nation is homemade, and we are proud both of the product and of the handiwork. If there is any fault to be found with either we wish to find it ourselves, and anyone who reads our press or who listens from the galleries to our legislatures or to our Congress will soon be convinced that we are masters of that art. Admiring the real attainments and successes of other nations and individuals the whole world over, cognizant of our weaknesses but also of our ideals, and imbued with a feverish desire to improve, we are well pleased with our own Republic; and we are more than pleased—we are convinced that no nation, no other form of government, compares with our own in affording to freemen a desirable place of residence and one in which we can enjoy our work and amass a competence for old age.

We have said that the Nation is "homemade." Mr. Gladstone said of our Constitution that it "is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man." This intended compliment has aroused a storm of protest and some indignation over its imputation that the Constitution was made off-hand, the product of invention. As a matter of fact the Constitution was the outgrowth of over two centuries of purely American experience gained with some sixty-nine forms of government, including all the old Colonial charters and the many constitutions of 1776 or immediately following, from the first charter granted to Sir Walter Raleigh in 1584 down to the framing of the present Constitution in 1787. Each Colony knew intimately its own experiences as well as many of the experiences in government of its neighbors; and all the experience gained was ultimately availed of when the representatives of all the Colonies met to frame our present Constitution. Some claims are advanced

that our Constitution is based on the English and Dutch forms; but a careful study of the history of the times together with the actual product achieved, and the comparison of this, clause by clause, with the several constitutions in effect among the Colonies, refute such claims.

With the best of good will toward all peoples we hold no jealousy of their possessions or achievements, but glory with them in their successes; and we harbor no desire for aggrandizement. We want only what we win in commerce and business under rules that are fair to all nations; and as opposed to aggrandizement we stand ready to buy and pay for those other material things which excite in us, either nationally or as individuals, the desire for ownership, and which are open for purchase.

From the side lines in city and town, from the workshop and the farm, we have observed the effects of foreign diplomacy, listened to the smooth words of foreign representatives and to their inspired echoes from domestic stool-pigeons, and deplored much that has been apparent, and later proved, falsity. We are impressed with the fact that, though we possess influence, we have little real control, moral or other, over the motives or ambitions of foreign powers. We have always shown good faith and have exercised great patience; and because of our excessive good nature and forbearance and our national trait of listening to the very last word from those of our countrymen who "don't believe it is loaded" we have been forced to shed the blood of our sons to prevent the unholy disruption of whole peoples, including our own. We can nowhere see in the attitude of the rest of the world any absolute safety for ourselves other than in our own inherent strength. We have observed the steady narrowing of the oceans, our former safeguards, but safeguards no longer. We desire, in common with all nations, and as right and essential to growth and welfare, the freedom of commerce with all the world, and we deny the rights of special privileges which bar us from equal opportunity and a fair share therein. We believe in competition in trade, based openly on values and fairness, and in the right of nations to protect what is actually

their own. We believe in the sacredness of treaties, and in the utter inviolability both of these and of the spoken word, given in bond.

In the light of these convictions, we are impressed with the great wisdom of our forefathers in "providing for the common defense" and we regard that provision as absolutely vital to this free government.

In our utter abhorrence of war and all that war entails in suffering, want, hardship, and privation we have constantly invoked the real friendship of all civilized nations, and of their people as individuals, and sought their aid in all that might serve in the honorable avoidance of war, which we recognize as an *effect* as distinguished from a cause, and therefore avoidable through wise leadership and right conduct. To this end we have been a party to every conference that has been called to consider international measures for peace, and we ourselves called the Peace Conference in 1921 of all the Powers. And our own representatives to that conference led all others in proposing drastic reductions of fleets and of armament, proposals which met with not unready acceptance and which, in the present impoverished condition of much of the world, is of vast direct benefit to every living human being, and to all posterity for decades to come. No other nation has ever accomplished so much.

Because for its successful prosecution National Defense demands the services of every man and the use of every dollar, no nation can during peace maintain ample forces devoted solely to readiness for defense without unwise drains on all production and occupation. Power in defense lies in the *will of the people,* in the national morale, and in the national ability to rapidly convert all the potential powers in finance, industry, and manpower into elements for combat and for supply. No longer can regularly maintained forces alone afford adequate insurance to the Nation. War has utterly changed. Modern transportation and distribution make possible the accomplishing in weeks what formerly occupied months or years, or indeed was beyond accomplishment. A nation now at war must be *all* at war, else it is lost. It is felt that the late and lamented President Harding founded the greatest movement for the prevention of war, and one worthy of the award of

the Edward Bok prize, when he enunciated in one of his speeches on the tour which ended in his untimely death his conviction that in the next war into which we are forced we will draft every man, every industry, and every dollar for the prosecution of the war.

The term "draft" is not used in any sense of confiscation. Obviously, *every* man cannot fight, *every* factory turn out war munitions, *every* dollar be laid in the vaults of the treasury. But the services, use, and credit of all will be available to the government as may be required, with any necessary adjustments to follow after the war has been terminated.

Why should that action secure peace? For the simple reason that when the opponents of preparedness—the opponents of national insurance—realize that in the event of war *they too must serve,* and possibly *must fight,* they will change their tune; for such being the requirements on all persons and property, it will be well for them if the Nation can be made so ready for defense as to render attack on us most unlikely. And that most sane condition popularly called "preparedness" is the very condition which the men and women who fought the recent great war do most ardently desire, realizing the utter impotence of all other measures advanced for war prevention and being unwilling that this Nation shall remain exposed to dangers of attack while utterly unprepared. With the removal of all opposition, which the late President's suggested method would accomplish, really sane measures insuring future defense should prove relatively simple and easy of accomplishment, to the Nation's greatly increased safety.

Employing every resource of the Nation, success in defense demands the very highest in organization, leadership, and equipment, and further demands just and kindly consideration of the human element as never before; this to assure the upbuilding of confidence and of that high national morale without which no war of proportions can again be successfully waged. When severity is demanded by temporary conditions it must be founded on justice, and that fact must be apparent to all who are fair-minded. The human factor is of predominant value and must never be misused. Napoleon's estimate was that in war the moral element is to all others as 3 to 1.

Such organization and leadership, together with a thorough knowledge of the art of war, its strategy and tactics, and the ability to direct and command all the forces of war, and for the peace training of the civilian elements of our forces for Defense, require the maintenance of a minimum force of highly trained officers and men who shall be competent as leaders in the event of the occurrence of a major emergency. This demands no swashbuckling, no saber-rattling—far from it; but it demands all and more than the Nation now has of regular forces, military schools, arsenals, laboratories, proving grounds, training camps, etc., or the equivalent of these agencies, and all located well within the national territory. It demands more. It demands a healthy emulation of the military "Spirit of '76" in our youth, and the unqualified recognition of the fundamental truth that no free people can hope to remain free who can for long be fooled by the advancement of such fallacious ideas as that a free people can possibly be too proud to fight when the Nation is in real peril. Such teaching is at variance with the Scriptural one that "Pride goeth before a fall," and if maintained would soon undermine that high patriotism so essential to national pride and would justly make us the laughing-stock of the virile world.

Conclusion.—The primary purposes of preparedness for National Defense, concretely expressed, are:

1. To render attack on this Nation unlikely to occur, under any provocation, through the extreme improbability of success by any attacking power, due to our evident strength and readiness in defense; and
2. In event of actual attack, to insure the covering of our coasts and frontiers by First Line troops where essential, until our Second Line forces, the units of which are already authorized, partly officered, and capable of quick mobilization and ready expansion, can be mobilized, expanded and sufficiently trained to warrant their active participation in a successful defense.

Other than the use by States of their National Guard as a police force there is absolutely no need for other military forces than those thus required for our defense.

"WE hold the conviction that the public interest in National Defense, so essential to its growth and development, is real, and that silence over matters of defense is the result of over-confidence and misunderstanding rather than apathy; and we believe that the changing character of our population and the complexity of modern life, with its diverting economic, social, and political questions, render necessary frequent reiteration of the vital importance of National Defense."—*Extract from Memorandum, January 30, 1923, to the Chicago Association of Commerce.*

CHAPTER IV.

National Defense—Its Essentials

THE essentials of National Defense are:
Finance;
Industry;
Manpower,
and the complete organization of all three. Their efficient employment demands the existence of suitable plans, complete in all essential detail, and the will and authority to put the plans in force in event of need. There is further demanded trained and competent leadership.

The preparation of plans for the employment of the resources of the Nation in its defense are by law made the duty of the General Staff. Under the National Defense Act of 1920 ample authority is given the President to carry the provisions of the law into effect, and it may be assumed that the work of completing all essential plans has made due progress. While the authority is ample, as stated, there are two obstacles to the accomplishment of all defense plans, viz.:

1. A shortage in trained personnel; and

2. Dependence on annual appropriations, the amounts of which have been entirely insufficient and too problematical. A defense plan worth-making and adopting is worth carrying out. Piecemeal or halfway action defeats the success of the best plan.

FINANCE.—The law makes no provisions for plans regarding finance for purposes of National Defense. The reasons for this are apparent. Under our financial and banking system finance is highly centralized and the Secretary of the Treasury instantly senses any change which portends danger. At the first threat against the Nation reserves could be conserved or increased and business duly warned through financial agencies, *i. e.,* by the banks. The proof of readiness lies in the excellent functioning of our banking system throughout the

late war, and through the perhaps even more severe test of post-war inflation and the rapidly succeeding deflation which was so destructive of values. Through all this the banks carried on successfully—not without strain, but with avoidance of panic. That the new banking system, in operation for only ten years when the storm of war broke over Europe, should have so successfully met war requirements is most gratifying to the Nation, and most complimentary to the framers of the banking laws and to the financiers and bankers (for not all bankers may be called financiers) who carried out the actual operations.

INDUSTRY.—The second named essential of National Defense is also well centralized, though less highly so than finance. The munitions for defense differing so widely from the peace products of manufacture (though in war the manufacture of vast quantities of peace products is required, unchanged), it becomes necessary to know the equipment, adaptability, and capacity of all important manufacturing plants in order promptly to change production where needed, minimize waste, and insure ample supply and the smooth and uninterrupted flow of defense supplies of every class and kind. This requires a complete and careful inventory to be made of all important industries; the making and filing of plans and specifications for the manufacture of all required munitions other than ordinary commercial articles; the making of suitable provisions to insure the availability when needed of special machinery, tools, jigs, dies, gauges, etc., etc.; and the filing of all plans, inventories, and other essential information for manufacture and supply in a common center for their complete co-ordination, including proper supply of raw materials, power, and fuel (kinds and quantities) needed by all plants in operation; for apportionment of required personnel; assignment of rail, water, or other transportation needed, and when needed; storage, etc.

Under the National Defense Act of 1920 the Assistant Secretary of War is by law charged with all procurement of supplies. Decentralization of the supervision of procurement is effected through the appointment in large centers like New York, Chicago, St. Louis, etc., of responsible civilian heads, the selection of the individual in each case being governed

by his ability, experience, and proved fitness to take charge of vast manufacturing and supply problems and operations; and this official, assisted usually by members of an Advisory Board (the members of which will ordinarily be selected and appointed by himself), will, in the event of a major emergency, co-ordinate and distribute the entire production in his district of all supplies of the class with which he is charged, on quantity and destination calls from the central office.

MANPOWER.—The third essential of National Defense is divided primarily as follows:

First Line.—Combat and supply units of the Regular Army and the National Guard. These are regularly maintained, are fully equipped and trained, and can be quickly mobilized at any designated points by the issuance of the necessary orders. Before the National Guard can be called into the Federal service the existence of a national emergency must have been duly declared by Congress. On proper declaration of the existence of such an emergency the National Guard is available for duty beyond the limits of its own State, wherever ordered by the President.

Second Line.—The Reserves. These units are more or less completely organized on paper, are wholly or in part officered and have some additional personnel of non-commissioned officers in the more important grades. All of the personnel enrolled can be immediately mobilized, on the declaration by Congress of the existence of a major emergency, at local or other designated centers, for the receiving, clothing, equipping, and training of the existing and all additional personnel required and assigned for the completion of the units to full war strength.

Practically all of the officers of the Reserve Corps have had war experience and training and many are receiving additional training at the summer training camps, at designated posts or headquarters, and through the pursuing of correspondence courses in training in the essential duties of their arm or branch, for their grade. This corps is recruited, as are the National Guard and the Regular Army, by officers appointed from the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, which is the name given to the aggregate of all the students receiving military instruction at our universities, colleges, and certain designated schools,

and from men who have taken the necessary prescribed courses of military instruction offered at the Civilian Military Training Camps, of which there is at present one held each summer in each of the nine corps areas into which the whole of the United States is divided. Thus a flow of trained officers is provided to replace losses due to age, the limitation on time imposed by business or other duties, etc.

Additional manpower over that required above is available for expansion of the First and Second Lines of Defense; for industry, agriculture, transportation, and for all other National Defense needs. The organization now being effected of the country's manpower holds a great advantage over the conditions which existed at the outbreak of war in 1917. The Nation then stood like a giant muscle-bound. Its potential powers in men and industry were untrained and unharnessed for defense, were without even a semblance of the necessary organization, and for a time the Nation stood all but helpless in defense. Very hasty and wholly unsatisfactory methods were of necessity resorted to for the selection and training of officers before the organization of our units for defense could even begin. But for the fact that our allies were holding the common enemy on a distant front, this loss in time and advantage would have spelled complete disaster. As it resulted, it spelled loss and waste in lives and property beyond all reckoning. The National Defense Act of 1920 brought a distinct feeling of relief to America in that for the first time in our whole national existence a real *plan* for the National Defense was made law, providing for the organization in peace time of our manpower and industry against our need in any future emergency. This Act is an excellent law and if and when wholly carried out and in force will be fair insurance in event of another emergency against any recurrence of the lamentable confusion and waste of 1917.

