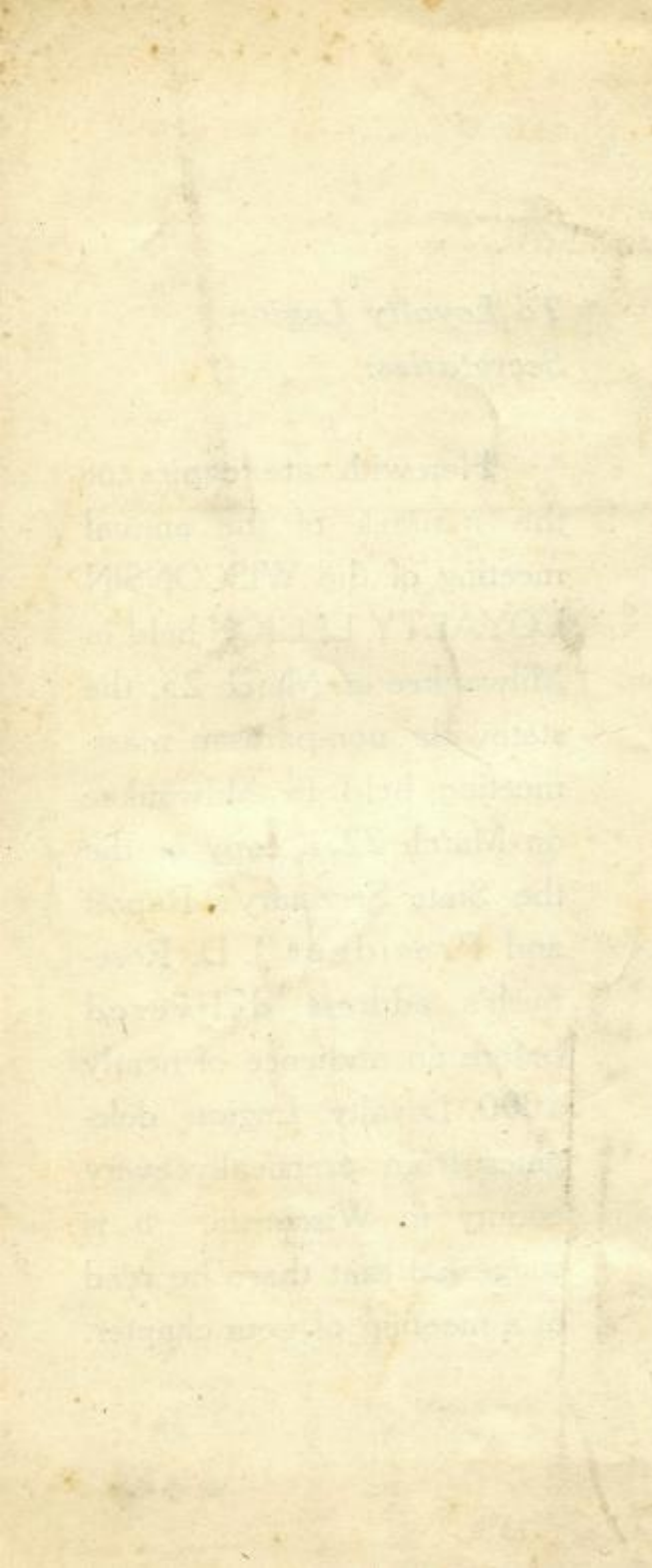


Wisconsin Loyalty Legion



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STATE SECRETARY'S REPORT

March 23, 1918.

The Wisconsin Loyalty Legion, successor to the Wisconsin Defense League, has been in existence about seven months, and this report will be a brief recital of its activities during the last four months, the present incumbent as secretary having assumed the duties and responsibilities of that office on November 1, 1917. In order not to burden the meeting with details or take too much of your time, your secretary has prepared this report in paragraph form, epitomizing each of the Legion's activities and classifying them under a descriptive sub-head as follows:

Development of Legion—Since November 1, 1917, the Wisconsin Loyalty Legion has grown from thirty-seven chapters, one-half of which were located in Milwaukee county, to more than 250 chapters. Its membership during that period has increased from a few thousand to about 48,000. There are in process of organization not less than thirty-five chapters and it is estimated that there are from 10,000 to 20,000 members of up-state chapters who have not yet been reported to state headquarters by the secretaries of the various chapters. There is information in the secretary's office that warrants the statement that within ten days or two weeks there should be a total of three hundred chapters in Wisconsin. In many places membership drives are now in progress and there is every reason to believe the present membership will be at least doubled in the next few months. The original plan of development and organization was to send out at least one if not a corps of organizers, through whose efforts it was hoped to place a chapter of the Legion in every city and village in the state. This plan, however, was found to be vastly more expensive than the Legion's exchequer would permit. Accordingly a substitute plan was adopted and with this many of you are familiar for you know how many letters pleading with you to organize you received from this office. The mail system of organizing, as you will note from the foregoing figures, is working out very satisfactorily, although it is considerably slower than the sending out of personal organizers. However, what it loses in speed it perhaps more than makes up in economy. In this connection your secretary ventures to suggest that if every man here today will co-operate with state headquarters, making

such suggestions as you can and giving such assistance as is possible in organizing local chapters in cities and villages in your vicinity where one has not already been formed, the Wisconsin Loyalty Legion by the time next fall's elections roll around will have a chapter membership of at least five hundred and will have a total membership of not less than 150,000. The organization plan of your secretary comprehends more than the organization of chapters in cities and villages. A plan has already been perfected whereby rural communities will be organized, but for the time being all effort and attention is being centered upon organization work in cities and villages, five hundred of which should be lined up first before rural territory is touched.

Finances—Since November 1 enough money has been raised by contribution and dues to liquidate an indebtedness of more than \$2,500, pay the running expenses of the institution and leave about that amount of money in the treasury. The average dues paid by members is 25 cents of which one-half is retained by the chapter. The 12½ cents turned over to state headquarters scarcely pays the cost per member. The initial cost of postage and Loyalty Legion pins provided by state headquarters aggregates more than one-half of what state headquarters receives from each member, leaving only about five cents to take care of subsequent postage, the vast paper and printing bills, headquarters rent, salaries and general overhead. Thus it will be readily seen that without generous contributions on the part of patriotic citizens the Legion could not exist and carry on its present propaganda for the Americanization of Wisconsin.

Patriotic Literature—Few people realize the magnitude of this organization until they are told that the Wisconsin Loyalty Legion's mail is not carried to the post office in arms full, but frequently by the dray load. We have distributed in Wisconsin by direct mail during the last four months more than 1,800,000 pieces of literature. According to the last monthly report of the Department of Public Information at Washington, we have distributed about one-tenth of all the patriotic literature sent out by that department, which is more than has been distributed by any other half dozen organizations in the country. We have at present a corps of volunteer addressers at work on a consignment of nearly a half million pieces of mail that we aim to have in the hands of the voters of the state before they cast their ballots for United States senator and other offices at the forthcoming election. We have on our mailing

list between 175,000 and 200,000 names, including names of members of Legion chapters, names of persons who signed the Loyalty Legion petition, names of bankers, travelers, creamery and cheese factory owners, and many other valuable lists we have worked up during the last few months. Our mailing list at present is believed to contain names of influential men in practically every line of endeavor in the state. Literature sent out by us receives wider circulation than simply those to whom it is mailed, for one of the obligations of members of the legion is to read such literature as they receive and then pass it on to some one believed to be indifferent or negative to the interests of this country in the present crisis. Much assistance has been obtained from cheese factory and creamery owners in the matter of distribution of literature in rural districts. Several hundred of them replied favorably to our letters and are known to have done splendid work in seeing to it that the patriotic literature sent them from headquarters was properly distributed among farmers with whom they had dealings and among farmers living in the vicinity of the factories. We now are in possession of the names of the men who are in sympathy with the work being done by the Legion and upon whom we can call in the spring to aid us in organizing chapters in rural districts.