The following are a few of the excellent features of the Plan for Defense as carried in the National Defense Act of 1920:

1. It employs all the essential resources of the Nation for its defense, rather than only a part.

2. It is the cheapest in cost of all the plans ever considered that will adequately secure our defense.

3. It permits our maintaining a small Regular Army of only 150,000 men in time of peace, while still insuring efficiency of the National Defense. The Regular Army garrisons the over-seas possessions, guards the coast where necessary, and furnishes the overhead for all training of the National Guard and the Organized Reserves.

4. It insures to the Nation the ability to promptly mobilize finance, industry and manpower—the three essential elements of defense.

5. It utilizes the National Guard as a part of the first line of defense, thus making full use of all pre-existent military organization and training.

6. The Organized Reserves, provided as one component of the Army of the United States, serves as an immense reservoir in which, in the event of war, our manpower can be quickly organized and trained for its various tasks as a second line of defense. This is a very great advantage over our position in 1917.

7. The Officers' Reserve Corps, composed as it is of citizen-soldiers, forms an essential link between the civil and the purely military which will go far toward removing distrust, promoting understanding, imparting confidence, and assuring wide dissemination of the ideals of America and of the needs of National Defense among the youth of the country and all uninformed elements of our population.

"FONDLY do we hope—fervently do we pray—that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman'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 by another drawn by the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'

"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."—*From Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address.*

CHAPTER V.

Peace and Pacifism

THE pacifist would have the world believe that peace, like a ripe apple hanging low, can be plucked by any passerby who desires delectable fruit. But one of analytical mind who will exercise it mildly will soon convince himself otherwise.

Peace, like character, is the *effect* gained by right living. Peace *is* national character, sought always by nations who hold right above wrong, and is never lightly relinquished even when the Hun is knocking down the door. And then, as soon as the intruder is evicted, properly chastised, and the fray terminated, there is the desire, due to this national character, to immediately clean house, tidy up the ruins of war, and resume with the least possible delay those conditions of life which are commended by the Creator and loved by all right-thinking men and women.

Peace and war are opposites; when one enters, the other departs. Both are direct effects of adopted lines of conduct, productive of definite and sure but opposite results. Honorable dealings; adherence to high ideals of freedom, liberty, justice, and truth; Christianity, and respect for the rights of others will produce and maintain peace, just as aggrandizement, unfairness in commerce, lack of principle, greed, untruth, falsity, and disrespect for the progress and teachings of a Christian civilization will as surely produce the effect called war.

In peace as in war, the essential factor, basically unchanged since the beginning of time, is man. The emotion, the sentiment, the spirit of man is what determines the character of every nation, and the same qualities determine progress toward peace or war.

Civilization, employing a thin veneer, dresses man so that his savage and bestial instincts are indiscernible; but touch a sore spot—cut through the veneer—and like an enraged lion the primitive being emerges, lashed to a fury. Man's

innate passions remain unchanged. They are roused by the same causes that have always roused them, and they are soothed by the same anodynes.

Man always was, is now, and probably ever will be largely the creature of his environment. With his body clothed and his stomach filled, given a soft bed and lulled by sweet music, man is a docile brute. Plunge him into adversity, and immediately discontent, dissatisfaction, resentment, anger, even viciousness, rise in him, in degree dependent on his training and education; but even these are not long proof in average man against those innate forces with which Nature has endowed him. Many a Christian martyr has died on the cross; but for every one who has so died there have been dozens, scores, hundreds—aye, thousands—in the jeering, unbelieving throngs who were guilty of sharing in the atrocity. Martyrs and murderers, all were men in the image of the Creator, and each was actuated and governed by his own strongest instincts. In the few, brute instincts had yielded to the hope of Christianity; but in the many the course of action was dictated solely by primitive instincts. It does not make a pretty picture, but it is not a pretty subject, and no picture is good which does not portray the truth.

Of all the factors useful in bringing primitive man to curb or control his instincts, the most compelling are Christianity and fear. And fear, too, of physical violence legally visited upon his person. Just as brutality is a primitive instinct in man, so is fear. One is a counter for the other. Fear is therefore the resort of law in controlling its criminal classes, in whom sentiment has little hold.

Various forms and degrees of physical punishment for crime are of necessity employed, from short restraint of personal liberty to imprisonment for the entire period of natural life, and up to the maximum penalty that can be imposed, that of forfeiture of life itself. This last punishment is never adjudged except for the willful taking of human life or of that which is esteemed even more precious.

In civilization man rises to great heights, and as surely sinks to bottomless depths. Every community has its schools and churches, marks of civilization and of the good instincts

in man; and all but a few have their jails, their criminal courts, their houses of correction, and their segregated undesirable classes—segregated because these persons shun the haunts of real men, even as they themselves are shunned. In darkness do they live and find their solace. As the churches and schools and other evidence of right instincts are positive signs of the good that is in man, cheering our minds and our hearts and filling us with hope for the future, so the jails, courts, etc., are evidence of the world's recognition of the inherence of the primitive instincts and passions and the uncertainty of their yielding to any "gentling" process yet known to Christian teaching.

Man's primitive instincts being what they are, there will always be good men and bad men wherever men are congregated in numbers, as surely as there have always been both classes since the days of Cain and Abel.

Education and training serve to accentuate both the good and the evil in men—the good becoming better and the evil often degeneracy. Some of the greatest scoundrels the world has ever known have been lettered men and women. This fact negatives any hope that education alone can suffice to remove crime, much as it unquestionably lessens it. Sentiment and fear are far more potent agents, and teachings of Christianity often effect what all else combined cannot accomplish. Surgery is of increasing application in the cure of crime; but it is feared that the only surgery effective with the majority of hardened criminals would be little short of decapitation.

If the percentage of our population that is criminal is not alarming, what would it become were we to add the percentage figures covering the really undesirable citizens? Take these in the sense of persons filled with unfairness, dishonesty, untruthfulness, lying and deceitfulness—terms applicable to many rather than to a few. And these persons—these men and women, all have voice in the affairs of the Nation, even as you and I. In all nations they are the factors of unrest, provocative of disturbance, friction and lawlessness, if not legally guilty of crime.

The pacifist blindly demands a condition which can only result through difficult, sustained, and highly intelligent effort.

Unwilling to pay the price, he nevertheless demands the highest quality of goods. This is pure effrontery. In business, he would be shown the door, and in politics he should be conducted to a well marked exit from the national stage.

The pacifist starts wrong, and stubbornly or ignorantly stays wrong. We prefer to believe the latter. If he justified the definition given of him by Webster it would be one thing; but he states his wishes and desires as a postulate, and therein he is wrong. No more can the Nation secure the effect called peace without righteousness in the people than we can stay the floods of the lower Mississippi when all of its great tributaries pour into it the cumulative floods of those vast regions to the north which stretch from the Alleghenies to the Rockies. To effect this we must stay the rainfall or the melting of the winter snows, or find means to turn the tributary waters aside, to flow elsewhere. And to insure peace we must find means to better control the passions and inherent nature of man and to soften their manifestations. We *have* the means to accomplish this, in education and Christianity; but these are not being sufficiently or always intelligently employed. As stated above, education, sentiment, Christianity, and fear play the leading roles in shaping the lives of men and the destinies of nations. Education provides the essential "know how" to success; sentiment and religion inspire men and cause selection and elimination of methods and acts; fear controls abuse. Education is the motor; sentiment and Christianity the selective gear lever; and fear is the brake. With such equipment we should welcome the signal "full speed ahead!"

Experience teaches that even minor desirable changes in long established customs demand heroic effort to bring those changes about. The twelve-hour working day in the steel industries is a recent example of the tenacity of established practice, as its final relinquishment was a marked proof of the power dormant in public opinion. Gain *its* favorable expression, and the world is yours—but be sure you champion a worthy cause.

The English are noted for declining the most innocent proposals simply because "it isn't done;" and that reason, more often than otherwise, is the best that could possibly be given, for it denotes a respect for precedent which is the direct result of deep-seated regard for established law and institutions.

The peace-at-all-costs advocate is invariably of narrow mind. We prefer that simple statement of truth to any vilification of his motives. Besides being more dignified, it will be more certain to get home. In former days many a man, fond of over-imbibing and adamant to the accusation that he was wicked, was brought up standing when some close friend brutally told him that he was a fool; that no really good business man would willfully suffer himself to be incapacitated during business hours. So long as he thought people looked upon him as more or less of a devil he took a fiendish glee in his inebriety and his ability to shock sensitive natures; but with even that doubtful regard shattered, and himself classed merely as lacking in brains, there remained to his vanity no solace in drunkenness.

If peace-at-all-costs were ever a ruling motive for a nation, it would be a plain invitation to diplomacy the world over to take advantage. Like a sign of "Help yourself" it would upset competitive effort and would ruin business and commerce instanter, for all would rush to share in the spoils just as miners rush to newly discovered gold diggings of reputed richness. It has been well said that "no man is so innocently employed as the man who is busy at legitimately making money." For he is constantly faced with problems the solution of which develops and improves his brain and his will-power, and he is meanwhile assisting in providing employment for others who are in need of work. And employment—honest, lucrative toil—is the absolute essential to contentment among the masses of the people. Through it a man provides for himself and for those dependent upon him, develops independence and personal pride, and learns to regard the rights and opinions of others.

The following extracts from a speech delivered by the Rev. John W. Day, pastor of the Church of the Messiah, St. Louis, commend themselves to all Americans who have the good of the Nation at heart:

"Militarism is exercise of war for its own sake or for unworthy ends; pacifism is the exercise of peace in disregard of its worth."

"Two strong tendencies exist which are likely to be misunderstood; one is the revulsion against war, and the other is the wish to forget the four years of the Great War. That revulsion is natural; it arises from the memory of terrible things and the wish not to go through them again, and it is shared by people who fought as well as by the people who did not. No one hates war more than those who

know most about it. The wish to forget the past is shared also by all alike. What is dangerous in those tendencies is that thinking shall be confused and dreams cherished which not only cannot be realized, but will mislead, delude, and defeat efforts to establish peace. The revulsion against war will have no good effect unless it is something clearer than mere revulsion."

"Now is the time to state things as they are. War can never be abolished by objecting to it, by requesting the abolition, or by resolutions of any body or associates of bodies whatever. We might as well pass resolutions to abolish fire and flood and call on nations to join in doing away with them. War, like fire and floods, is not a cause, but an effect. Its likelihood can only be lessened when its causes are lessened. Adequate preparation against those causes is not itself a cause, but a prevention; not a provocation, but a restraint."

"The causes of war are far back in the dispositions and desires of human nature. It must be restrained there if your services and sacrifices are never again to be required."

"So, also, peace is not a cause, but an effect. It exists where it is produced. It does not exist in quiescence; it will not be produced merely by being declared. * * * It is the effect of righteousness and can never continue where righteousness is disregarded or violated."

"We want the man whom we can trust
To lead us where Thy purpose leads;
Who dares not lie, but dares be just—
Give us the dangerous man of deeds."

So it is clear that we can only have peace if we earn it by righteous living; and even then we may be denied it because of our interests being bound up with those of other nations, less righteous, who may decide on war. *Any belief that the conditions of peace, as against those called war, are a free choice regardless of all else and based merely on the wishes of the majority at any moment, is unwarranted and mistaken.*

Peace is a treasure, a sparkling jewel which comes to us only as a deserved reward. Take heed, then, what political issues we espouse, what economic courses we pursue, and that our Christian purposes be clear and well defined. Our faith being well founded; our dealings with the world and with each other highly honorable; our devotion to duty a sacred ideal; generous to the poor and needy; opposed to greed and selfishness, and filled with a love for truth and justice, our consciences will be clear and we shall be worthy of that peace we so desire. But should the enemy come upon us in the darkness of night, let us

know that our doors are securely bolted, that there is strength in our good right arm, that our brains are neither muddled nor weak, and that the will to maintain the right and to secure to posterity the full heritage which has been given through the blood shed by our sires is clear, determined, and purposeful, to the end that this Nation shall forever endure.

Emerson said that "the true test of its civilization is the kind of a man a country turns out." What the efficiency and righteousness of our breed has established let the breed maintain!

"FOUR SCORE and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

"Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place of those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

"But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate—we cannot consecrate—we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause here for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we highly resolve that these shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth."—*Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, delivered at the dedication of the Gettysburg Cemetery, Nov. 19, 1863.*

CHAPTER VI.

The Organized Reserves

UNDER the National Defense Act of 1920, which establishes a Plan for Defense, the land forces of the Nation are collectively termed "The Army of the United States." The successive Lines for Defense are as follows:

First Line—

a. The Regular Army.

b. The National Guard of all the States.

Second Line—

c. The Organized Reserves.

Inasmuch as the two components of the First Line aggregate only about three hundred thousand men, while in a modern war we would need to mobilize two millions immediately on declaration of war, it is apparent that the Second Line is our main dependence for defense. The First Line must hold the enemy at the sea coast or on the frontier and win time for the mobilizing and training of the Second Line, and means must be found and employed to shorten this period to a minimum. The weakness of the First Line demands this.

The Organized Reserves are trained volunteers. They are the volunteers of old, only they wisely prefer to do their volunteering in advance of any emergency, so that they can benefit by receiving training and thus measurably fit themselves for their jobs. A football or other athletic team that is not well trained has a sorry chance to win; and an army that is not trained has no chance whatever against an equally strong army that is trained.

Home-owned knowledge of hygiene and of simple remedies doesn't create illness, or induce surgical operations, but improves the general health and saves doctor bills; and a little common sense preparation against national dangers doesn't make our people "militaristic," or create war. As shown in the preceding chapter, war is the result of somebody's unrighteousness.

We trained and commissioned about 200,000 officers in the World War. Twelve thousand are in the Regular Army. Some thousands are in the National Guard of the forty-eight States. Some seventy thousand have enrolled and accepted commissions in the Organized Reserves. The remaining hundred thousand includes those who died or were killed or incapacitated, and men who are now in civil life, without military affiliation.