Schools—More than 2,000 grade or one-room schools have introduced in the civics or history course a study of the literature we provide and it is expected this work eventually will spread to practically every school in the state. In addition to this, the literature we are sending out is being used as collateral reading in some of the high schools. We have used the school children in some instances to carry to their homes the literature we furnished and in that manner have been able to get it into many homes that could not otherwise be reached. Through the instrumentality of the schools we have gained much valuable information concerning the sentiment of people in various rural localities. School children report at school how the father or mother or brother feels about them studying our patriotic literature and they in turn report to the teacher. Through that source the information reaches us and in that way we are in possession of information that tells us where the hardest work must be done to overcome pro-Germanism. We have through this means record of numerous instances where parents positively forbade children reading the literature we sent to their schools, but, proceeding on the accuracy of the axiom that "constant dropping wears away the stone," we continued to pound away all the harder and in many

of the so-called pro-German communities have actual evidence of an improved condition.

Banks—Some weeks ago we procured a list of all the banks in Wisconsin. To each we sent a sample package of patriotic literature and with it a note asking them to write to us telling how many pieces of the literature they would agree to distribute among their patrons. More than ninety per cent of the banks replied favorably and some thousands of pieces of literature were distributed through that means.

Hotels—A plan is on foot now to place on the dresser of every hotel guest room in Wisconsin one of each of the various kinds of patriotic literature we have to distribute. On each of these sample pieces will be printed the words, "Do not remove. For copies of this pamphlet apply to the Wisconsin Loyalty Legion, 228 First National Bank building, Milwaukee." It is believed that through this medium the circulation of literature will be very greatly increased and a circulation not available through any other source will be gained. Several thousand traveling salesmen have been enlisted to aid in carrying out this plan. Through their Commercial Traveler headquarters they will be asked to report to Legion headquarters any hotel man whom they know refuses to permit the patriotic literature to be placed upon the dressers in his guest rooms and upon the reading tables in the office. Traveling salesmen have also been appealed to for aid in organization work. Many have agreed to provide state headquarters with names of patriotic men in cities or villages where Legion chapters have not yet been organized. State headquarters accordingly will get in touch with these men and steps will be taken immediately to start a movement for the establishment of a chapter. A number of traveling men have already been of valuable service in that manner.

Speakers—Several hundred good men have agreed to take care of our platform work. During the last four months more than one thousand public addresses have been delivered by our speakers. The speakers' bureau is developing rapidly. Many of the chapters are holding meetings semi-monthly and most of them are asking us to provide speakers. Chapters have been instructed to make every effort not to fill halls with their own members, but to see that those whose Americanism is under suspicion are induced to attend the meetings. Instances have been known where it was impossible to secure a hall for a patriotic meeting. Special energy has been directed to such localities with the result that in practically every instance a Legion chapter has been organ-

ized and good public meetings are now being held. Chapters are expected to pay the traveling expenses of the speakers and state headquarters usually pays other expenses. However, where a chapter cannot afford to pay even the traveling expenses, state headquarters pays it, for it is in those instances usually where the hardest work needs to be done.

Factory Meetings—Arrangements are now being made with the Wisconsin Manufacturers' Association to place speakers in factories and thus reach a large number of men not otherwise available. In many instances we are assured that factory help will be given a thirty-minute respite from work to listen to the patriotic address of one of our speakers. We are assured of whole-hearted co-operation on the part of many large employers and when that feature of our speaking campaign opens will need to increase the number of spell binders very materially.

Churches—Several weeks ago we secured the mailing list of pastors of practically all of the churches in Wisconsin. A letter was sent to each outlining the work of the Wisconsin Loyalty Legion and suggesting that we planned now to carry our patriotic propaganda into the churches. We asked to have the pulpits in the churches on at least one if not two Sunday evenings each month. Many of the ministers have replied to those letters, most of them saying they would gladly turn their pulpits over to patriotic speakers. Others stated they would have to take up the matter with their official boards and still others have not replied at all. The attitude of the latter class regarding the war may well be surmised and gives us another clue as to where we need to speed up the machinery of the Loyalty Legion. The Sunday evening pulpit work has already been taken up in a small way and as soon as our lawyer speakers get a little more courage most of them will be asked to fill Sunday evening assignments. We plan to ask the churches in the smaller cities to hold union meetings so that our speakers will be assured of good crowds.

Lumbermen—We are formulating a plan and are assured of company co-operation to carry the patriotic word to men in camps. We are also soon to organize chapters in the small lumber towns of the north.

Americanization—A plan looking toward the Americanization of foreigners in cities is now being developed and will be put into action in the near future. The plan is being tried out in Milwaukee at the present time and as soon as perfected local chapters of the Legion in up-state cities will be asked to adopt it and do what they

can to make Americans of the foreigners who now speak and think in the mother tongue. This we regard as one of the most important of the future activities of the Legion.

Programs—Programs for chapter work will be issued in the near future. This work is in progress now and upon completion will be sent to the secretary of each chapter.

Mass Meeting—A word here with regard to yesterday's mass meeting will perhaps not be amiss. Early last December the idea was conceived that a state-wide non-partisan mass meeting should be called for the purpose of conferring with the governor to call a special election to fill the vacancy in the United States senate caused by the death of Paul O. Husting. As a preliminary to the proposed mass meeting it was deemed advisable for the Legion to send a committee to Madison to confer with Governor Philipps with a view to gaining his idea of the situation and also to induce him to place in the call for the proposed special session of the legislature a paragraph that would make possible the amendment of the election laws so as to make fusion possible, thereby eliminate party contests and make certain the election of a loyal candidate as senator. The governor refused. Later another committee representing the Legion called upon the governor, but again he refused to listen, declaring he would ask the legislature for permission to appoint a senator. He admitted at that time that the legislature was not with him on the proposition but stated he hoped to gain a majority of them after they reached Madison to attend the special session. After the session convened and after the governor saw he was defeated in his plan to appoint, he called a special election for senator, but made no provision for the amendment of the election law. Hence the struggle along party lines in the campaign which culminated in the battle of ballots at the polls last Tuesday. The Loyalty Legion during the campaign made it plain to every chapter that this organization knows no politics and has no candidate, but was out to defeat any half-hearted or disloyal candidate whose names appeared on the senatorial ballot. Had the governor acted in consonance with the wishes of thousands of members of this organization there would have been a special election months ago and a loyal man would now be occupying the vacant chair in the United States senate.

Down Disloyalty—The Legion stands for the suppression of disloyalty in any form. Its activity in that direction has been marked in many communities. The most recent achievement in that line occurred only two weeks ago when it

caused the virtual suppression in practically every city of the state of a bill board advertising propaganda planned by one of the alleged disloyal candidates whose name appeared on the senatorial ballot at last Tuesday's primary. A quiet tip reached the secretary's office to the effect that highly colored disloyal lithographs in the interests of the aforesaid candidate were soon to be sent to bill board owners in every city in the state. These were to be posted upon the bill boards ten days before the primary. The Legion procured the names and addresses of every bill board owner in the state. It so happened that in all but three of the forty-eight cities where there are such bill boards there are also chapters of the Legion. The secretary's office at once dispatched a letter to heads of the chapters in the various cities in the state, asked that they appoint a committee and at once confer with the bill board owner, asking him to refuse to post any disloyal paper. The request was granted in most instances with the result that very little of the alleged disloyal paper was put up. In several other instances the Legion was responsible for preventing meetings of alleged disloyal leaders, the most striking of these instances being that at Theresa several months ago when about six hundred Legion members from a dozen or more cities flocked to that little village and prevented Emil Seidl from holding a pro-German meeting. Numerous other instances of this kind could be mentioned, but these will suffice as examples of that sort of work the Legion is doing.

Co-operation—Legion membership is increasing by leaps and bounds, as has been stated in the earlier pages of this report. However, with more active co-operation on the part of chapter officers in the up-state chapters the membership can be increased very much more rapidly. Most of the larger cities and villages now have local chapters, but hundreds of the smaller places are still unorganized. Chapter officers could aid organization work immediately if they will give a little attention to villages near their home cities and see to it that organization work is started there. You men here could take three or four others in your car, drive to a neighboring village, see some of your friends there and in three or four hours' time could start a chapter in nearby communities. In that way the entire state could be organized very much quicker and perhaps much more effectively. If you are not willing to co-operate to the extent of attending to this organization work yourselves, you could at least give the state secretary the names of certain men in the unorganized communities so that organization work could be under-

taken from here. The use of your name in a letter written from here to some one in a town near yours would help very materially in getting the attention of the men to whom we write. One other suggestion along the line of co-operation is that you urge your chapter secretary to send to us the enrollment cards signed by members instead of sending us a typewritten list of the names. Our records of membership are kept on the original enrollment cards. If you do not send us the cards we are obliged to copy the names of your members onto cards, which entails endless work, all of which adds to OUR expense. Another way in which you could aid very materially in furthering our educational work is to hold more public meetings and ask us for speakers. Do not wait for headquarters to urge you to have a meeting, but plan meetings yourself and look to us for speakers. As has been said, local chapters usually pay the traveling expenses of speakers and entertain them while they are in town, but other expenses are taken care of by state headquarters. Our speakers' bureau is building up rapidly and soon we will route certain of the platform men through the state. When you get the word from state headquarters that a speaker will be in your city on a certain date, do all you can to provide the best hall available, advertise the meeting and get out a crowd. It is that sort of work that eventually converts the half-hearted and not infrequently makes an American out of a man who had been positively disloyal.

Conclusion—The most important work of the Wisconsin Loyalty Legion lies in the future. Next fall eleven congressmen will be elected. Of the present delegation in congress from this state only two of them voted with the administration on the original war measures. The other nine are in a measure responsible for the unsavory reputation Wisconsin now has. It is the duty of every loyal citizen and especially every member of the Legion to exert himself to the utmost to see to it that no disloyal man is elected next fall. The organization by that time must be sufficiently strong that there can be no question of the outcome of an election where the contest is between a loyal and a disloyal or half-hearted candidate.

The period we have passed through and for perhaps another month or two has been and will be largely organization. Numerical strength is our first requisite. Following this, constructive work of vastly greater importance and magnitude must be accomplished.

Respectfully submitted,

G. F. KULL,

Secretary.

MASS MEETING MINUTES

Minutes of the State-wide, Non-Partisan Mass Meeting Held Under the Auspices of the Wisconsin Loyalty Legion at Kilbourn Hall of the Auditorium, Milwaukee, on Friday Afternoon and Evening, March 23rd, 1918.

Detailed program of meeting attached hereto.

Moved by Mr. Hayes and duly seconded that the Chairman, Mr. Claire Bird of Wausau, appoint a committee of seven to draft a set of resolutions. Unanimously carried.

Moved by Mr. P. H. Martin and duly seconded that any member of the mass meeting having a set of resolutions to submit be authorized and instructed to submit them to the Resolutions Committee appointed by the Chairman. Unanimously carried.

Chairman Bird appointed the following as Resolutions Committee:

Mr. W. A. Hayes.....	Milwaukee
Mr. L. M. Alexander.....	Port Edwards
Mr. J. M. Whitehead.....	Janesville
Mr. P. H. Martin.....	Green Bay
Mr. W. F. Shea.....	Ashland
Mr. Robt. Crawford.....	Mineral Point
Mr. J. H. Stover.....	Milwaukee

Committee on Resolutions adjourned promptly to Juneau Hall.

At 5:00 P. M. the Resolutions Committee reported the following set of resolutions:

The Wisconsin Loyalty Legion, representing all sections of the State, have assembled this 22nd day of March, 1918, for the purpose of giving voice to the militant loyalists of Wisconsin. We are determined that all patriotic citizens and all in whom the sentiment of patriotism exist shall be given a rallying cry for their County and an opportunity to sustain it in its great struggle. After a most thorough examination, we find the facts as follows:

First. That, judging by every long accepted test of the civilized world, Germany actually made war upon the United States for nearly two years before April 6, 1917. During these two years, neither our National Government nor our citizens did anything that gave her cause for making such warfare upon us.

Second. That, prior to our entrance into the war, Germany, contrary to the law of nations, committed many grievous crimes against our Government and against our people. By such crimes she compelled us either to enter the war or to submit to the loss of our national independence and our individual freedom.

Third. That never before in our nation's history did a foreign power give to our people so

many grievous causes for war. By a great variety of crimes, she struck not only at the perpetuity of our National Government, but also at the daily prosperity, safety, and happiness of the individual citizen.

Fourth. That for years she maintained in the capital of our Nation an ambassador, who, though treated by our great President with every courtesy which knightly conduct dictated, and given every confidence which honor could require, made falsehood a profession and conspiracy a trade for the express purpose of destroying the Nation whose hospitality he enjoyed.

Fifth. That, by express orders, and contrary to the plainest dictates of humanity, ruthlessly and without warning, she murdered American citizens upon the high seas, and that all of such citizens were, at the very time they were so murdered, exercising only such rights as had previously been guaranteed them by the undisputed and plain letter of the law.

Sixth. That she employed thousands of secret agents and spies to commit perjury under our laws for the purpose of securing the privileges of American citizenship in order that, under cover of such citizenship, they might more effectively deceive our Government and aid the Government of Germany.

Seventh. That, prior to our entering the war, she sent such secret agents and spies into our farming communities and among the laboring men in our cities to poison their minds with falsehoods, to the effect that our President and our National Government were unjust to Germany, and were unfairly aiding Germany's foes, and that this Country had no good cause for war; that such secret agents and spies appeared in almost every community as salesmen, solicitors, lecturers, organizers of societies and in many other ways. That through them, and by means of the falsehoods and lies disseminated by them, she deceived large numbers of our citizens and led them into a state of opposition to the Government of our own great Country.

Eighth. That she made the German-American Alliance an agency of disloyalty and sedition, the malign activities of which were seen everywhere throughout our land: in our schools; in the press; in various fraternal and social organizations, and even in our legislatures and our churches. That by this and similar agencies, employing fraud and conspiracy, bribery and perjury, she sought to sow discord among us; set class against class; disorganize our efforts to prosecute the war against her and ruin us in a reign of Russian Bolsheviki.

Ninth. That she sent over the Country and into our great manufacturing centers her villainous agents of destruction and murder, who destroyed ships, wrecked manufacturing plants and ruined food supplies.

Tenth. That, while professing friendship, she endeavored to form an alliance with Mexico and Japan to make war upon us and dismember our territory.

Eleventh. That, after more than two years of war and after her cruel and barbarous methods of warfare were fully witnessed by the Country as a whole, eighteen million American voters of our Country elected a Congress which felt compelled almost unanimously to declare war, and did so declare it on the 6th day of April, 1917.

Twelfth. That, after we entered the war, her agents and sympathizers among us set afloat countless charges against the honesty, the efficiency and the skill of our public officials; and that many uninformed, but well meaning people, believing such charges to be true, have withheld from our Government that support which it was their plain duty to give.