The officers for the Reserve are obtained by examining and recommissioning officers of the World War who apply; and by the examination and appointment of applicants from among the enlisted men of that war and of men from civil life who meet the requirements. A source for obtaining trained officers lies in the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, the name collectively given to the students of educational institutions who acquire military training during their courses, under Regular Army officers regularly detailed as instructors. Another source lies in the graduates of the courses of training prescribed for civilians who take the required courses in the Civilian Military Training Camps, of which there is one established for a month each summer in each of the nine corps areas into which the whole of the United States is divided.

While the organization of the Reserves is actual and real so far as completed, it is contemplated to enroll and assign to units of this force only the full complement of officers and a percentage of the more essential non-commissioned officers. To fill up the ranks seems unnecessary, for the officers and the non-commissioned officers require the most training and are therefore more difficult to secure on the outbreak of war. With officers ready assigned and more or less completely trained, these can be immediately ordered to a designated mobilization camp and can there receive, equip, and train the men enlisted or drafted to complete the full complement of their units.

The force called for on paper for both lines is six field armies, the majority of which will be of the organized reserves. All of the divisions, brigades, regiments, battalions, companies, etc.; staff organizations; supply and transport, etc., are provided for, including the Corps and Army troops and G. H. Q. Reserves. Officers are everywhere assigned to appropri-

ate units according to grade and to arm or branch of service. So there are infantry, cavalry, artillery, air service, chemical warfare service, signal, ordnance and quartermaster officers, adjutants, inspectors, judge advocates, etc., etc., down to the last unit. In addition there are a large number of officers holding what are called General and Branch assignments. The former will in event of war be employed directly under orders from the War Department on all kinds and classes of special and detached service, the need here being for a very large number of officers of various grades and qualifications; while the latter will be similarly employed directly under the orders of the chiefs of branches to which assigned. This provision for extra officers avoids any necessity of denuding the combat units of officers, and insures a surplus of trained officers to be drawn on in emergency, as to make up losses or to organize additional units.

In 1917 we were unable to immediately mobilize men to fill up the divisions, there being no officers available to receive, equip, and train them. It was necessary to first enroll, train, commission, and assign officers from raw material; and then the officers so made available were without war experience and of exceedingly limited training. If your own boy is going out to fight at his country's call, he is entitled to leaders who know their business and who can instruct him, and who can really command whether in camp, in transport, or in battle. With the old system in vogue before the recent war, this was impossible. Now, if the present laws can be fully carried out, the boy can be sure of proper instruction and training before he actually meets the enemy.

Another advantage is that during peace time officers can be tested and assigned according to fitness and qualification. In the hurry and confusion of assignment after war is declared, a jeweler might find himself in a heavy bridge train of an engineer unit, and an automobile salesman in the signal corps; a lawyer who has no knowledge of horses other than seeing these on a Sunday in the parks might find himself in the cavalry, while a farmer, accustomed to horses all his life, might be assigned to a balloon unit. Thus was fitness sacrificed and time lost. The wisdom of the present plan for avoiding such

misfits by the elimination of the haphazard methods which brought them about needs no argument.

The present Plan of Defense is so sensible and so eminently practical that it appeals to all who are familiar with the difficulties of mobilization, organization, and training at the outbreak of war.

A further reason why it is not contemplated to assign the complement of enlisted men to units in advance of an actual emergency is that it not only seems unnecessary as above stated, but the enrollment of two millions of men would seriously interfere with industry and agriculture, and would further require a very greatly increased overhead in additional personnel and expense for the Regular Army to enable it to handle the added details; and unless training could be imparted to the man, and maintained, there would be no real advantage in the preenrollment. Such training if given would vastly increase the annual appropriations necessary, running up military costs when it is the universal desire that these be kept as low as consistent with assured safety in defense. With trained officers available, and with Congress able to quickly authorize the draft, men can be rapidly enrolled, the physically unfit eliminated or assigned to light duties for which they are qualified, and all who are accepted for service rapidy trained. Such is the medium ground which appeals alike to officers, members of Congress, Administration leaders, and all other informed persons; and there can be no question of the soundness of the reasoning.

Any large body of selected men that is organized and directly affiliated with government is a strong factor for good government. Identification with any branch of government places it in sympathy with all of the government. For many reasons the Officers' Reserve Corps of the Organized Reserves (in main of the American Legion), physically fit, and that fact established by medical examination prior to recommission, and again sworn to uphold the Nation, *is the strongest single factor in this country for assurance of future good government.* Its members are many times more numerous than those of the other components of the Army, and they are all in position to exercise the rights of franchise, which many of the others cannot. Nation-wide, built up from proved and virile men in trade, com-

merce, business, and the professions, and the majority with real experience in war, it is the strongest, most democratic, the widest and greatest real "He-Man Club" in America or in the world today. In peace as in war, it is a tremendous power for good.

Think what they are and where they came from—all that they represent! When this Nation was forced into war against Germany and the Central European powers, the pick of the country volunteered and entered the training camps. These men were sound of body—proved so by thorough medical examinations—strong of heart, and what is perhaps most important of all, *sound in their ideas of the fundamental needs of this Nation.* They offered all and many paid it. Others are living who are broken mentally or physically from the hell gone through of bullet and bayonet, gas and shell, submarine and bomb, from physical exposure to the elements and physical and mental strains long sustained. For these the Nation has the tenderest regard, the utmost gratefulness, as it has for all who thus served; and it demands that the ultimate be done toward their restoration to health and for their physical comfort. It will watch the accomplishment of these its mandates with most critical and jealous eyes. And the Administration in power is perhaps more critical, more demanding even than the body politic; and in this lies assurance and mental comfort.

The large numbers incapacitated greatly reduced the approximate 200,000 of commissioned officers. From all those remaining some seventy thousand, after another severe physical examination to prove continued fitness, have offered themselves to their country, in response to the country's fretful call that it be not left wholly defenseless. Little did it offer—the bare honor of the old commission so gloriously held. Asking that those who enroll stand ready to serve should war ever be forced upon us, whether required at home, on the icy tundra of the North, under the scorching rays of the tropical sun or across the seas, it yet limits the schooling of these splendid men—the guarantors of the Nation—to a mere fifteen days per year to fit them for their arduous task. When we consider the demand, and the terms imposed—those of us who know from long experience just what those demands may mean—no wonder we

all but despair. Well indeed is it for America that these splendid civilian soldiers are strong of heart and light of spirit. They need all they possess of both. Given fifteen days' training per year only, and where would we be for doctors, carpenters, dentists, plumbers, lawyers, farmers, bakers, bankers? Why, that's easy, for America simply would not, could not, be America—our America! And yet for war, admittedly the most difficult art and science known to all mankind, in its demands running the whole gamut of business, scientific and professional knowledge, with much additional learning required that is purely military (tactical, strategical, command, supply, etc., etc.)—to acquire all this needful knowledge of the essentials of war but fifteen days of annual training is authorized!

But that is not all—the facts are worse still. The plans authorized by law are dependent—

1. Upon a sufficiency of Regular Army personnel to supervise and impart training. The numbers of that personnel were recently reduced to a figure which forbids, absolutely, fulfillment of the needs of training.

2. On the fact that all plans are contingent on annual appropriations which to date have been wholly insufficient, and highly problematical until near the annual training period, thus cutting short the time for planning the best use of the limited appropriations finally available.

The funds for training are so inadequate that in one corps area, having over 8,000 Reserve officers, about one in eleven could be sent to the summer training camp. A few attended absolutely at their own personal expense, so highly did they regard the privilege. There are not many who can afford this, nor should it be necessary.

Counting out of the fifteen-day training period the two Sundays included therein and allowing one day travel to camp, and the same for return to their homes, a total of four days are lost from the fifteen, reducing this to eleven days. Since the appropriations, as shown, permit only about one out of eleven Reserve officers to attend the annual camp, it is apparent that instead of fifteen days' annual training the officers will get but one period of eleven days of training in eleven years!

Does the country know all this? It probably does—at least somebody knows something of each of the many features of the law, and of the various workings thereunder, including the skimpiness of the appropriations. But there is no question but that the country *does not* realize the inexpediency and unwisdom of the short-sighted course that is being run.

National Defense is merely national insurance. Admittedly, the recent expenses of the government were excessive and had to be reduced. But no less admittedly, wisdom demands that they be reduced in accordance with sound business principles and practice.

Now when individuals or partnerships or corporations reduce expenses, they *don't,* as a part measure, cut their insurance below the net value of their inventories. Yet Congress, in reducing expenses, led (not followed) a noted movie comedian who has grown more or less famous through scenes which appear under the caption of "Safety Last." And that is the play we are nationally staging today, and which we have been staging from the day the demobilization of our World War forces was completed.

How does it strike you, neighbor? Are you in favor of continuing the act? Or will you join in a popular demand that the old actors either stage a better play or that they be discharged and more up-to-requirement-political-business-military-scientific artists replace them in a new scene?

If the country wants protection it can have it, whether it be a high tariff against manufactured imports, a quarantine against disease, a special branch of service to prevent the counterfeiting of its currency, or an effective insurance against invasion and attack. And if any of these be determined upon by the people as necessary to the country, then the people should assure themselves that their wishes are carried out.

Our immediate needs are those of authorization so far as concerns this question of National Defense; in other words, our present needs can be entirely met by legislative action. That action taken, the army from top to bottom, rank and file, can be trusted to quickly complete all necessary details and start efficiency rolling; and like the snow ball of our boyhood, rolled

by us with all of the neighbors' boys, that efficiency will grow and grow as the effort continues, until it reaches the point where the whole country, which by then will all be in on the rolling, will be completely reassured, and satisfied that the Nation is at last safe.

"IN SOME of our colleges and universities there is a good deal of false teaching. Professors in many instances spread discontent among the students. The things that are good and essential to patriotism are neglected, and existing ills in political and economic conditions are magnified. Those who would tear down are much more diligent than those who support our form of government."—*Extract from an address delivered before the American Bar Association at Minneapolis, Aug. 29, 1923, by Associate Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court Pierce Butler.*

CHAPTER VII.

The Dent in Our Armor

AS EDUCATION is the lifeblood of the Republic, so it is the armor. Education in citizenship—basic and fundamental education—is an absolute necessity if the Republic is to endure. Our ability to meet and solve the great questions which have been vital in our development as a free nation has rested squarely on the sound basic training of the entire body politic. Under the conditions of the past the "little red schoolhouse" sufficed; but it suffices no longer. Our schools are overcrowded, the instruction given is often inefficient, and there is no compelling demand that the needs of our educational system be satisfied.

The weakest point, and the most dangerous, in our education of today, lies in the loss to daily view of those high ideals and traditions which gave the Nation birth. The ill effects from this loss, already marked, will soon grow alarming unless effective measures be taken to stop it. But what is everyone's business is no one's business, and the existing dangerous conditions mentioned are no exception to the rule.

Our educational means lie in three great agencies—the teachers, the preachers, and the press, and in their offshoots. No one of these factors devotes itself with sufficiently sustained seriousness and energy to the subject of good Americanism. Yet nothing so needs to be taught—nothing is so vital to the life of the Republic. Let him who doubts take heed of the communistic (socialistic) effort everywhere around us. Our very agencies of education, above enumerated, are themselves vitiated. To bridge the gap and teach and build Americanism demands the creation and sustained effort of some other suitable agency which shall, by its form of organization, be itself protected from the inroads and encroachments of radicalism. Neither our political system nor our school system can be so protected; both are open and exposed.

A gap-bridging agency, supplementing our present educational system, is essential to education in the vital fundamentals of good citizenship. It should constantly hold in public view the superior rights of our citizenry. It should tell what America offers that other nations do not, and why it is possible for America to offer what she does to all. With better general understanding the false theories of radicalism would be steadily exposed to the merciless light of truth. We have no right to expect a crop of anything unless we prepare the ground and sow good seed, and this is as true of crops of good citizens as of crops of any agricultural or other product. But the seed now being most industriously sown is the seed of radicalism. It is high time for all good Americans to awake and to be up and doing.

What we need is the America of the Constitution. We don't want it "reformed." We do want a clear, broad road of understanding for growth and development. The bypaths and swamp-roads of illiteracy, infested with the sink-holes of radicalism, are unsuited for our sweeping progress. As stated in a prior chapter, the Constitution was the result of over two centuries of purely American experience under sixty-nine separate *forms* of government either in actual operation or prepared and considered for use, from the first charter granted to Sir Walter Raleigh in 1584 down to and including the various forms of constitution prepared following the Declaration of Independence. Our Constitution has withstood the storm and trial of domestic and foreign strife. Under it the Nation leaped to prosperity and fame. Its past sufficiency is the best possible guaranty of its present and future adequacy. Absolute liberty and freedom such as it insures is the greatest boon a government can offer or secure for a people, and it is folly to even think that better can result from any effort of man.

Preachers of sedition, of communism and socialism and all the other "isms," have no place on the national rostrum. Our freedom and purity of American thought and speech should be free and exempt from all taint of those radical ideas and expressions which are now so inimical to our whole welfare; which permeate and honeycomb much of Europe; which brought upon them and upon us the worst scourge of war the world has ever known; and which left much of the world in a mael-

strom of discontent, of destitution, of suffering, and of fear for the future.

The Americas (North and South) alone of the nations of the world have neither near nor remote cause for fear. Be alert, yes; but that is inbred in us. The conquest of a mighty wilderness developed in our breed those traits of caution, inbred with courage, which fit the race for any emergency if we remain true to our ideals. So long as we hold to the course set by our forbears the Ship of State will sail smoothly and grandly down the eons of time until, gloriously alive, purified and sanctified by adherence to all that has made us as a people great, we cast anchor in the safe harbor of Eternity.

Just how may we accomplish today's and tomorrow's needs in completing and rounding out the education of our children and of our brother Americans who are foreign-born and untaught of America?

We should organize and establish a Foundation, widely endowed by popular subscription and devoted to the single purpose of the preservation of American ideals, traditions, and free institutions through a systematic, sustained, and nation-wide teaching of constitutional Americanism. A peculiarly favorable opportunity offers now for the development of a great and continuing agency for good government—one that should and must meet with the approval of every patriotic American, just as the Red Cross meets the universal approval of every charitably inclined person and organization. This Foundation would be dignified, comprehensive, adequate for its purpose, and highly fitting. It would avoid all "entangling alliances."