Thirteenth. That our President, in recommending war, and our National Congress, in declaring war, did so, not only with full approval of, but in compliance with the demands of the vast majority of the American people; and that, had the President failed to recommend war, and had Congress failed to vote a declaration of war, they would both have been false to their oaths of office, the traditions of the American people and subject to the severest censure.

Fourteenth. That the Constitution makes the President the commander-in-chief of both the army and the navy. That his oath of office requires him to exercise both functions. That singleness of leadership is wisely provided in the Constitution as essential to success. That, although we may differ from the President as to the wisdom of particular acts, we must yield to that leadership which the garnered wisdom of the American people has assigned to him; that it is his duty to lead and our duty to follow. That, as President, he has not exceeded his powers; that he has not violated the Constitution; that in all things he has scrupulously regarded the Constitution, mindful of the great fact that the Constitution contains abundant authority for vigorously carrying on a war, wherever upon the face of the earth such a war may be necessary in defense of our national integrity and the protection of the lives and the liberties of the American people.

Fifteenth. That every power thus far exercised by our National Government for the purpose of prosecuting the war to a victorious end has been exercised according to the letter and the spirit of our Constitution and not in violation thereof.

With these great facts so clearly established that they must be accepted by every impartial and intelligent mind, we call upon all of the people of the State to unite.

1—In giving whole-hearted approval to the action of our President in recommending a declaration of war; to the action of Congress in declaring war, and to all departments of the Government in their every legitimate effort to conduct the war to a victorious end.

2—In encouraging the National Congress to vote whatever sums of money, however large, may be needed to equip and sustain our army

and our navy. That both should be provided with the most formidable and effective weapons of warfare which the genius of the world can produce, to the end that the enemy may be speedily overcome. That the vast sums of moneys required should be raised by the sale of bonds, and by an equitable levy of taxes upon all of our citizens in proportion to their ability to pay.

3—In giving unqualified approval to the acts of the President in sending our armies to France where the enemies of our Country may be fought and defeated, rather than waiting for the enemy to come here and desolate our own beloved land.

4—In making the next and each succeeding Liberty Loan a success by encouraging all classes to purchase our Government Bonds, which are by general consent the finest and safest security in the world.

5—In discouraging partisan and acrimonious debates in Congress, particularly in the Senate, where members of both parties have been guilty of serious indiscretions tending unfavorably to affect public opinion and undermine confidence in the Government.

6—In recommending that Congress revoke the charter of the so-called "German-American Alliance"; and that the Federal Department of Justice take steps to bring to punishment all who have made such alliance a cloak to cover their crimes against our Country.

7—In calling upon the Congress to enact a law defining the crime of sedition, prescribing the evidence necessary to a conviction thereof, and fixing appropriate penalties, to the end that disloyal and seditious citizens may be made to suffer appropriate punishment, by the loss of their citizenship and their property in all cases where the interests of the Country so require.

8—In upholding the "Selective Service Law" as the only sound and impartial way of raising armies for the defense of the Country.

9—In expressing a most thankful appreciation of the work done by the members of the various Exemption Boards, the District Boards, the members of the medical profession, the members of the legal profession, and all others who have given generously of time and effort to the efficient administration of the "Selective Service Law."

10—In discontinuing the teaching of any foreign languages in all of the grade schools of the State.

11—In extending to the Department of Justice, the American Protective League and other Government agencies every facility and every assistance available in seeking out and punishing all persons guilty of sedition.

12—In approving and most heartily commending the splendid work carried on by the Red Cross, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Knights of Columbus, the Young Men's Hebrew Association, the Salvation Army and the Boy Scouts.

13—In urging every citizen of this State to lay aside all partisan feelings on Election Day, April 2, 1918, and to see that every loyal vote is polled, to the end that only men of courageous and outstanding Americanism shall be elected as supervisors, as mayors, as school superintendents, as United States Senator, and as judges of our circuit and supreme courts.

14—In doing all things possible by the payment of taxes, by the purchase of bonds, by voluntary gift, by voice and by vote, and by the daily prayers of our people to encourage and sustain our brave soldier boys who are risking their lives upon the field of battle for the cause of Country and civilization.

15—In promoting the disappearance of those distinctly foreign and non-American racial traits which our immigrants have brought from abroad, and in encouraging, irrespective of race or creed, the growth and development of all of those moral and spiritual forces which alone give strength and endurance to a nation, and make and keep a people truly great.

W. A. HAYES,
L. M. ALEXANDER,
JOHN M. WHITEHEAD,
P. H. MARTIN,
WILLIAM F. SHEA,
ROBERT M. CRAWFORD,
J. H. STOVER.

Moved and duly seconded that the resolutions as submitted by the Resolutions Committee and read by Chairman Hayes be adopted. Chairman called a rising vote. Carried unanimously.

Upon recommendation of one of the delegates it was unanimously voted to include in the resolutions the names of the Young Men's Hebrew Association, Salvation Army and Boy Scouts, as being among the patriotic organizations deserving of credit and recognized by the Government.

Mr. Richard L. Jones of Madison suggested an addition to the Resolutions and this was voted and unanimously made a part of the tenth section of the fifteenth paragraph. Mr. Jones' recommendation below:

At the evening meeting it was moved by Mr. C. F. Crane of Weyauwega and seconded by Mr. Hutchinson of the same city as follows:

Resolved, That the Chairman of this meeting appoint a Committee of five for the purpose of taking steps to combine the loyal vote of all citizens at the election April 2, 1918, on one of the loyal candidates for the United States Senatorship, and that the result of their effort be transmitted promptly to all chapters.
Carried unanimously.

Mr. Jones: That the Regents of the University of Wisconsin be requested to reduce the German language and literature department from its present proportions of obvious propaganda to a proportion that represents actual academic needs and that this reduction means that the German department is not to exceed,

in the number of professors and instructors, grade for grade, and in the budget for the department, that maintained by the Regents for the department of French language and literature.

Chairman Hayes on Saturday morning, March 23rd, appointed the following to serve as a committee to confer with the two loyal Senatorial candidates with a view to one or the other withdrawing:

C. F. Crane.....	Weyauwega
E. R. Bowler.....	Sheboygan
A. W. Sanborn.....	Ashland
Judson G. Rosebush.....	Appleton
E. J. Dempsey.....	Oshkosh

It was arranged for this Committee to meet Mr. Lenroot and Mr. Davies at 8:30 P. M. on Sunday, March 24th, at the office of Mr. Geo. A. West. Owing to the illness of Mr. Bowler, a member of the Committee, the meeting was postponed until 1:00 o'clock on the afternoon of Monday, March 25th. At a meeting of the Committee at that hour it was decided as follows:

The appointment of the Committee was made at so late a time and the campaigns of the respective candidates had made such progress that it was found impracticable to do anything looking toward a union of parties or the elimination of either candidate.

C. F. CRANE, Chairman,
JUDSON G. ROSEBUSH,
E. R. BOWLER,
E. J. DEMPSEY,
A. W. SANBORN.

Secretary.

ANNUAL MEETING MINUTES

Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Wisconsin Loyalty Legion Held at the Gold Room of the Wisconsin Hotel at 10:30 A. M., Saturday, March 23rd.

About one hundred forty-five men and women representing that many chapters were present.

Minutes of the meetings of the General Council during the past five months were read and approved.

Verbal report was made by Mr. Hayes, Chairman of the Executive Committee.

Mr. Hayes' letter of resignation as Chairman of the Executive Committee was read. Resignation accepted.

Motion was made and duly seconded that Mr. Hayes' report be reduced to writing, incorporated in the records of the Association and copy of the record sent to each chapter. Unanimously carried.

Report of Secretary read and approved. Copy of this report is made part of these minutes.

Mr. Wheeler P. Bloodgood explained briefly the "Next of Kin," a proposed patriotic organization for Wisconsin and recommended that it be formed and operated through the Wisconsin Loyalty Legion chapters. Approved.

Report of Miss O'Malley, Assistant Treasurer, read and approved.

Copy of this report to be made part of these records.

Moved and duly seconded that a copy of the Assistant Treasurer's report be mailed to each chapter of the Legion. Unanimously carried.

Moved and duly seconded that an expression of thanks for work done by all connected with the Legion be voted. Carried unanimously.

Moved and duly seconded that at an early meeting of the General Council it be definitely decided what shall be the policy for future activity of the Wisconsin Loyalty Legion. Carried unanimously.

Mr. Henderson made a report regarding the use of German and other foreign languages being used exclusively throughout the State and suggested that the Legion take up the work of seeing that at least legal documents be made out in the English language, with German and other languages possibly printed on the back thereof.

Next order of business was the election of members of the General Council. Delegates represent-

ing their respective Congressional Districts were instructed to caucus and present to the annual meeting the name of men whom they wished to represent them on the General Council during the forthcoming year.

Following is a result of nominations and elections:

- 1st Congressional District—C. E. Gray, White-water.
- 2nd Congressional District — Judge Martin Lueck, Juneau.
- 3rd Congressional District—Richard L. Jones, Madison.
- 4th Congressional District—C. B. Perry, Wau-wautosa.
- 5th Congressional District — Geo. E. Morton, Milwaukee.
- 6th Congressional District — Thomas Higgins, Manitowoc.
- 7th Congressional District—J. E. McConnell, La Crosse.
- 8th Congressional District — A. P. Woodson, Wausau.
- 9th Congressional District—P. H. Martin, Green Bay.
- 10th Congressional District—W. N. Fuller, Cum-berland.
- 11th Congressional District — A. W. Sanborn, Ashland.

The following men nominated by a duly author-ized nominating committee consisting of the fol-lowing: E. J. Dempsey, Oshkosh, Geo. Nuesse, Milwaukee, Geo. W. Wing, Kewaunee, Geo. Mor-ton, Milwaukee, and W. J. Desmond, Milwaukee, were nominated and elected as members At Large of the General Council:

Ortel E. Thomas.....	Milwaukee
Herman A. Wagner.....	Milwaukee
Wheeler P. Bloodgood.....	Milwaukee
Judge Henry Grass.....	Green Bay

Moved and duly seconded that the names of the Committee to confer with Mr. Lenroot and Mr. Davies regarding the withdrawal of one or the other of the Senatorial candidates as appointed by Chairman Hayes be announced at the meet-ing. Following were announced: C. E. Crane, Weyauwega, E. R. Bowler, Sheboygan, A. W. Sanborn, Ashland, J. G. Rosebush, Appleton, E. J. Dempsey, Oshkosh.

It was requested that the conference committee make its report to the officers of the Legion at the earliest possible date.

Moved and duly seconded that the following resolution be adopted by the Wisconsin Loyalty Legion:

Resolved, That the delegates of all chapters of the Wisconsin Loyalty Legion in annual meeting assembled hereby call upon the De-partment of Justice and the Attorney General of the United States to immediately take steps

to present to a Grand Jury for indictment under the Espionage Act the framers of the city platform of the Socialist party of the city of Milwaukee which reads as follows:

"The Socialist party of Milwaukee reaffirm its allegiance to the principles of the International Socialist movement—the brotherhood of man, and opposition to all capitalistic wars.

Wars are justifiable only as wars of revolution, emancipation, or to repel actual invasion.

Under the present capitalist system, the plutocrats of every country are forced to look for foreign markets to dispose of the "surplus" wealth, since the huge profits can no longer be profitably re-invested in their own countries.

This, together with fear of the rising power of the class, caused each of the European countries to arm to the teeth.

Capitalism, imperialism, militarism and navalism thus laid the foundation for the world war. It was the logical outcome of the capitalist system.

The capitalist class of our own nation—with billions of dollars of loans to the allied countries at stake, and with a ravenous desire to share in the commercial conquest of the world—encouraged our entrance into the war. They have made billions of dollars of profits out of the war. They want more billions of profits—and therefore they demand more war.

The working class of the United States has no quarrel with the working class of any other country.

The American people did not want and do not want this war. They were plunged into this abyss by the treachery of the ruling class of the country—its demagogic agitators, its bought press, its sensational photoplays, its lying advertisements, and other purchasable instruments of public expression.

The Socialist party wants peace—a speedy, general democratic and permanent peace. We want a peace without forcible annexations or punitive indemnities—we want the right of all nationalities to determine their own destiny. Our government should immediately negotiate for such a peace.

We demand the maintenance of the inalienable rights of free speech, free press, free assemblage, and free organization.

We propose that the profiteers shall pay the cost of the war.

We oppose militarism and navalism at home and abroad.

We shall obey all laws. But we will fight the efforts of any administration—national or state—to destroy our established liberties of whatever nature.

We stand for international brotherhood, as well as for national patriotism.

In the city election we urge the voters to elect a Socialist common council, as well as a Socialist mayor, so that the city administration will have the power to carry out our municipal principles, in so far as the state laws will permit.

We pledge ourselves to do everything in our power to assist the workers in their struggle for better conditions.

We stand for public ownership and democratic control of all public utilities.

We believe in making the public service corporations and the plutocrats and profiteers obey the law the same as the common citizen.

We will promote city planning, harbor improvements, public health and sanitation, and all other measures that will make this a better city.

We believe in the merit system for public servants.

We favor careful and sane economy in the expenditure of city funds.

We stand for complete home rule.

We stand for high industrial and political democracy throughout the world. The end of wars, the end of profiteering, and the dawn of permanent peace and plenty will come with the establishment of socialized industry. We call upon all honest and humane men and women to join us in our efforts to reach this goal and to establish a degree of civilization, culture and happiness hitherto unknown in the world."

Unanimously carried.

Moved and duly seconded that the chapters of the Wisconsin Loyalty Legion throughout the state be instructed to see to it that every candidate for public office be put upon record as to his attitude relative to questions involving loyalty to America. No vote.

Moved and duly seconded that the following resolution be adopted:

Resolved, That the Wisconsin Loyalty Legion welcomes and asks that they may be made a joint part of the "Next of Kin" Company. We want them and need them as has been suggested.

Carried unanimously.

Moved and duly seconded that the Secretary be instructed to forward a copy of the following resolution, together with a copy of Mr. Rosebush's address, to the President of the United States:

1. We are opposed to peace negotiations with an unbeaten and unrepentant Germany.
2. We believe that the war can only be won by FIGHTING.
3. We believe that peace discussions while Germany is consolidating her successes will prolong the war by encouraging Germany and weakening America's will to fight.
4. In view of Germany's victory over Russia, we believe a long and bitter war faces us, requiring millions of American soldiers in Europe.
5. We respectfully urge the President to organize the fighting forces of the American nation to the full limit of our power and to prosecute the war to final victory, which

alone can secure an assured peace—peace with justice.

Dr. Lyman Abbott,
James M. Beck,
Samuel Harden Church,
Charles Stewart Davison,
Charles S. Fairchild,
Prof. William Gardner Hale,
William Guggenheim,
Dr. John Grier Hibben,
Dr. William T. Hornaday,
Theodore Roosevelt,
George Haven Putnam,
Rev. Randolph H. McKim,
Cleveland Moffett,
Henry C. Quinby,
Charles P. Johnson,
William Roscoe Thayer,
Everett P. Wheeler,
Richard M. Hurd.

Issued by the

AMERICAN DEFENSE SOCIETY AND THE
AMERICAN RIGHTS LEAGUE,

44 East 23rd Street,
New York City.

Unanimously carried.