It would create and employ new agencies, and would utilize to the utmost every existing agency, for impressing upon every mind—the high and the low, the rich and the poor without distinction—all that is traditionally ideal in free America. The agencies employed would in turn help to draw in and influence the activities of others. As the Foundation grew and expanded no desirable agency which could render assistance would be ignored. Unity of all patriotic effort would be its goal.

Ample care would be taken to insure perpetual freedom from radicalism within the management, every step being carefully

planned. It would employ as its principal agent the printed word, as the surest avenue of approach—an avenue that is never closed. By day and by night, alike in noise and in silence, in the counting-room and in the cloister, on the sea and in our homes the exalted dignity of the printed English tongue inspires and sways the members of the race. It would print in all other needed languages, and distribute among our people where those languages prevail knowledge of the things that have made America the one desirable refuge for them, free from the discord, oppression, tyranny, or the denial of opportunity which drove them from their home shores. It would seek and deserve the complete confidence of all parties, all religions, all races within America, by an unswerving devotion to right and justice in the execution of its great and single purpose. Its effort would be sustained, continuous, ever planting the truths of America. It would steadily supplement and widen its activities for the accomplishment of its purpose through all practicable and available avenues as these offered.

This plan for a Foundation is simple. It is practical. Its very singleness of purpose and its wide scope and appeal will permit and command a unity of all patriotic effort such as no organization has ever enjoyed. Every agency now existent can be classed either as commercial or political; this means that each has opposition, and opposition limits usefulness and forbids the fullest success. The proposed Foundation, being single of purpose, would have a distinct advantage over any present patriotic agency and could work with all. It would thus meet the demands for which it is proposed; and those demands are most exacting.

To become successful, any nation-wide plan for better Americans must be free from religious, partisan, racial, or other issue than the single purpose for which organized. It must be in entire accord with the Constitution, for constitutional Americanism is the only 100 per cent Americanism. It must stand single and clear in its purpose to guard and preserve our ideals, traditions, and free institutions, and to make better Americans. It must be placed and securely held on the high plane of patriotism and loyalty. No other plan can command universal support.

The proposed plan meets these requirements. It is non-religious, non-partisan, non-racial, and non-commercial. It provides for real building. It serves both personal and community interests. It enters alike the home, the factory, and the farm. It is a plan employing positive methods as distinguished from plans designed merely to oppose manifest disloyalty or offensive or illegal radicalism. Such negative methods are strategically unsound, yet are not infrequently followed. Open manifestations such as those named must be dealt with by the legally constituted forces of law and order.

The plan forever plants the truth of America; and that truth, judged by all our past, is so convincing that it may in itself, if thoroughly diffused, be trusted to baffle, disarm, and confound the enemies of good government. Nothing is more potent than truth. Despotisms have thrived only through its suppression.

Effort under the plan is sustained and continuous. Just as need for this effort will grow with the population and with the increasing complexity of life, so the plan itself, once in operation and well rooted, will grow and ramify by a multitude of available and ever-increasing avenues, like ivy climbing a wall. It is a forward-looking plan—a plan which, a century hence, should be as perfectly suited for its purpose as it is today.

The numerous patriotic, fraternal, and other organizations which are not only desirous for good government and a sound National Defense, but are further desirous that radicalism and disloyalty be exposed, would welcome the work of this Foundation. Labor, management, capital, and all the forces and agencies of government would find it a real friend.

The time is ripe. The need is urgent. Safer political conditions will go hand-in-hand with better understanding. A wide appeal should be made for "dollar endowments" from every patriotic man, woman, and child. Many considerable endowments, now made to less important and sometimes to seemingly trivial ends, should be won by this great American movement, for there are many millions of good Americans to whom "Country" is sacred and dear.

But there must be no confusion of purpose—no hesitation as to methods—no departure from the singleness of purpose to which the plan proposes adherence and conversion. The very

lack of understanding of the fundamentals in our national life is the sole cause for this or any similar plan. Strictly adhered to, intelligently and vigorously executed and consistently maintained, it will build so sound an appreciation of the value of American ideals and traditions that radicalism will be denied foothold.

CHAPTER VIII.

Weaves in the Fabric

AS THE whole is but the sum of all its parts, so a nation is but the composite of its manhood and womanhood. The qualities of its people determine the character and kind of a nation; so it is apparent that any real and permanent improvement in the nation is contingent upon the prior improvement of large numbers of the individual members of the race.

Just as the physical man depends upon training and exercise for healthy bodily growth and development, so does the mind depend upon teaching and example for its mental and moral growth. The proper evaluation of the attributes of mind, the adoption and cultivation of those which fit us as desirable members of society, and the shunning of others which can only drag down, lower, or destroy, constitute a duty to ourselves and to the race which in value and importance stands second to none.

Phrenology tells us that the bump of ambition is located at the very tip-top of the human anatomy—symbolic of the upward direction of its urge. This ambition—this desire for advancement—marks a progressive people. It is inseparable from our race; and nowhere is opportunity for its highest satisfaction and realization so abundant as in our United States.

Here class exists only as we make it. There are no sharply drawn lines—"Verboten" is nowhere written. We may, if we choose, dally along in life, and a complaisant world will still offer a smile and a pleasant word. But if we dally long we must mark flight after flight of industrious, determined, and more or less brilliant youngsters as they pass us, going upward on the trail to heights which we have never scaled; going ever upward, though now and then a broken one, come to grief, brings us company, but little cheer. The ones we remember and talk or think about in the long evenings or in the silent places are those who proved to be the very meteors of genius in their ambitious flight to recognized success and attainment.

Ambition is the white man's greatest national asset, as envy is his most virulent personal liability. Because of ambition all accomplishment and progress has directly resulted. In art, science, and business; in the professions; in our daily lives, at every turn of the road we are served by the fruits of ambition. In America ambition is the universal jewel, none the less precious because of its very prevalence; and in this it stands unique. It is free alike to rich and poor—it is without money and without price. Nor are color lines drawn on its availability. In no other land does it beckon and call with such prodigality.

It turns the mighty wheels of our government, for we have no hereditary administrators—no ruling class nor rulers. It ever urges science to greater endeavor; eases the daily burdens of all by the vast utilities it controls; unites all countries and bars isolation in the lightning's flash; digs treasures and comforts from far below the surface of the earth; distances the birds and the fishes in their own elements; carries the blessings of music and literature and art into even the lowliest homes; visualizes to all the beauties of nature and man the whole world over; and is the source from which the Christian religion gained the means for its world-wide dissemination in all languages.

But for ambition the world would be a most dreary old place. Civilization would be unknown. Forest and waste and wilderness would alternately prevail. Rude huts would be our homes; rough skins and rougher weaves our clothing; our only food that which Nature provides for the beasts and the fowls and the fishes. Disease, war, famine would stalk abroad uncontrolled, with no charity to stay or to ameliorate their effects.

As we go about our daily tasks little do we realize this tremendous impetus within us or its importance. Its fire carries to spiritual as well as to material results and therein wins its finest achievements. The spirit of service exemplifies this. That ambition is highest and noblest which, denying self, accomplishes the greatest good to the greatest number of our fellowmen. Material ambition enables the whole world to profit and to be a better world; but spiritual ambition achieves the dizzy heights of everlasting fame.

The severe and growing competition of the age tends to dull man's finer senses and traits: so it is well that ambition has

served to provide us with the silent, uninvited companionship of books and art; with the churches; with the calls of charity and of outraged virtue, to hold us true to our finer instincts.

The qualities which most closely endear men to one another are the spiritual qualities; and it should be the ambition of every man, woman, and child to cultivate these, both for the betterment of the world and for self-betterment.

The names which are blazoned the brightest on the pages of our history are the names of those who stood supreme for the simple and homely virtues. Lincoln's greatest ambition—that of the preservation of the Union, with all that this meant to a troubled people—was granted him. By it he died a martyr to his faith in his fellow-countrymen, and by the same token is his name and fame imperishable. Such an example renews our faith in man, and reminds us that God is still in heaven, the Supreme Ruler of the Universe. Of all the qualities that history records of this great, patriotic American—our sixteenth President—his deep humility before man and God and his fine sense of justice outshine all others. He served his God; and in serving Him, better served his race and nation.

Mr. Harding's rare qualities of statesmanship, marked as these were by the wonderful strides taken by the Nation under his wise and able leadership, are most highly respected, and they will be ever more highly prized with the passage of time as the country realizes more and more the great measure of their accomplishment. But the qualities which so endeared the late President to all were his great heart and his unvarying kindness to and consideration of all with whom he came in contact, whether personally or politically.

Haughtiness and arrogance hold others aloof, and isolate us from all that is best in life. Humility and kindness, on the other hand, enshroud us in good will, illumine our paths to success and delight our souls with the charms and personalities of our fellow men and women.

Malice causes us to be shunned as unfit and dangerous associates, or to have our hopes and ambitions incontinently crushed by a just and outraged world. Greed evokes the disgust, and vanity the contempt, of others. Mercy and justice are essential to fit men for position and place. Hope maintains our courage

in all the trials of life, and comforts all accordingly; while faith alone fits us for that hereafter from whose bourne no traveler ever returns.

In charity lies our great opportunity to emulate Christ by aiding the weak, the poor and the needy; thrice blessed is he who is filled with charity.

Finally, it is right to work for reward, but the greatest reward for any man lies in his inner consciousness of duty well performed. One cannot be bought, intrigued, or connived into the granting of *self*-respect; and therein lies its superiority over the highest respect in which one may be held by others.

CHAPTER IX.

Building a Nation

SELECT a foundation on the rock of Morality. Locate thereon as corner-stones the imperishable ideals of Truth, Justice, Liberty and Freedom. Erect a framework of Loyalty. Buttress with Christian Teachings and brace with Christian Example. Sheathe with the Spirit of Martyrs; roof with Manhood, tested in the crucible of Adversity; line with Faith; adorn with Hope; furnish with Charity; tint with the soft hues of Brotherly Love and Affection; and terrace with Humility.

You will then have builded "after the manner of our forefathers"; and by that token you will know that your structure is fitted to endure.

APPENDIX

PRESTIGE

(From the Infantry Journal, February, 1923)

IN going over an old file of the *Infantry Journal* we came across an article on the subject of prestige written by Col. Frank D. Ely (then Captain) and published eleven years ago. There are so many thoughts in it that apply to our service conditions today that we are republishing it with the hope that it will fall on fertile ground and be of as much interest to our readers as it has been to us.

PRESTIGE.—*Authority or importance based on past achievements, or gained from the appearance of power or ability; the moral influence of reputation or of former character or success; ascendancy based on recognition of power.—Standard Dictionary.*

THERE is deep satisfaction in the knowledge of a glorious past. Pride of race and love of country are essential to a spirited people. Equally by layman and soldier they are held as sacred to our national honor. But the soldier feels that the glory of our arms is peculiarly his heritage.

Judged on past achievements the Infantry is first in her immense wealth of accomplishment, valor, and power. Her heroic dead heaped on memorable battlefields bear proof of her determination and her ability to do or die. No other arm counts such signal successes, nor such terrific losses; no other arm has so widely and so generously contributed to history. Ever the strength of armies, the glories of war are hers. Through the manifestation of her rugged power, Waterloo and Gettysburg leaped from obscurity to enduring fame. Other tributes to her power are Vicksburg, Shiloh, Franklin, Chickamauga, Chancellorsville, Antietam, and the Wilderness, all fought while this Nation trembled—while the Union all but fell. The power of Infantry has ever been the deciding factor in war, and the very names *Army* and *Infantry* have long held a common meaning.

Brilliant as has been her past, the prestige so dearly won is not easily held. The fruit of action, and never of inactivity, prestige can be maintained only at the cost of devoted effort and well-directed and sustained energies. We who inherit her past and who cherish her ideals; we who are responsible for her readiness and efficiency and the perpetuity of her power for peace; we, in whom the Nation places her trust of that power, are ever awed by our mighty task—

are ever conscious that the trust is sacred and the duties many, stern, and exacting. Not the least of these lies in guarding against service changes inimical to efficiency which are ever being advanced by the uninformed or the seekers of personal power or advancement. The best safety against this evil lies in the widest possible publicity, affording the people full information and through this a basis for sound understanding.

But ours is a splendid heritage; for responsibility has ever been a developer of men, and of honor in men. Just as it made Infantry prestige by the manner in which our predecessors bore the responsibilities thrust upon them, so in the present and future generations they will as surely maintain it. As we bear our responsibility so shall our worth be tested and the prestige of our Arm confirmed.

Confidence is essential to success, and pessimism never inspires it. War has no place for "the man who knows it can't be done." Optimism is ever the key to greatness, but eternal vigilance is the price.

Prestige, like character, is a living fact. Prestige is character. And like character, prestige establishes the truth of its existence simply, quietly, irresistibly. It must live in the individual before it can exist in the organization. Nothing begets it more than honest pride in a hard-won past. The prestige of the West Point cadets as a military student body lies peculiarly in individual excellence and in pride of past honors, with jealousy for those of the present and future. Discipline is highly developed, that continuity of training which is so essential to its development being absolutely unbroken. This lesson is significant of service needs, frequent changes being destructive of much good derived from training. There is a form of discipline that enables men to perform efficiently on the defensive or from behind parapets, where both the liability to confusion and the personal danger are minimized; but that higher discipline which enables men to force the fight home, seek the bayonet's contact, and if need be die, is not easily acquired. It can only result from long, severe, and continued training. Such discipline is peculiarly Infantry discipline in that no other even measurably fits the Arm for its part in war. Upon Infantry falls the shock of battle; by it is both borne and inflicted more than four-fifths of the losses. To the existence of prestige discipline is as essential as it is difficult to instill. Once acquired, guard it as a precious treasure—lovingly, as a child; tenderly, as a wife; reverently, as a mother.