Moved and duly seconded that Article 6 of the Constitution and By-Laws of the Wisconsin Loyalty Legion be amended so as to make possible an increase of membership dues. Not carried.

Moved and duly seconded that the matter pertaining to membership dues be referred without recommendation to the General Council. Unanimously carried.

Moved and duly seconded that the Secretary send to the various chapters of the Legion a copy of the Resolution sent to the President of the United States. Carried unanimously.

Meeting adjourned at 12:45 P. M.

G. F. KULL,
Secretary.

Address of Judson G. Rosebush, President Wisconsin Loyalty Legion, delivered at a state-wide mass meeting of delegates of Wisconsin Chapters at Kilbourn Hall, Auditorium, Milwaukee, on the afternoon of Friday, March 22nd.

AMERICA'S TERM OF PEACE

At the present time the war lords of Germany claim to have been victorious in this war. On the western front they have overrun and conquered almost all of Belgium and substantially one-tenth of the most industrial and prosperous part of France. Against Italy their armies have also been successful, and they stand today on the banks of the Piave menacing Venice, Milan, and Turin. The Kaiser's conquest of Montenegro and Servia was completed months ago and within the last few weeks we have witnessed the final collapse of the kingdom of Roumania.

Most astounding of all has been the successes of the Imperial German armies against the former Russian Empire; for not even Napoleon during the triumphant period of his Moscow campaign had achieved against Russia the solid, substantial results which the Germans appear to have recently gained. Through their capture of Libau and Riga and their penetration into Finland they now dominate the entire Baltic coast and the back-lying country of Russia. Through their occupation of Warsaw, Brest-Litovsk, and Kief, they control the great industrial section of Russia. Through their recent capture of Odessa they have placed their iron glove upon the great black earth country of southern Russia and thereby gained a wheat producing territory greater in area than the states of Minnesota, North, and South Dakota.

On the sea the German submarines continue to sink merchant ships of the allies more than twice as fast as new boats are

launched and the problem of feeding England, rationing France and Italy, of transporting and maintaining American troops on the western front, grows more difficult month by month. Unless the submarine is conquered the war is lost.

In view of these astounding successes on the sea and on all the major fronts in Europe, we now no longer hear arising from Germany that socialist formula of no indemnities, no annexations. In lieu thereof there comes from Germany a stronger note of defiance, a louder pean of victory and a more striking evidence to hold by force that which Teutonic armies have gained by force. As the Kaiser himself said only last month:

"We desire to live in friendship with neighboring peoples, but the victory of German arms must first be recognized." (The Weekly London Times, Feb. 15, 1918, p. 131.)

Very well then, on the basis of German victory such as Germany claims today exists, let us see what Germany would expect to get as a reward of victory from a negotiated peace.

II.

Regarding Belgium, the aims of Germany were well set forth in the following report which Ambassador Gerard made of many conversations with Chancellor Bethman-Hollweg. Gerard says:

"From the time when the Chancellor first spoke of peace, I asked him and others what the peace terms of Germany were. I could never get anyone to state any definite terms of peace and on several occasions when I asked the Chancellor whether Germany was willing to withdraw from Belgium, he always said, 'Yes, but with guarantees.' Finally in January, 1917, when he was again talking of peace, I said, 'What are these peace terms to which you refer continually? Will you allow me to ask a few questions as to the specific terms of peace? First, are the Germans willing to withdraw from Belgium?' The Chancellor answered, 'Yes, but with guarantees.' I said, 'What are these guarantees?' He said, 'We must possibly have the forts of Liege and Namur; we must have other forts and garrisons throughout Belgium. We must have possession of the ports and other means of communication. The Belgians will not be allowed to maintain a large army in Belgium.' I said, 'I do not see that you have left much for the Belgians except that King Albert will have the

right to reside in Brussels with an honor guard." (Gerard, *My First Years in Germany*, p. 365.)

None can doubt that Gerard was right: Belgian independence under such German "guarantees" would have been only a shadow, only a fantasy, and this shadow of freedom too, you must remember, was now the suggestion of that same Chancellor who some thirty months before had talked about righting the "wrong" which he, himself, had said that Germany had done to Belgium.

In pursuance of this policy of annexation the German government in March, 1917, split Belgium into two administration districts, one of which was called Flanders. According to instructions given the German army, the final object of this division was that "A Flanders reconquered for Germanism and turned towards Germany shall secure in future the western flank of the German Empire." (*The Weekly London Times*, Feb. 15, 1918, p. 146.)

The full significance of Germany's determination to hold Belgium permanently will however be lost, unless the fact is constantly kept in mind that Belgium owns a great and immensely valuable colony in Central Africa, known as the Belgian Congo, a colony which aggregates 900,000 square miles, an area sixteen times larger than the State of Wisconsin. This African colony contains the Katanga copper mines, among the most extensive in the world, and is capable of producing vast quantities of forest and food products. Here now is the vital point: If Germany annexes Belgium, this immense territory in Central Africa will automatically become German territory, and Germany will in consequence be in a fair way of having a colonial empire in Africa which would occupy upwards of half that great continent.

Today German armies are strongly entrenched along the western front of French soil. Do you think Germany will withdraw voluntarily and without compensation from this French territory? If so, why does she not do it? On the contrary, do not all the

facts show that Germany expects to exact a heavy payment from France as the price of withdrawal? What then is the nature of the payment which Germany expects from France? The answer to that question is found in the following incident which occurred just as the lurid glow of war and desolation was breaking over Europe nearly four years ago.

On July 29, 1914, Sir Edward Goschen, British Ambassador at Berlin, sent Sir Edward Grey, Great Britain's Foreign Secretary, the following telegram:

"I was asked to call upon the Chancellor to-night. His Excellency had just returned from Potsdam. . . . He said that should Austria be attacked by Russia, a European conflagration might . . . become inevitable, owing to Germany's obligations as Austria's ally . . . He then proceeded to make the following strong bid for the British neutrality Provided that neutrality of Great Britain were certain, every assurance would be given to the British Government that the Imperial Government aimed at no territorial acquisitions at the expense of France.

"I questioned His Excellency about the French colonies and he said that he was unable to give a similar undertaking in that respect." (Great Britain and the European Crisis—p 45.)

The next day the British Foreign Secretary wired the British Ambassador in Berlin the answer of the British Government to Von Bethmann-Hollweg's offer:

"Great Britain," he said, "cannot for a moment entertain the Chancellor's proposal. What he asks us in effect is to stand by while French colonies are taken and France is beaten so long as Germany does not take French territory as distinct from the colonies." (Ibid, p. 55.)

What a war indemnity Germany would secure from France if she could lay hands on the colonies of France, as the Chancellor undoubtedly had in mind: Tunis, Algeria, Morocco, Senegal, and the French Congo, the splendid island of Madagascar, and the French possessions in Indo-China—with a total area of 2,100,000 square miles, almost forty times as large as Wisconsin and with economic possibilities and strategic possibilities beyond ready description. If England had only accepted the deal which the Chancellor and the Kaiser had concocted on that July day in Potsdam, Germany would

indeed have secured that "place in the sun" which the Emperor had talked about, and there would indeed have been realization of that dream which the Kaiser had expressed in a speech made seventeen years before (July 3, 1900) when he had said:

"Germany's greatness makes it impossible for her to do without the ocean; but the ocean also bears witness that even in the distance and on its farther side, without Germany and the German Emperor no great decision dare be taken."