Infantry prestige will reach its flood only when every officer of our Arm appreciates a personal duty in maintaining it. Every man must realize the prohibitive nature of the existing conditions against training Infantry, and both the need and the propriety of dignified attack on these conditions on all proper occasions, with a view to early correction or elimination. There must be manifest pride in her accomplishments—and history affords no end of reasons for such pride; and there must be appreciation of the unending care and patience required in future development and training. We must not expect a few workers to accept and satisfactorily discharge every

obligation developing upon the Arm or made possible to it; nor is it the part of wisdom to permit a few to shoulder the burdens of the many—to barter the thought of many minds for that of a few when all are trained in the same school.

Every Infantryman knows the necessity of constant personal endeavor for increased efficiency, both in our Arm and in the service. And he whose lines continually fall in pleasant places while his voice for the Infantry remains unheard is regarded askance. There is no need for blatant oratory, but there is great need of frequent iteration of the simple truths, that the real and pressing needs of the Infantry and of the service may the sooner become generally known and receive recognition.

The duty of every man is plain. Let him paraphrase Lord Nelson: The Infantry expects every man to do his duty.

THE MESSAGE OF NATIONAL DEFENSE*

WHAT Chambers of Commerce, Rotary Clubs, and similar organizations are to municipalities for good government and local development, the American Legion and the Organized Reserves are to this Nation on the question of the National Defense.

Good goods cost money, or effort, and generally both. The assurance of those splendid prize packages carried in the preamble to the Constitution—this Union; the maintenance of justice; our domestic peace; our general welfare; and the blessing of liberty to ourselves and to posterity—the assurance, I repeat, of all these rests directly on our provisions for an adequate National Defense.

Whatever his cut in expenses, no wise business man ever allows his insurance to lapse; but our national insurance so lapsed for reasons most inadequate. Unless public opinion be roused and so strongly voiced that it shall reverberate through the halls of Congress in no uncertain tone, the present deplorable exposure of this country to the machinations of foes within and the threat of foes without must and will continue, thus threatening our people, threatening our wealth, and menacing our very existence as a free Nation. On the creation of this favorable public opinion the National Defense rests.

Who can put this great message across? Accomplishment and proved fitness instantly suggest two fit spokesmen: 1st, the American Legion, composed of the very flower of young American manhood; and 2d, the Organized Reserve Corps. Composed as both of these great organizations are of representative, patriotic men who went, who saw, and who conquered both the enemy and the innumerable hardships of the soldier's life, they must now *demand* for themselves and for posterity that the like of the conditions of 1917-1918 in this country shall not occur again. And there are none who may question the motive of that demand.

Concretely, just what is the demand? It is that there be provided by Congress an efficient National Defense.

What is now lacking to insure an efficient National Defense?

In the main, two features:

1. Funds.

2. Favorable public opinion, recognizing the need of defense as imperative.

What are the provisions today for National Defense?

Our Navy defends the sea, while our land defense devolves upon the Army of the United States, composed of three elements:

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*A talk by Colonel Ely before Advertising Men's Post No. 38, American Legion, at Chicago, November 27, 1922.

The Regular Army, generally for garrisons, in peace time and overseas; to furnish Army overhead and personnel for the training of the other component elements;

The National Guard, available in minor emergencies in the States and within the United States, and in event of war or major emergencies available for service without restrictions;

The Organized Reserves, providing a trained, organized, and balanced force which may be readily expanded and developed into an adequate war component of the Army of the United States to meet any major emergency requiring the use of troops in excess of those of the two other elements just named.

Do these provisions for a National Defense suffice? *Yes and no.*

The Regular Army has been reduced to about 12,000 officers and 125,000 enlisted strength. The actual strength of the National Guard today is, in round numbers, 163,000. The combined strength of these two components of the Army, approximately 300,000, is only a nucleus for an army suited to our needs in modern war.

As a consequence, the real dependence of the Nation for defense lies in the development of the Organized Reserves. And this development requires time, funds, and favorable public opinion.

Now the prestige essential for a successful development of the Organized Reserves, including the securing from Congress of the essential funds, demands that the movement receive the active support of all former members of the Army. The youth approaching maturity is strongly influenced by what you do in the premises. If you who saw—you who participated in the World War—if you who *know* of your own knowledge the necessity for and the requirements of prompt mobilization of the Nation's defenders on the call to arms look askance at this movement or stand aloof therefrom, the impression—nay, the conviction will be carried that the necessity for National Defense does not exist; whereas we all know that it is a very imperative need.

But there is another and a personal reason why you should join the Organized Reserves, *now!*

The regulations provide for mobilization by organizations rather than by individuals. This means that those who enroll and serve in peace will be assured priority of service when the call to war comes. This is but a fair regulation, as we all must admit; but how will it affect you if you fail to join now? You are red-blooded, you are in your early manhood, you are patriotic and filled with the desire to serve, and your family and friends expect it of you. The urge of your natural impulse will at the first threat of national peril send you to seek service with the colors, only to find that your neighbor who thought enough of National Defense to give it recognition in peace time by enrolling in the Reserves is before you. Of course, if the existing reserves of officers should prove inadequate for the emergency, your chance would come; but in any event you would get away a bad second or worse against conditioned men off to a

flying start. And remember, too, we have some 80,000 officers already enrolled in the O. R. Corps, with the number steadily augmenting.

So for every reason which carries appeal to you ex-service men, your decision should be instant, and your resolve that you will join the Organized Reserves *today!* Your country needs you now, just as truly as it needed your services in the recent war. Forget your troubles in the A. E. F., if you had any, and remember that war is no bed of roses, but rather worse than what old Tecumseh Sherman called it. Join the Reserves and sell the idea of National Defense to your neighbors and to your kin. Bring up your boys and your girls in a spirit of patriotism and *live* patriotism as the good Christian lives his religion. You know how strong is childish reverence for what Dad says; and it is even greater for what Dad does when the trumpets shrill and the drums roll. You want to hold that reverence; so don't block your way by procrastinating, but walk right up and enroll, now!

THE ARMY IN PEACE

By Hon. John W. Weeks,
Secretary of War*

IN a recent issue of a well-known magazine I read with deep interest an engaging article on the Netherlands, written by one of her eminent sons, who is also our fellow citizen, Mr. Edward Bok. With characteristic energy Mr. Bok pictured the ignorance of the average American concerning that enterprising little country, which he proved to be, however, not tiny at all, but indeed a great empire. I confess that I was very much instructed by his picture. One must admire the strategy employed to emphasize his very earnest and praiseworthy purpose. I hope that I might, therefore, be forgiven for attempting to employ Mr. Bok's method while avoiding any pretense of borrowing his inimitable style to emphasize an equally earnest and, I trust, admirable purpose of my own.

Strange as it may seem, it is a fact that the average American knows very little about his own Government. He is too busy with his everyday affairs to give much attention to its activities. He knows that it is divided into three branches, the executive, the judicial, and the legislative. He knows the name of the President, the Vice-President, probably two or more of the Cabinet, the names of the Senators from his State, and the Congressman representing his district. Every two years he goes to the polls—that is, if nothing more important interferes—and votes. Beyond this point he takes little interest in his Government until perchance he discovers through the medium of his daily newspaper something in the Government to criticise.

During my labors and studies of the past year and a half it has often impressed me that the average American knows scarcely more of the problems and accomplishments of his own War Department than he does of the geography and history of the Netherlands. He knows that there is a Regular Army; that its officers are trained at West Point, that there is a militia, that in event of an emergency he and his fellow citizens will become a part of the military force of the Nation if their services are needed, and that in time of war an American Army will acquit itself with honor and credit. In times of peace, however, so little publicity is given to the activities of the Regular Army that it is very seldom, if ever, brought to the attention of Mr. Average Citizen, and if he gives any thought to it at all he is apt to think of the Army as an organization housed in very comfortable barracks, which drills a little, parades on national holidays, stands guard at forts along our coast for which we may never have any use,

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has a number of vague and probably unimportant duties to perform, and costs a great deal of money which could well be devoted to other purposes. I have accordingly felt it to be one of my duties to bring to the attention of our citizens the varied and important activities of the Army. My efforts in that direction quite frequently draw the response. "Well, I didn't know that." This always encourages me in my efforts, since we appreciate that true self-government can come only through knowledge. It is my present purpose to endeavor to interest you, as I have been interested, in this instructional problem, with the hope that you might yourselves gain a deeper understanding of our difficulties and be better able to continue and possibly increase the loyal support which the members of the Boston Chamber of Commerce have always given to constructive programs of the Government.

You may not be aware that by the act of June, 1920, a definite military policy was adopted, based on the lessons of the World War, and that this program is the first permanent military policy the United States has ever had. The War Department is devoting itself very enthusiastically to the execution of the terms of this project, and the Secretary of War is charged with the responsibility for its proper administration. Under the requirements of law he has, however, an additional duty to urge upon our people a continued attention to their need for defensive preparation. In attempting to defend the activities of the department in this respect, I explain that what we advocate is really a most conservative policy of insurance against war and internal disturbance. When called upon, as I frequently am, to defend myself against the charge of militarism, I reply that I have no greater fondness for war than I have for fire, theft, murder, disease, and bankruptcy; yet I continue to urge the degree of insurance against the one that is recognized by most business men as sane policy of insurance against the others. It then is pointed out that the insurance offered is of the participating type. The investment in national defense has always brought full returns to the country in the physical and sanitary training of young citizens and in the constructive accomplishments of the War Department and its personnel. The question is sometimes asked, "Why do Americans need this physical and sanitary training?" I reply, of course, that our experiences with the drafted men during the late war disclosed the alarming truth that approximately 50 per cent of our young men have physical defects, many of which would eventually prove disabling and most of which could easily be corrected by physical training and instruction, which is usually followed by the comment, "Well, I didn't know that."

This, I believe, is one of the most interesting aspects of military training. We are living in an age when most serious-minded men are studying the problems of race betterment. All about us are springing up organizations such as the "better babies" movement, the "Life Extension Institute," and other activities whose purpose is the enrichment of our national life through physical improvement. What will be the influence upon our future of our physical evolution? Every American should ask this question, and there is no better source

of pertinent information than in the writings of the Surgeon General of the Army on "Military Anthropology." It is proven therein that the majority of our World War recruits were awkward, narrow-chested, under weight, and generally in poor physical condition. After a few months of training they were developed into broad-chested, two-fisted specimens of American manhood. These citizens received dividends from our defense investment in the form of definite and material gains in weight and in chest measurements. They were enrolled in the greatest "Life Extension Institute" in the world. The War Department was given an opportunity of surveying the health of the nation. Many basic diseases and disabilities—such as weak arches, weak backs, malaria, social diseases, incipient tuberculosis, and countless other infections—were discovered in time and eradicated. Camps were made models of neatness, and personal hygiene and sanitation were taught as primary studies. Inoculations against typhoid and similar plagues resulted in the establishment of new minimum records for prevalence. It can not be questioned that the occurrence of these diseases throughout our country has been considerably lessened as a result of the training and medical administration of young men during the war. "Is not this, Mr. Average American, a satisfactory dividend from military training?" "Oh, certainly," you reply, "but I didn't realize that all this was true."

Mothers and fathers frequently protest against exposing their boys to the "dangerous" influences of military camps. They fear that the boys might become dissipated. We reply to these parents that the records of the Surgeon General show that there is a prevalence of social disease among the young men of our country, straight from their own homes, that constitutes a shocking menace to our national existence. The influence of the military camp is a continual education against the dangers of intemperate life. While the soldier is in camp, he is protected in every possible way from these demoralizing diseases —by education, by disciplinary measures, and by prompt treatment of those who can not resist nor escape. The American Army in France was accordingly able to establish such a low record of disease that our allies were astonished. We have continued to progress in handling this grave problem and I believe that one of the greatest benefits which can be conferred upon national life through military training will be the effectual control of this menacing evil. The first step is to instruct those who "didn't know that."

The statements that I have just made are sometimes questioned by individuals who remember the disease rates which prevailed in our armies in former wars. The reply is that we have been progressing. During the Civil War smallpox claimed over 7,000 soldier victims; during the Spanish-American War and the Philippine insurrection there were 258 deaths from this disease; in the World War we lost 14 soldiers with smallpox, although there were 4,000,000 of them in service. In the Civil War over 15,000 men died from malaria, while during the World War we lost but 25. In the Spanish-American War 20,000 soldiers, or 12 per cent of the total, suffered from typhoid

fever; during the World War there were 2,000 cases, or about one-twentieth of 1 per cent. Had the death rates for typhoid in the World War been the same as in 1898, we would have lost 60,000 soldiers from this alone—more than we actually lost from all diseases.

It is difficult for the average American to appreciate that the Surgeon General of the Army is not merely the head of a small body of "military" medical men. He truly represents the entire medical profession in the military field, just as the Chief of Engineers represents the engineering profession and as the Army itself represents the country. At the same time, the medical profession itself gives generous recognition to the wonderful pioneering work of Army surgeons. Our Medical Department has established certain basic principles that influence the prevention of disease throughout the world. Many of their achievements have resulted in the saving of innumerable lives and have actually made possible the free commercial intercourse between the countries on this continent. The countries to the south of us were once ravaged by yellow fever and malignant malaria. The French enterprise on the Isthmus of Panama was completely blocked by the fact that 75 per cent of the employees from France lost their lives from disease within a few months after landing on the Isthmus. In 1901 a group of medical officers, headed by Maj. Walter Reed, determined definitely that yellow fever was transmitted by the mosquito. Within a very few months after this discovery Habana was cleared of the disease that had ravaged it for 150 years. Our greatest achievement in Panama was the conversion of this pestiferous district into a healthy region. Since 1906 one can live in Panama with equal assurance of protection against disease as if living, for example, in Boston. This was the work of the Army. When we took over the administration of Porto Rico the entire population was affected by "tropical anemia." The Army doctors demonstrated that this disease was a hookworm infection, and the measures taken accordingly have redeemed these people from a plague that would forever have hindered their development. There are many equally striking illustrations of the work of the American Army in improving the health of this country, our dependencies, and, indeed, of the entire world.