Regarding German's designs in the East, we do not need to have recourse to the statements of her diplomats or the rhetoric of her Kaiser, for the recent events in Russia tell their own story. Germany has annexed the Baltic provinces of Russia, comprising 110,000 square miles of agricultural land, and containing twenty million people. Since the date on which she made peace with Ukrainia, her armies have occupied Kief, the capital, and Odessa, the great commercial emporium, of Ukrainia itself. Not content with these conquests her statesmen now advise us that they have found a new road to India via the Black Sea and Persia, and her aims upon Siberia are so apparent as to cause profound alarm both in China and Japan.

Regarding India, the world has just been given a deep insight into German plans there, as a result of a pamphlet written by Herr August Thyssen, who is by universal consent the dominating figure of the Fatherland's throbbing industrial life. (Wile—Men Around the Kaiser, p. 149.) Herr Thyssen says:

"The Emperor on three occasions addressed large private gatherings of business men in Berlin, Munich, and Cassel in 1912 and 1913. I was at one of these gatherings. The Emperor's speech was one of the most flowery orations I have listened to, and so profuse were the promises he made, that were even half of what he promised fulfilled, most of the commercial men in Germany would become rich beyond the dreams of avarice.

"The Emperor was particularly enthusiastic over the coming German conquest of India. 'India,' he said, 'is occupied by the British, but is by no means completely governed by them. We shall not merely occupy India. We shall

conquer it, and the vast revenues that the British allow to be taken by Indian Princes will, after our conquest, flow in a golden stream into the Fatherland." (New York Times Current History—March, 1918—p. 480.)

III.

So far in discussing German war aims and peace conditions I have confined myself almost wholly to the Old World. In order, however, to round out the picture, I want now to point out her imperial aspirations in the Western Hemisphere and her ill will towards the United States.

Ex-President Roosevelt has made us familiar with German aims in Venezuela; it is also known that Germany had designs on the Island of Haiti, and that a sharp discussion over its control was developing with America when war broke out in 1914; one great reason why the United States paid twenty-five million dollars for the Danish West Indies was to prevent these islands from coming under German control; it is likewise realized that the defeat of France might mean the cession of Martinique in the West Indies to Germany; furthermore the state department itself has told us of the efforts of Zimmermann, the German Foreign Secretary, to form an alliance with Mexico against the United States. Regarding German ambitions on Argentina, an insight has been given in the recent exposure of Count von Luxburg's correspondence. As regards Brazil I will quote from Professors Gustav von Schmoller who was universally recognized till his death in 1917 as one of the two or three most distinguished economists within the German empire. He says:

"We must desire that at any cost a German country containing some twenty to thirty million Germans may grow up in the coming century in South Brazil—and that, too, no matter whether it remains a portion of Brazil or becomes an independent State, or enters into close relationship with our Empire. Unless our connection with Brazil is always secured by ships of war, and unless Germany is able to exercise pressure there, our development is threatened." (Gustav von Schmoller, *Handels- und Machtpolitik*, 1, p. 36.)

Speaking on this same point, Bishop Homer C. Stuntz for four years a bishop in South America, recently (*The Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 5, 1917) said:

"I was in South America when the United States declared war. The Germans in Brazil, and there are 400,000 there, were wild with joy. They felt 'der tag,' the day, had arrived and they said it will be only a short time before Brazil with its rich supplies of coffee, sugar and cattle will be in possession of Germany.

"I frequently visited Rio de Janeiro while I lived in Buenos Aires and talked with editors, diplomats and leading citizens and it was common talk Germany was carrying on a systematic colonization with the ultimate purpose of gaining a controlling influence on the American continent."

Much more authoritative, however, than either of these last two quotations was a conversation held on October 25, 1915, between Ambassador Gerard and Kaiser Wilhelm himself. I quote from Gerard's own statement of that interview, as follows:

"The Emperor was standing, so naturally, I stood also, and according to his habit, which is quite Rooseveltian, he stood very close to me and talked very earnestly. . . . He showed great bitterness against the United States and repeatedly said, 'America had better look out after this war;' and, 'I shall stand no nonsense from America after the war.' . . . I was so fearful in reporting the dangerous part of this interview, on account of the many spies not only in my own embassy but also in the State Department, that I sent but a very few words in a roundabout way by courier direct to the president." (James W. Gerard, *My Four Years in Germany*, 1917—pp. 251-253.)

IV.

While I could easily discuss in much greater detail Germany's practical designs of Europe, Africa, the Orient and the Western Hemisphere (the ability to get which the war will decide) enough has been shown to make clear the real war aims of German leadership and the basis upon which the Kaiser would make peace today.

That is to say, the allies can have peace tomorrow, if, like Russia, they will recognize the military map and concede, as the Kaiser insists, the fact that Germany has been victorious in this war. Such a peace we cannot and will not accept, because of the men-

ace which would thereby overlay the world. The vast extension which would come to Germany's territory would obviously and automatically cover the conquered peoples with Germany's materialistic philosophy of life, and likewise extend the grip which her autoeracy and her militarism would have upon that portion of the earth. Conversely, the field for the future expansion of liberty in thought and democracy in Government would be equally and proportionately diminished. Thus, if we now make a German peace, the world would find itself immediately divided into two great hostile and opposing groups—on the one hand, Germany dominating Europe and Asia Minor from Calais to Reval, from Hamburg to Vladivostok, controlling almost half of Africa, and very influential in Asia; on the other hand, a weakened Great Britain, still owning India, South Africa, and Australia, and supported by the United States and some South American Allies.

Do you think such a result would help to make America, to say nothing of the rest of the world, "safe for democracy?" How do you like the idea of so arranging international affairs today that your children hereafter will have to uphold Democracy against an autocratic Germany having control of the four hundred million people living in Europe, the tremendous resources of most of Africa and much of the Orient and economic and strategic bases in Brazil and the West Indies. The thing is unthinkable. If there is any one subject upon which the American people are and shall be united, it is that Germany shall not get from us and from our allies the kind of German peace which she has just secured from the broken Russian people.

Ninety-five years ago the limits of European activity in the Western Hemisphere were most ably set forth by President Monroe in a statement since known as the Monroe Doctrine—that doctrine which for all these decades has formed a corner-stone of

American international intercourse with Europe. To show the relation of this German propaganda to our fundamental interests I quote now four sentences only from Monroe's great state paper on that subject. In his seventh annual message to Congress on December 2, 1823, President Monroe said:

"The political system of the allied powers (of Europe) is essentially different from that of America. . . . We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

The allied powers of Europe to whom Monroe addressed this warning were Prussia, Austria, France and Russia who in November, 1822, had revised the Holy Alliance at Verona, and agreed there to use their efforts to put an end to the system of representative government in Europe, and to prevent its further introduction there and elsewhere.

Nearly one hundred years have elapsed since this meeting at Verona, and with the passage of time there has been a tremendous change in the character and direction of the menace which Monroe was then meeting. Instead of being an advocate of the divine right of rulers and the opponent of democracy, France has long since become one of the outstanding supporters of representative government in the world. Russia, which at that time was under the most autocratic ruler, has recently thrown off the shackles of despotism and the great danger to democracy which she represents today, is the danger that democracy may be identified with inefficiency and anarchy. Thus the menace which in 1823 France and Russia offered to representative government in the Western

Hemisphere apparently has passed entirely way. As regards Austria, the demand for democracy within her own limits, the heterogeneous character of her population, and her lack of an aggressive foreign policy are ample evidence that she cannot retard democracy either in North or South America. Consequently, of the four great powers against whom Monroe was speaking, there remains only Prussia to menace representative government in the Western Hemisphere. In 1823 the danger from Prussia was less than the danger from Austria or France or Russia. With the passage of time, however, and largely on account of the collaboration of Emperor William the First, Von Moltke, and Bismarck, Prussia has become the outstanding representative in this world of autocratic government, and the one great power in Europe that can and does threaten representative government whether in Europe or South America or throughout the great continent of Asia. Monroe in seeking to make the world safe for democracy saw only four great European nations ranged against him. Of these four Wilson now finds only one menacing the democratic safety of the world; but the menace from that one is now far greater, far more acute, far more dangerous than it was one hundred years ago, because Prussia not alone has gained tremendously in striking power; but she has also evolved a philosophy of life and set of ideals that together constitute the most aggressive force that threatens today the safety and perpetuity of the Monroe Doctrine.