"That is all extremely interesting," reply my questioners, "but how about the other 'constructive' accomplishments of the War Department? We thought that the purpose of the War Department was to wage war." This is an almost ineradicable tendency—to believe that the War Department is hoping for war and uninterested in the pursuits of peace.

"Do you realize," I respond, "that until the middle of the past century the Army was the only public organization fully able to encourage and assist our citizens in their development of this great country?"

"Do you know that the great Lewis and Clarke expedition that opened up the Northwest was conducted by the Army?"

The Army conducted nearly all preliminary explorations in the early days of the country. It constructed the early roads. It built bridges

and canals. It alone was able to conduct the early surveys and make the maps which are so essential in the opening up of a new region. Army engineers initiated most of the accurate methods which are now employed in the geodetic, topographic, and hydrographic surveys of our possessions. The Army was virtually the pioneer of the pioneers. As our citizens moved west over the prairies and through the forests they traveled routes which were surveyed by Army engineers, constructed by the Army, and protected by military posts. They settled on locations which had been surveyed by the Army, and their titles were established and valid only because of the surveys. In developing the land the settlers were protected against Indians by troops of the Army. Finally, when the time came to link these outposts to our eastern civilization, it was the Army that located and constructed the railroads. Only after the railroads had developed engineers of their own and the country had become safer for travel, did the Army relinquish its tasks and turn elsewhere for its missions. The troops of the line remained on the frontiers. The engineers of the Army began then to develop the great waterways, improving our rivers and harbors, to supervise public parks, and to construct and administer our public buildings.

Up to 1855 there was scarcely a railroad in this country that was not projected, built, and operated in large part by the Army. Army engineers located, constructed, and managed such well-known roads as the Baltimore & Ohio; the Northern Central; the Erie; the Boston & Providence; the New York, New Haven & Hartford; and the Boston & Albany. Practically all of the transcontinental railroads were projected by the Army. An Army officer built the best locomotive of his time, after his own design. So widespread was his fame that when the Czar of Russia desired to build a railroad from St. Petersburg to Moscow he chose the American officer for the task. The officer, Lieut. G. W. Whistler, died before completing the work, but he passed it to another Army officer to finish. Americans are proud of their railroads. They owe their early development to the Army.

If the listener is interested, he usually asks, "What else do we owe to the Army in early development?"

So I continue. The Army built the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal and the Erie Canal. The most effective influence in opening up the Middle West was the old Cumberland Pike, running from Cumberland, Md., to St. Louis, Mo. This was built by the Army. Practically every boundary of the United States, and most of the State boundaries, were surveyed and marked by the Army. The famous Lake Survey was made by the Army. Because of engineering difficulties involved in its construction, the old lighthouse erected on Minots Ledge in Boston Bay was one of the most prominent sea-rock lighthouses in the world. This, like most of our lighthouses, was erected by the Army. The old channel of Boston Harbor had a depth of only 18 feet. The Army engineers have increased the depth of this important water-

way to 35 feet and widened it from 100 feet to 1,200 feet, and similar work has been carried on by them in all harbors and navigable streams of the United States.

When the American citizen visits our National Capital the first sight to greet his eye is the stately Washington Monument, completed under great difficulties by the Army. He next turns to the Capitol, of which the wings and dome were built by Army engineers. The Army likewise built the old Post Office Building, the new Municipal Building, the Government Printing Office, the War College, the Agriculture Building, and the beautiful Library of Congress. Army engineers supervised construction of the new Lincoln Memorial and practically all of the park system in the District of Columbia. They built the Washington Aqueduct, and are even developing the playgrounds in our Capital City.

I now will discuss the present work of the Army engineers, developing and maintaining our great waterways, including the Panama Canal, which the Army largely built. You gentlemen are familiar with this work and I will not bother you with its details. In addition to the present work itself, there is the planning and projection of future activities. The Board of Rivers and Harbors has recently instituted extensive studies of the port development in our country concerning their present commercial facilities, the hinterlands which they can serve, their proper development, and factors which advance or retard their progress. Two of these studies for the ports of Boston, Mass., and Portland, Me., have already been published and are attracting enthusiastic attention among the railroads, shippers, and commercial interests generally. It is felt that this work is meeting a long-felt want.

Then there is another direction of interest. One of the most critical points in our transportation system is at the terminals of transfer between land and water carriers. Because of the antiquated facilities the transfer costs are often greater than the cost of transport over hundreds of miles by rail or by ship. The Board of Rivers and Harbors is conducting a thorough investigation of terminal conditions and is giving very valuable advice to the local communities which can profit by improvement in this important respect.

A striking example of this is the project for the development of the port of New York, which presents a most difficult problem. While the Army engineers are not actually physically developing the project, it is being done under their supervision and with their cooperation. The Army engineers are rendering most valuable assistance in developing the ports of Houston, Tex., and Los Angeles, Calif., which are becoming great terminals. The Army is actually constructing the ship channels entering these ports, and is cooperating and advising with the local authorities regarding the construction of terminals, docks, etc. In short, the Army engineers are working with a zeal that is excelled by no other public organization to adapt their various projects to a coordinated scheme for the entire country—one that will fit properly into the industrial and transportation fabric of our national life.

It was not long after the railroads had bound our country into a unity that was further cemented by reconciliation, after the Civil War, when we were faced with the problem of colonization of acquired territories; the problem that is perhaps the severest test of the ideals of any nation. Alaska, Hawaii, Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines, Guam, and the Canal Zone—one by one these burdens were thrust upon us. We have done this successfully and the major part of the task has been the work of the Army. When our citizens began their mad rush into the Klondike, it was the Army that opened the harbors and built the roads and trails leading to gold. When the gold was discovered or lost, men remained in this new land, and they were protected from mob rule and lawlessness by the Army. The Army surveyed their lands and policed their frontiers. Their only link with civilization was the cable constructed and operated by the Signal Corps, which also operates 600 miles of telegraph overland. Army engineers projected the railroads which are beginning to open the country to intensive culture. Even today, a large part in the administration of this great territory is played by Army officers. Business to the extent of over $100,000,000 annually is transacted over the 57 cable and telegraph offices and 17 inland radio stations, all operated by the Signal Corps. Alaska knows the Army as a friend in need. And as it was in Alaska, so also in the other colonies or territories which we have acquired.

The Philippines, Hawaii, Cuba, Porto Rico, and Panama all have histories of achievement, history in which the progressive forces of civilization have struggled against reaction and decadence. That civilized forces are triumphant is due primarily to the intelligent administration and constructive talents of the American Army. Building up public utilities, eradicating terrible diseases, educating the children, attending even to the spiritual needs, creating the institutions of self-government and protecting these institutions from aggression—in all these has the Army left its seal upon our possessions and protectorates and proven itself once more the pioneer of the American pioneers.

Then this question is asked: "You say that the Army is responsible for our colonization—just what is their success?"

In the Philippines, where strife between tribes was almost continuous, we have built roads, and railroads, and schools, as well as churches, and have done more in 20 years to make the Filipinos a united people than was done before in centuries. Do you realize that we have taught practically all of the children to speak one language—the English language?

In Panama, our predecessors were unable to remain. Our work there is a conspicuous example of what can be accomplished, under the worst tropical conditions, in sanitation, municipal engineering, and construction. The American occupation has exerted and will continue to exert a powerful influence upon all of the near-by countries in Central and South America. These are stimulated to undertake much needed improvement for which the means are derived from the increased pros-

perity which the canal has brought. For the last four months the tolls collected by our own Government have exceeded a million dollars per month. Seventy-five lines of vessels serving the great trade areas of the world ply through the waterway. The equipment of the Panama Canal as a base for fueling, supply, and repair is complete. It is, incidentally, a military asset of the greatest importance. Its use increases our ability in defense at least 50 per cent, although its total cost is no more than the cost of 10 modern battleships, which would be doomed to obsolescence in 20 years.

Americans do not believe in conquest of territory. The average citizen feels, perhaps, that our pioneering days are over. We can not admit, however, that we have reached the end of our constructive abilities. There are other methods in which a civilization makes itself an influence for good. We have barely emerged from a war in which we fought for our convictions. It was our purpose to fight not only bravely and with determination, but also fairly and with mercy toward the weak and helpless. "American relief" has acquired as much significance as a slogan of American progress as once attached to the cry of "westward ho." The average citizen knows and loves Mr. Hoover for his part in American relief in Europe. Does the average citizen know that, except for the titular head of the organization and a few clerical assistants, the American relief in Europe was the Army and its individuals? Five colonels of the Regular Army acted as Mr. Hoover's principal assistants either in Paris or at the head of more important missions, such as those which were sent into Poland and Armenia. There was a military personnel of 320 officers and 464 enlisted men who constituted the missions and agencies which distributed American relief. In addition, there was a vast amount of work, such as providing convoys and courier service and unloading supplies, performed directly by the American Expeditionary Force itself. In other words, the American relief was merely one of the activities of the American Expeditionary Force. The Russian relief is similarly an organization of Army officers and enlisted men carrying on the work of American civilization as pioneers.

We are obviously on the eve of perhaps the greatest period of construction and progress that we have yet known. The War Department is already playing its accustomed role of constructive pioneering. I have mentioned the work of the military engineers. There is a very significant influence in standardization of manufacture exerted by the department in its planning for the mobilization of industries for war. Military experiments in design of tanks and artillery tractors were influential in stimulating the development of the new tractor industry. The pioneering activities of our Air Service are preparing the way for an aviation industry in stimulating manufacture and in projecting or advising on projects for airways and communication facilities for air traffic. In the near future aerial activity will play a great part in our national existence. The aerial development of the Army is not only for the purpose of war preparation but an extension of the service to commercial life. The department encourages the construction

and development of new and better airplanes and is furnishing every aid practical within appropriations to develop air lines which will be beneficial commercially. If this were not done, I venture to say that there would be years of delay in obtaining any commercial results worth mentioning. I have no doubt that within the next 10 years we will see many air routes established and doing a prosperous business; in fact, it would not be an extreme statement to make that the development will be comparable to that of the automobile.

The Army has likewise had a pioneering part in the development of the radio. Although the primary task of the Signal Corps is the modification of commercial apparatus to suit military purposes, its research and development experts are continually presenting to the scientific world solutions of vexing problems. Among these may be mentioned the loop, which superseded the cumbersome outside antennae, and which led the way to the radio compass, and General Squier's remarkable invention, which applies radio principles to commercial telephone systems and makes possible the utilization of existing telephone, telegraph, and even power lines for the sending of private messages and for broadcasting and reception. The Army has today 72 radio stations comprising its radio nets installed to cover the United States. Last month these handled official messages employing more than 230,000 words and accordingly saved the Government a considerable sum of money that would otherwise have been spent on these communications. Does the average citizen realize that the Signal Corps today operates approximately 400 telephone systems, half of which are owned by the Government, and that the Army is accordingly a telephone organization second only to the Bell telephone system, which is, of course, the largest telephone organization on the Western Continent? "Just what," he asks, "is the value to the country of these systems?"

To answer this I look back first to the construction of the transcontinental railroads and point out that the continual progress of the Army in development work was always followed by elaboration through civilian activities and that it was the elaboration of what the Army began that gave us what we call our civilization today. One of the greatest impetus to the expansion of our telegraph system was given by the Signal Corps of the Army just after the Civil War. As late as 1877 there were more than 3,000 miles of telegraph service throughout the South operated by the Signal Corps as an outcome of their service in the war. These wires provided the framework for building up the telegraph service in the South that exists today, just as the activities of the Army in early pioneer days resulted in settlements which later became great cities, such as Pittsburgh on the site of Fort Pitt and Chicago on the site of Fort Dearborn. So we can now look upon the activities of our Signal Corps with realization that they provide us with an enormous addition to our other available means of communication and with full expectation that in our coming development these means will prove of inestimable value.

The invention of the Chief Signal Officer of the Army in applying radio principles to commercial telephone and telegraph systems has greatly multiplied the capacity of existing telephone and telegraph lines and increased manifold our facilities for electrical communication. By utilizing the principle embodied in this invention, it is now possible to send simultaneously over the same line a number of telegraphic messages and at the same time carry on several telephone conversations. The system is now in actual practical use by the large commercial companies, and it is the present practice to send eight two-way telegraph messages and three two-way telephone channels, these being in addition to the messages transmitted by the usual practices. It might be remembered that this new system is just coming into use and its full possibilities have not as yet been worked out, but it is fairly certain that this method offers tremendous possibilities for increasing our facilities for communication. This method is particularly adapted for long-distance telephone transmission, and in all long-distance telephone communication this system is now used to a very large extent. The old-fashioned battery telephone method is quickly becoming obsolete, and the newer methods employing radio principles are rapidly taking its place.

It was also found that by the utilization of the same principles it is possible to transmit telephone and telegraph messages over power transmission lines, and these are being now utilized for broadcasting. As a result of experiments carried on in the Signal Corps a new method of broadcasting, which consists of transmitting speech or music over the lighting circuits, is now being introduced, and it is hoped that before very long it will be possible to receive broadcasted material, whatever its character, by connecting a small suitable receiving set to the light sockets in your homes.

It is interesting to appreciate that our Army has actually been a veritable "vanguard of American civilization" just as the Roman armies left behind many of the most imperishable monuments to that earlier Republic.

I proceed to other little known activities, such as those of the Chemical Warfare Service. Does the average citizen know that the deadly mustard gas, as well as several other war gases, is being employed experimentally with great hopes of its proving a valuable retardant in the treatment of tuberculosis?

"Why," the citizen exclaims, "I thought that war gases caused respiratory diseases."

I inform him that, on the contrary, it has been established that they tend to prevent such diseases. Among the employees of large war-gas factories influenza and similar diseases were practically unknown during the period of the plagues that swept our country at the close of the World War. Extensive arrangements are being made in the laboratories of the Chemical Warfare Service to conduct research into the fields of medical employment of war gases and by-products.