Instead of waiting until the Kaiser is in control of so much of the resources of the world, that he can readily carry war to our own shores, turn New England and the Middle States into a second Belgium, deprive us of our island possessions, and secure control of the Panama Canal, it is infinitely better and wiser to stay in now, while his armies are reasonably busy in Europe, and stop this world wide menace to democracy, liberty and the Monroe Doctrine once and for all.

But I will go further and say that there must be no compromise peace between either American or Prussian ideals. This war must continue until Germany abandons her philosophy of conquest, or else is so circumscribed that she can no longer menace the world. Suppose Europe had compromised with Napoleon a hundred years ago, to whom would have been the victory? Suppose the North had compromised with the South in 1864, and accepted the **status quo ante**, to whom would have been the victory? You can compromise, and frequently should, when questions only of expediency or profit are involved; but when, as in this war, the world is asked to decide whether it will worship the political ideals of Lincoln or of Kaiser Wilhelm, it must make a positive and a definite answer.

The great trouble with a compromise peace is that it would leave imperial Germany proud of the achievements of her militarism, in possession of some conquered territories and in the grip, stronger than ever, of her philosophy of force. Under these circumstances what would the United States do on the subject of militarism? Do you think in view of the recent experiences and Germany's known designs on South America we would disarm? Is it not clear that on the contrary we would take every precaution against being caught unprepared next time? Is it not in fact as clear as noonday that with a compromise peace the United States would necessarily become a great militaristic nation both on land and sea; would divert billions of money for years and years from the arts of peace to the preparation for war; would demand prolonged military service from our youth, and accustom our entire population to cantonments, to barracks, to the incessant tramp of troops, to the huge fall maneuvers, to crushing taxation, and to a strongly centralized and imperialistic form of government. No! Instead of saddling semi-autocracy and outright militarism on this country for many, many years and then

fighting another colossal war for the control of civilization, let us fight this war out now, and remove once and for all this hideous, awful weight that is today crushing civilization and humanity.

VI.

And yet in spite of these facts we hear responsible men in the state of Wisconsin and candidates for office urging immediate peace conferences and peace negotiations. What kind of a peace do they think victorious Germany would make today? At what price would she be willing to withdraw from Belgium, from France, from Italy, from the Baltic States, and from the great Odessa-Reval line in Russia? All of these conquests have been achieved at a tremendous outlay of German treasure and German blood. Do they think that Germany would retire at all today? Is it not on the contrary perfectly clear that no German statesman would dare to withdraw from a victorious war without securing as the price of peace the customary rewards of victory as hitherto interpreted in Germany; that is to say, territory, indemnity, guarantees, and economic advantage.

In substance therefore those who urge today on the platform and in the press that we hold peace conferences either possess the simplicity of mind which has characterized Trotzky, the Russian Imperial Minister, or else for the sake of peace are willing to admit that Germany has been successful, that German leadership of Europe involves no menace to democracy, and that we in this country can view with complacency and ease the tremendous expansion of autocracy in Europe, the most highly civilized, the most densely populated, and the most strategic continent on the globe, to say nothing of its expansion elsewhere. Whichever of these alternatives you accept, I say to you that men who advocate a speedy peace or halfheartedly support this war lack vision, have no appreciation of the German Menace of the

world, and are not proper leaders today for the citizens of the state of Wisconsin.

In view of the great issues involved, and of the continued discussion of peace, it will be proper now to state again the fundamental terms of an American peace, being the only kind of peace which we will accept. For the sake of definiteness I shall call this statement **OUR AMERICAN CREED OF LIBERTY**. It is as follows:

If Germany will change her philosophy of conquest so that her standards of conduct will conform to the accepted standards of all other civilized nations, and if she also makes such changes in her government as to produce a real democracy, the world is prepared to consider in a receptive and friendly manner, such economic adjustments as will forever give the German people a reasonable opportunity to promote and sustain their economic well-being. But until such time as Germany adopts real democratic government and accepts a philosophy of life resting back upon the rights of others, the sanctity of treaties and international law, the rest of the world must look with disfavor and disapproval upon the extension of German territory and the enlargement of the influence and power of the German Empire.

We are met here today as members and friends of the Wisconsin Loyalty Legion. Loyalty is a common word these days, but what is loyalty? If I might define it, I should say that **Loyalty is love for the great underlying principles of American Democracy, and constancy in furthering their perpetuity**. Today, American Democracy is threatened by a hostile system of Government which for nearly a thousand years has been steadily growing under the leadership of the Hohenzollern dynasty. The world has become too small for these two hostile systems of Government. One or the other must give way. Through the force of circumstances, therefore, the kind of peace we are today willing to make with Germany be-

comes the test of our loyalty to America and American Democracy.

In this vital situation, Wisconsin has not heretofore pursued unfalteringly a truly loyal policy because some of our citizens and leaders have failed to realize the menace which Germany is now raising against democracy, and have used, and are still employing, their influence so that when peace comes autocracy will gain in influence, and democracy will lose in power. Fifteen years ago Wisconsin lead all the states of the Union in her zeal for democracy: today she is said to be the laggard, not in material things perhaps, but in her support of truly American ideals. We are now in the midst of an election to measure the strength of our love for democracy, and our constancy in helping to perpetuate it. We have a right to ask, and do ask, that party lines shall not be used to obstruct before the nation the clarity of the issue and the result; we have a right to ask, and do ask, that professedly loyal candidates for office make that fact manifest by subordinating personal ambitions to the re-establishment of the good name of Wisconsin among her sister states. Nothing would so help the President today, nothing would so advance the cause of liberty today, as ringing and positive declaration on the second day of next April that Wisconsin was unfalteringly and whole heartedly supporting this war.

The nation today needs this kind of support, for Germany is in many relative respects stronger than she was three years ago. Her material successes in battle and conquest have increased her faith in her autocracy, so that the task of breaking down her ideals or pushing her back is difficult and arduous. We must, especially during 1918, stand steady and steadfast; and while so standing, vow that so far as we have resources, so far as we have influence, so far as we have life they are all at the service of flag and country.

Human life is a precious thing, and it has been no flippant task for American citizens to send their sons into battle; but I want to say this to the fathers and mothers and sisters of American soldiers; there are some things worth fighting for, and there are some things that red-blooded men can afford to lay down their lives for. We are now engaged in a great war again, as in Lincoln's day, to decide whether democracy shall rule the world, or perish from the earth; whether we shall bow under to these Prussian ideals of life, or march even haltingly toward the universal realization of an American and Christian civilization. To battle for the right in such a cause is worthy of the best blood that America has, and I know she will give it unstintingly and to the end even though Russia has wearied of the cause and Italy falls by the wayside, even though France and England are bowed low by the struggle.

Acting in this way and with these ideals we will be true to the traditions of Plymouth Rock; we will again re incarnate the spirit of Valley Forge, we will meet the faith which Lincoln had in democracy; and, because we march in harmony with God's ideals, we will eventually win this war.

The nation today needs this kind of spirit. For Germany is in many ways a more powerful nation than she was three years ago. Her material resources in battle and equipment are greater than in her infancy, so that the task of breaking down her ideals or crushing her will is difficult and arduous. We must especially during 1918 stand steady and steadfast; and while so standing, you that so far as we have resources, so far as we have influence, so far as we have life they are all at the service of flag and country.