One of the greatest problems of modern sanitation is that of effective and safe fumigation. It is necessary to wage continuous war against the rats and other vermin which carry plagues. Only recently, in the fumigation of a ship in San Francisco, several men were killed and many injured by the fumes of hydrocyanic acid. The Chemical Warfare Service offered their cooperation and have already given promise of solving this problem. Tear gas was finally selected by them as the best possibility for use in fumigation. Near the end of October a test was made with a concentration of one-eighth the strength which would injure human life. Several officers spent the night in a room adjoining the kitchen which was selected for the test. The gas was projected into the kitchen in the evening, and the officers in the next room reported that they were not inconvenienced thereby. In the morning it was discovered that every mouse, fly, cockroach, and other insect was dead. The gas was then projected into a large warehouse, killing hundreds of pounds of rats, mice, bats, and other vermin. The experiment was repeated in fumigating a ship, and the results were beyond expectations. The Public Health Service are enthusiastic about this work and the possibilities seem limitless.

Tear gases have also been demonstrated as very effective in employment against barricaded criminals and in attempted jail deliveries and other riotous actions. The gas mask is becoming very valuable for use in mining activities. The Chemical Warfare Service has produced the only substance suitable for protection of miners against the deadly carbon-monoxide gas. In their development of gas masks and suitable materials therefor the scientists of the Chemical Warfare Service have made another valuable contribution to the industries in the form of a very active charcoal which is useful in manufacturing gasoline from natural gas and coal-tar products.

It is becoming recognized that any effective control of the boll weevil and similar pests must come from the adaptation of these poisonous compounds. The Air Service is cooperating in experiments by spraying the fields and orchards with the vapors. Experiments are being conducted by the Chemical Warfare Service in cooperation with the Navy Department in hopes of producing a nonfouling paint and thereby avoiding the results of barnacles which gather on ship bottoms. Gases are being used in experiments with the hope of destroying the teredo and limnoria, which bore into submerged timbers in our southern waters. Finally, in addition to all of these constructive activities, one must recognize that the work of the Chemical Warfare Service has led the way to the foundation of an American dye industry that should one day be one of our most valued assets.

Do you know that the Army started our steel industry, guided it through its early development, and, in cooperation with the Navy Department, stimulated it throughout its expansion to the present gigantic proportions? Our Interior Department was an outgrowth of the activities of the War Department; in fact, the latter once consisted of three parts which are now the War Department proper, the Navy De-

partment, and the Interior Department. The Bureau of Public Roads grew out of the work of the Corps of Engineers. The Signal Corps can be said to have played a major part in development of the telegraph industries. The development of our Life-Saving Service was possible largely through the cooperation of hundreds of miles of governmental telegraph lines, operated by the Signal Corps. The Lighthouse Service that plays such an important part in coastwise and terminal-ocean traffic, was built up by the Army and turned over to civil agencies only after its success was assured. In all of these ways the Army has proved that it can lead the way as a pioneer, not only through forests and over prairies but also through the fields of science and industry.

The dominating influences in building up "steel" have been the provision of markets, the increasing adaptation in employment, and the specifications for design. The Army was the original market for steel products—offered an ever greater field for the use of steel—and led the entire industry in specifications for design. High-grade steel, as we know it today, dates from the Civil War, when the Army called for superior quality in gun metal. In 1880 the requirements for high-carbon steel in making guns were fully 50 per cent more severe than were the general industrial specifications. The Ordnance Department introduced alloy steels in the manufacture of Army material, and prescribed the use of nickel steel at a time when there were very few commercial uses for nickel steel in the entire country and when only two or three commercial concerns were capable of its manufacture. In 1875 the board of investigation at the Watertown Arsenal established a program of investigation and built an emery-testing machine that was the largest in the world—this machine is still in daily use, and was only recently superseded in its rank as the largest in the world. The work of Watertown Arsenal was truly pioneer work in this country, and it has a tremendous influence in stimulating similar investigations on the part of technical schools and colleges. Until the creation of the Bureau of Standards, the arsenal was recognized leader in metallurgical study and it is even today doing very original work which must have a noteworthy effect in the future.

When the American citizen takes his family for a day in the country he frequently meets with a mishap, perhaps breaking a part of his automobile. Does he seek a country blacksmith or a machine shop to repair his Ford? Not he. Proceeding to the nearest garage he finds a stock of spare parts which meet his wants and enable him to go "flivving" off in short order. He might, if he is scientifically inclined, utter a brief prayer to the inventor of "interchangeable manufacture" which produces spare parts. If he were historically inclined as well he could look back over a century and discover that he owes this happy development to the filling of a contract for 10,000 muskets in 1798. That was the beginning of interchangeable manufacture. When the War of 1812 was forced on us the art was so well established that interchangeability had become a normal contract specification of the War Department. One of our contracts in that year contained a

clause which reads as follows: "The component parts of pistols are to correspond so exactly that any limb or part of one pistol may be fitted to any other pistol of the 20,000."

It is natural that out of this early development in Army arsenals should have come some consideration for the problem which we now call "scientific management." We feel that America leads the world in the art of the efficiency expert. Does my inquiring friend know that in this field as in so many others the Army appeared as a pioneer?

I refer him to Doctor Taylor, who is well known as a noted protagonist of scientific management and who makes frequent mention of the work of the Army in this respect. In one of his books he observes that the card system of shop returns was invented and introduced as a complete system for the first time in the Government shops of the Frankford Arsenal, and that this was a distinct advance in the art of efficiency management. My prospect is thus brought once more to appreciate that the by-products of our national defense can not sensibly be ignored.

It is common knowledge that one of the greatest developments ahead of us must be that of effectively utilizing our great resources in water power. It is necessary to harness this cheap energy, and yet to do it in such manner as not to interfere with our navigable waterways, with the growth of our national forest, and with the public enjoyment of our national parks. In the second year of the power commission it has had to study projects for proposed developments of water power in excess of 20,000,000 horsepower, or more than twice the existing power development of this country and more than the combined potential resources of Norway, Sweden, Finland, and the Arctic and Baltic drainages of Russia—the principal water power region of Europe. In two years its engineers have had to study projects for development greater than double the resources of France and Italy and six times the aggregate projects for development of resources under Federal control in the preceding 20 years. The greater part of this work of examination and study has fallen to the War Department, and the Chief Engineer and his assistants and the chief counsel of the power commission are officers of the Regular Army.

Does the citizen know that the Army organized the Weather Bureau and that during Army control this bureau gave out information that was of tremendous interest throughout the scientific world? Does he know that the Army has played a prominent part in diverting our explosives production into fields that offer great hopes of building up a great American nitrate industry which would be of inestimable benefit to the farmer? Does he know what the Army has done in helping to conserve our resources? The Army Engineers have led us in flood prevention and have assisted greatly in forest protection. At the present time the Air Service is cooperating, as much as funds will permit, in the work of the Department of Agriculture concerning forest-fire prevention. In the past year over 100,000 square miles of

forest lands were covered by fires. Of 1,248 fires occurring in the national preserves of California in three months, the aerial patrols reported 664 and were first to report 376.

"Why must such products come from the Army?" I am asked. "Why can not some other agency do all of this work?"

I reply that neither the Government nor any individuals could afford to maintain a great pioneer organization with no other functions. Such benefits can come only from the work of an organized and trained public force which can produce them virtually as by-products and still perform its primary tasks. About the middle of last April the Mississippi River rose to the point of threatening disaster to thousands of families along its banks. Members of Congress from that region visited the War Department for advice, and varying degrees of concern were manifested by officials of the States affected. It was apparent that there was no organization other than the Army that could drop its routine tasks and handle such an emergency. The War Department had experienced this situation in the past and had prepared detailed regulations to govern the forces which might have to operate under these conditions. It was necessary only to put the existing machinery into motion. The governors of four States were notified that certain military authorities would be assigned districts in their States. Military authorities were informed of depots which would furnish supplies needed. Commanding generals of corps areas were advised of the situation, and they made arrangements for utilizing troops that might be necessary. Our fears were not realized. The danger passed. There was an excellent illustration, however, of the potential value of an organization like ours.

This potential power has unfortunately been called upon many times in our past. After the San Francisco earthquake and fire in 1906, it was the Army that took charge of disorder and administered the forces of order. In the Galveston disaster of 1915 the Army made a record for heroic achievement. Similarly the constructive value of the War Department was felt in the Mount Pelee disaster and during the Ohio and Mississippi floods of 1912. There is a huge file of grateful letters received by the department for its work in these instances and others similar, of which the following is an example:

"Whereas the relief extended to our people during the recent flood * * * has minimized the great loss and damage * * *

"*Be it resolved by the Harrisonburg flood relief committee* * * * That we hereby extend an expression of our thanks and appreciation for the prompt and efficient manner in which the said relief has been given by the War Department * * *." (1912 floods, Mississippi.)

Last year, in the coal fields of West Virginia, a situation arose that promised untold difficulties for the industry and for the community. The subsidence was so sudden that few citizens were able to appreciate the firm yet friendly manner in which the Army took control and insisted that the rights of the public must be maintained against the actions of any particular class or classes. In a very short time they

assured peace without making a single aggressive move and without antagonizing any party to the pending disputes. It is scarcely too much to state that these incidents alone justify the investments which we have made in a national force organized and trained for the national defense against outlawry. It is amazing to discover how little our citizens understand of this dramatic history of purely civic accomplishment. It is equally amazing to most of them when they do learn the facts.

There is a tendency to think of military men as hard-boiled masters of red tape and inefficiency. My own interest in the matter has led me to investigate the individual civil records of officers, to determine the effects of their military training. Their records are brilliant. In spite of the fact that their training has been for war, the influence of the high ideals of the Army and its spirit of teamwork has been enough to counteract the handicaps and enable officers to compete on fair terms. During the first century of its existence, West Point sent 2,371 of its graduates into civil life, most of them after some years of military service in the Army. Even a very small college would graduate as many as 2,371 in a few years. Yet where is there a small or great college or university that can excel the record of these 2,371 graduates in civil life? Here is their record:

President of the United States	1
President of the Confederate States	1
Presidential candidates	3
Vice presidential candidates	2
Members of the Cabinet	4
Ambassador	1
Ministers to foreign countries	14
Chargé d'affaires to foreign countries	2
Consuls general and consuls	12
Members of Congress	24
United States civil officers of various kinds	171
Presidential electors	8
Governors of States or Territories	16
Bishops	1
Lieutenant governors	2
Judges	14
Members of State legislatures	77
Presiding officers of State senates or houses of representatives	8
Members of conventions for the formation of State constitutions	13
State officers of various kinds	51
Adjutants, inspectors, quartermasters general, chief engineers of States	28
Officers of State militia	158
Mayors of cities	17
City officers	57
Presidents of universities or colleges	46
Principals of academies or schools	32

Regents and chancellors of educational institutions	14
Professors and teachers	136
Superintendent of Coast Survey	1
Surveyors general of States and Territories	11
Chief engineers of States	14
Presidents of railroads and other corporations	87
Chief engineers of railroads and other public works	63
Superintendents of railroads and other public works	62
Treasurers and receivers of railroads	24
Civil engineers	228
Superior general of clerical order	1
Clergymen	20
Physicians	14
Manufacturers	77
Artists	3
Bankers	18
Bank presidents	8
Bank officers	23
Editors	30
Authors	179
Merchants	122
Farmers and planters	230
Electrical engineers	5
Architects	7

"Where do officers gain the administrative knowledge that is necessary to make such records as these?"

After all that I have told of the achievement of the Army at home and abroad my questioners still fail to appreciate that the War Department and the Army is one of the greatest administrative concerns in the country. That it is criticised for adherence to "red tape" is true, but the critics often fail to appreciate that this is because such a huge organization, open as it is to criticism from any citizen of this country, must be conservative and "safe," both of which qualities demand recognized forms of procedure. In the files of the Adjutant General are records of more than 30,000,000 individuals, nearly 10,000,000 of whom have had military service. I could make some picturesque comparisons, such as that the cover sheets of draft records alone would, if placed side by side, reach from the Atlantic to the Pacific, etc. The records of the Adjutant General are accommodated in 83,000 filing cabinets and occupy 450,000 square feet of floor surface.

The very citizen who criticises us for "red tape" might have sent us one of the countless queries which we receive daily, such as, "Did George Washington throw a silver dollar across the Potomac River?" and "Who originated the term 'Buddy'?" If the citizen makes these inquiries in good faith, we are required to answer him, for it is his business even more than ours.

During May, 1919, the average number of pieces of mail received daily in this one office of the Adjutant General was over a half million.

In 1919 over 80,000,000 pieces of mail were received. I give these figures to the curious one in order to convince him that there is plenty of opportunity for the Army officer to learn administration. The Adjutant General's is but one of a great number of offices maintained by officers of the Army. There is every known phase of human life involved in their administrative calendars. Does the citizen realize that the Army must train thousands of young men not only for war but also in vocational and educational features? We have a continuous school problem and a normal provision for training men in the following occupations:

Horseshoeing, tractor drivers, dynamo tenders, steam-engine tenders, firemen, oilers, carpenters of all kinds, concrete workers, photographers, lithographers, painters, stonemasons, brick masons, blacksmiths, plumbers, pipe fitters, welders, printers, linemen, radio operators, telegraph operators, switchboard operators, auto mechanics, chauffeurs, battery repairmen, tire repairers, ignition and carburetion experts, sheet-metal workers, canvas workers, tailors, butchers, clerks, stenographers, typists, bookkeepers, instrument repairers, machinists, foundry men, pattern makers, farriers, pharmacists' assistants, X-ray operators, buglers, bandsmen, surveyors, topographers, highway construction men, bridge builders, draftsmen, interior wiremen, riggers, radio electricians, telephone electricians, telegraph electricians, motion-picture operators, bakers, cooks, cargadors, teamsters, wagon masters, wheelwrights, shoemakers, saddlers, laundrymen, and storekeepers.

Officers must pay the Army, keep accounts for the Army, feed the Army, give spiritual guidance for the Army, and in a word administer the Army according to the most civilized concept of human administration. Every officer must understand the military law.

Incidentally, in the face of all criticism which has been leveled at our system of military jurisprudence, it has been pronounced excellent by some of our best civil lawyers. The citizen sometimes asks me about the hard-boiled methods of prison administration prevalent in the Army. I invite his attention to various comments which indicate that our military prisons have donated many valuable contributions to the science and art of prison management. Everything possible is done to humanize our prisons and to develop the unfortunate occupants so that they can practice trades upon release and, even more important, so that their criminal tendencies might be lessened or completely eradicated. In each of our prisons there is a board of psychiatry and sociology which has for its purpose to modernize our treatment of this problem. Does the citizen realize all this?

"No, indeed," he replies, "and I am intensely interested by your exposition." "I begin to see what you meant when you claimed that your policy of national defense was of the participating type." "Nevertheless," he frequently adds, "it costs too much, doesn't it, Mr. Secretary?"

It is indeed a serious objection, at this trying time, that national defense should be so costly, or rather that it is made to appear so

costly. As a matter of truth, it is not costly. In 1921, in the city of Boston, Mass., from each dollar paid by the citizen for taxes 3½ cents went for military preparation and 3.7 cents for naval preparation. In other words, his policy of national defense (which he admits to be a participating policy) cost only 7.2 per cent of his total taxation. This is astonishingly small. The citizen is so often misled into charging up against his policy of insurance the cost of a war which his insurance failed to guarantee against. He should rest assured that in a defenseless state he would be continually attacked by predatory forces, and his insurance is only against these potential attacks. The World War is costing us a great amount, it is true. A comparatively small investment in preparation before the war would, however, have greatly decreased the present cost of our unpreparedness.

This accusation that the War Department wastes its money extravagantly is, of course, rather easy to refute. I do not know where this idea started—that the Army wastes its money so lavishly—unless it is from the knowledge that when we rush into war unprepared there is great general inefficiency of spending at a time when we must "spend or take the consequences." I do not desire to inject a political atmosphere into this discussion, and accordingly I hesitate to discuss in detail our efforts to save money. I believe that the operations of the Budget Bureau have, however, been approved by all parties. It seems safe to mention that during the past fiscal year the War Department withheld from expenditure about $85,000,000 which it might have spent. Of this amount, $35,000,000 represents projects that were postponed, while $50,000,000 was actually turned back into the unappropriated balance in the Treasury.

"Why, that is unheard of!"

Unheard of perhaps, but true. It is difficult to appreciate the determination with which the entire Army has entered into our campaign of saving. Does the citizen know that the chief coordinator has been assisted by nine regular officers and that there would doubtless be more of them in the Bureau of the Budget if their numbers were not now so limited? Or that the present coordinator is himself a retired officer of the Army?

I had occasion to remark a recent editorial in which surprise was manifested at the activity of the officials of the War Department in appealing for a minimum strength for our Regular Army (150,000-130,000). The editor remarked that we should follow the sensible policy of other American countries in spending our money for peace organizations instead of for warlike preparation. I wondered if he knew what policy he was advocating? The United States maintains a smaller per capita strength of Army than that of any other American country except Canada, which is protected by its participation in the British Empire. If we followed the average policy of the Americas we should maintain a Regular Army of 200,000. If Canada is excluded as a part of an Empire whose per capita strength is much

greater than ours, we should raise this figure to 250,000. If we determine our policy upon a basis of national wealth the figure would be still higher. If we followed the average policy of the world we should have approximately a million men constantly under arms. The editor, no doubt, didn't know all of this. It is to the advantage of all of us that we know these facts about the country in which we live, or else that we do not distort facts for purposes of argument.

I mentioned that Canada is maintaining a smaller army than we are. She is, however, manifesting an interest in military preparation in another direction that can be gauged by one brief comparison. During the past summer we trained about 22,000 men in our citizens' training camps. Canada trained about 100,000 men in hers. With less than one-tenth our population she is training five times as many citizens for national defense. Her "sensible policy" of pacification (to quote the editor) involves fifty times the intensity of effort that we exert in preparation for defense. What a striking contrast this is. Canada evidently believes in the principle expressed by Thomas Jefferson: "None but an armed nation can dispense with a standing army."

"But how does Canada afford this training?" inquires my curious prospect.

I might reply that it is by cutting down on her use of chewing gum. We are a nation of gum chewers. In a year we spend three times as much for "chewing gum and candy" as we spend for military preparation. For soda and confections we spend more than three times; for tobacco, more than four times; for perfumery, jewelry, and other items of adornment, nearly five times; and for theaters, cabarets, and similar amusements, more than three times. In other words, this military preparation that appears to cost so much really costs us about one-eighteenth of what we spend for mild vices and "harmless amusements."

During and after the Conference for Limitation of Armament last fall, I frequently heard the remark, "Why doesn't this country set an example in practice, as she does in words, for the reduction of military forces?"

I reply that although we are one of the greatest of powers, our Army stands sixteenth on the list of the armies of the world. If we had taken the average of military strengths of the powers in that conference, we should raise our strength to about 450,000 men. If we based our strength upon population we should have, roughly, 1,000,000 men. Yet we reduced recently to a strength of 125,000 men.

"Oh," is the reply, "but we could quickly throw 4,000,000 men into the field."

Really, the Army can not take the field without materials and supplies. The proceedings of the conference would have shown that whereas Great Britain was prepared to throw a force of 6,000,000 men into immediate service, France more than 5,000,000, Italy more than 3,000,000, and Japan more than 1,000,000, we could with difficulty outfit an army of a bare million, even if these were available, officered

and freshly trained for service. "No, my friend," I reply, "there need be no fear that we might fail to lead the way to reduction. By every conceivable method of comparison you can find that we have set the example in limitation by a very pronounced inferiority to the strength of any civilized power of great importance in the world." The greatest fear is that we might lead too far and tempt other nations before they are prepared for the trust which reduction implies.

The response sometimes comes, "Would not our trust cause other nations to disarm rather than to take the aggressive?"

I reply that I would like to believe it. There are few exceptions to the general rule that all peoples desire peace and decry war. No country has made more determined efforts to remove possible causes of conflict and to lighten burdens of preparedness. For further developments we must, however, wait until the world follows the example already set. We damage other peoples by placing too much trust in them—a trust that we can not even place in our own population.

"What do you mean, Mr. Secretary, by saying that we can not trust our own people?"

I reply that we can not bare our own institutions to the citizens of the country—that we must provide a guard that protects not only the institutions, but also unfortunate individuals against their own worst tendencies, which might lead them to crimes destructive alike to the public weal and to their own happiness. The 1920 census discloses that there were in the country at least 32,314 marshals, sheriffs, and detectives; 82,214 policemen; and 115,553 watchmen, guards, and doorkeepers—a total of 229,981 employed for protection against dangerous impulses. Added to this there were 50,171 firemen, making a total of 280,152 engaged in protection of our institutions against the elements which force us to insure our private affairs. Yet we maintain less than half the number as our share of the police of the world —against peoples at most no more law-abiding than are we. In one year the insurance companies of the United States paid out to policyholders as insurance against death, fire, marine losses, and industrial loss over $1,125,000,000. It is presumable that policyholders paid at least as much for insurance. Added to this amount is the amount paid to the police and watchmen for protection. We invest in a military preparedness policy, accordingly, less than one-fifth of the amount paid for internal insurance and protection.

"These figures are very remarkable," he says, "I am impressed with the logic of your position—but something still makes me dislike to spend money for military preparations."

If I can not defend myself against the imputations of militarism I turn back to my predecessors for support. John C. Calhoun remarked many years ago when he ran afoul of similar objections: "If our liberty should ever be endangered by the military power gaining the ascendancy, it will be from the necessity of making those mighty and irregular efforts to retrieve our affairs, after a series of disasters, caused by a want of military knowledge, just as in our physical system

a state of the most dangerous excitement and paroxysm follows that of the greatest debility and prostration. To avoid these dangerous consequences and to prepare the country to meet a state of war, particularly at its commencement, with honor and safety, much must depend upon the organization of our military peace establishment." My immediate predecessor also observed that "I know of no war in which America has been engaged, offensive or defensive, which was brought about by army pressure, or, indeed, stimulated by military desire." This deep belief has been manifested by practically every public official in close contact with this department, and it has been, perhaps, the most common thought of our Chief Executives that we must look well to defensive plans if we would accomplish best our peaceful program. One has but to look over the face of the earth today to realize that even those nations who have adopted the most fantastic theories of idealistic organization continue impressed with their need for national defense.

"Perhaps this is all true," replies the citizen, "but why is it, then, that the officials of the War Department and of the Army are always talking and thinking about national defense and about war, when the rest of us are thinking about peace?"

The citizen so often forgets that we pay these officials to think about war and about defense. The policemen are supposed to be on the lookout for thefts and the firemen for fires. The householder thinks only of the robberies in his own block. I ask the citizen a question, "How many wars have we Americans been through in our history?"

"Oh, about five or six," is the reply.

I then point out to him that while he counts war on the fingers of one hand the War Department numbers its actual calls to active service at more than 100.

"Why, I didn't know that! What were these calls?"

I observe that there has actually been an average of one call every year and a half, as follows:

1775. The Revolution.
1782. Wyoming Valley insurrection.
1786. Shay's rebellion.
1790. Northwest Indian war.
1791. Whisky insurrection.
1798. War with France.
1799. Fries's rebellion.
1801. Tripolitan war.
1806. Burr conspiracy.
1806. Sabine expedition.
1807. Chesapeake Bay affair.
1808. Lake Champlain affair.
1811. Northwest Indian war.
1812. Great Britain.
1812. Seminole war.
1813. Peoria Indians.
1813. Creek Indians.

1817. Second Seminole.
1819. Yellowstone expedition.
1823. Blackfeet Indians.
1827. Lefevre Indian war.
1831. Sac and Fox Indians.
1832. Blackhawk war.
1832. South Carolina nullification.
1833. Cherokee war.
1834. Pawnee Indians.
1835. Third Seminole.
1836. Second Creek Indians.
1837. Osage Indians.
1838. Heatherly Indian war.
1838. Mormons.
1838. New York-Canada frontier.
1846. Doniphan's Mexican expedition.
1846. Mexican war.
1846. New Mexican expedition.
1848. Cayuse war.
1849. Navajo.
1849. Comanche Indians.
1850. Pitt River expedition (California).
1851. Yuma expedition.
1851. Utah Indian.
1851. Oregon and Washington Indians.
1855. Snake Indians.
1855. Sioux Indians.
1855. Yakima expedition.
1855. Cheyenne Indian.
1855. Florida war (Seminoles).
1856. Kansas border troubles.
1857. Gila expedition.
1857. Sioux Indians.
1857. Mountain Meadow massacre.
1857. Utah expedition.
1858. Northern Indian expedition.
1858. Puget Sound expedition.
1858. Spokane Indian troubles.
1858. Navajo expedition.
1858. Wichita expedition.
1859. Colorado River expedition.
1859. Pecos expedition.
1859. Antelope Hills expedition.
1859. Bear River expedition.
1859. San Juan imbroglio.
1859. John Brown raid.
1859. Cortina troubles.
1860. Pah Ute expedition.
1860. Kiowa and Comanche Indians.

1860. Carson Valley expedition.
1860. Navajo expedition.
1861. Apache Indians.
1861. Civil war.
1862. Indian massacres (Minn.).
1862. Sioux Indians.
1863. Cheyenne war.
1865. Northwestern Indian war.
1865. Fenian raid.
1867. Mexican Border Indian war.
1868. Canadian River expedition.
1871. Yellowstone expedition.
1871. Fenian troubles.
1872. Yellowstone expedition.
1872. Modoc campaign.
1873. Yellowstone expedition.
1874. Indian Territory war.
1874. Sioux war.
1874. Black Hills war.
1875. Nevada expedition.
1876. Sioux war.
1876. Powder River expedition.
1876. Big Horn expedition.
1876. Sioux war.
1877. Nez Perces campaign.
1878. Ute campaign.
1878. Snake Indian.
1890. Sioux.
1891. Mexican Border (Tin Horn war).
1895. Bannock Indian trouble.
1898. Spanish-American war.
1898. Chippewa Indians.
1899. Philippine Insurrection.
1900. Boxer Insurrection.
1912. Nicaraguan expedition.
1913. Haiti and San Domingo.
1914. Vera Cruz.
1916. Punitive expedition in Mexico.
1917. Germany.

The Army remembers these incidents by the loss of friends or predecessors and, generally, by the augmentation of the difficulties in each case due to lack of previous preparation. The country should remember them as events in the evolution of our very active nationality during which our principles and our possessions were defended or our possessions actually increased. We can accordingly find in this history what is a very great dividend in return for the comparatively small investment made by our country for its defensive preparation, and yet a very great cost for our lack of such preparations. When I have reached this conclusion my prospective supporter for national

defense generally becomes very silent and thoughtful and leaves me—no doubt to pore over his histories in hopes of finding something wrong with my story. Since he never returns with refutation, I assume that he has accepted my statements and been somewhat instructed.

I trust, gentlemen, that I have not wearied you with this quite expansive treatment of what is to me an intensely interesting subject. I hope that you will forgive my method of attacking the problem, and that if you are wearied you will appreciate that it is because I lack the graphic powers of an Edward Bok, and not because my purpose is less important than arousing an interest in the Empire of the Netherlands. I feel convinced that this chamber understands the merits of the policy which I have endeavored to present in its true light to the citizens of our country. I did not come before it to sell insurance to you gentlemen, for you have always been co-workers for reasonable defense. I do hope, however, that you might, individually or collectively, from time to time remember my little discussion and pass it along. Knowledge of our country and of its institutions we must have. We are united in our ideals; we must be united in our methods of defending those ideals. Regardless of our political affiliations or beliefs, we can always join in wholehearted response to the appeal of Theodore Roosevelt when he cried: "Our voice is now potent for peace, and is so potent for peace because we are not afraid of war. But our protestations upon behalf of peace would neither receive nor deserve the slightest attention if we were impotent to make them good."