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PREPAREDNESS FOR WAR AND NATIONAL DEFENSE

ARTICLE

RELATIVE TO

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON WAR
AND PREPAREDNESS FOR IT

By

COL. WILLIAM HOYNES

DEAN OF THE LAW DEPARTMENT OF THE NOTRE DAME
UNIVERSITY, NOTRE DAME, IND.



PRESENTED BY MR. LA FOLLETTE

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In response to numerous requests for an expression of opinion on the much-discussed subject of "Preparedness for war," I venture to make some observations relative to the matter—observations that under the circumstances can hardly be considered obtrusive.

To me it seems almost inexplicable that so many persons have suddenly become apprehensive and even alarmed at the fancied prospect of war and our alleged want of preparation for it. Newspapers generally and their more impressionable readers, moving-picture shows, and circus-suggesting billboard decorations, not to specify other kindred agencies, seem to be bent upon aggravating the vexed situation. And politicians not a few appear to regard it as in the nature of a rising tide on which they may float into popularity and land in coveted offices. Even the President has reversed his attitude in the matter and startlingly emphasizes the current slogans of alarm.

As the tide flows, or, rather, as the wind blows, so goes public opinion in its mutability. This is the way of least resistance, and comparatively few in any community have the moral stamina and physical courage to interpose and stand sturdily against it. So the public mind in the main may be expected to veer and shift in its instability with the uncertain course of events and the secret influences capable of adroitly dominating civic action.

SEEMS TO EXERCISE A FASCINATION.

The prevalent fear that our own country may become involved in the European War is of comparatively recent origin, and candor demands acknowledgment of the difficulty of tracing it to its mysterious source. Nevertheless the fancied danger seems to exercise a sort of fascination that tends to draw us into the seething vortex—a fascination such as the serpent exerts in attracting and seizing a luckless bird. Such fear is unworthy of American traditions and manifestly not spontaneous. It bespeaks crafty design and sinister purpose.

It would appear as though a propaganda combining foreign and domestic activities, insinuating and yet elusive, were at the bottom of it. A plausible theory disclosing at least a motive may be found in the evident desire of certain large interests profitably engaged in selling war materials for use abroad to create an extensive home market, in the name of preparedness, for the continuing sale of their products on cessation of the foreign demand by the restoration of

peace. Moreover, certain signs indicate that a hidden mysterious force is covertly at work to embroil this country in the war.

As a rule, any deeply concerned interests, such as those indicated, would be able through well-known machinations to arouse and direct public opinion in almost any channel apparently related to popular impulse, unrest, and agitation in public affairs.

From this point of view a noted British historian and essayist alludes to popular credulity under certain conditions as almost limitless in gullibility and appetite for the grotesque. He says substantially that a well-organized propaganda, liberally supplied with cash, and thus able to command the services of the press and other helpful agencies, could confidently count upon success in promoting almost any premeditated scheme—could prove ultimately to the satisfaction of the public that "the moon is made of green cheese." He could no doubt point to isolated instances innumerable in which public gullibility had been led to accept as real and true things as chimerical, ridiculous, absurd.

FEW DO THEIR OWN THINKING.

A certain editor, famous in his day, was wont to remark that hardly one person in five thousand does his own thinking on subjects apart from his immediate personal concerns. These include simply vocational activities and the necessities of life. The assertion appears at first to be extravagant and incredible, but deeper insight and reflection supply ample foundation for it. In dealing with matters seemingly foreign to personal interest the ordinary mind begins its operations with a supposedly accurate premise, which it follows to the first plausible conclusion. There it stops and abides, buried as it were in the obscurity of a cul-de-sac. Secondary or ulterior results and consequences are not taken into account. Modifying factors are not considered. Demagogues are usually well versed in the matter and know how easily the mob mind may be aroused and led by schemes paraded in mystery and policies newly hatched in the name of reform.

From the foundation of the Government to the present time there has hardly been a period when conditions indicated less danger of foreign aggression or less pressing need of what is called preparedness for war, presuming that we do not ourselves aim to provoke it. This country was not favored as a Republic by other nations when its population was less than one-sixth of what it now is, and yet, though sharply divided in interest, it maintained without war or apprehended danger a firmer and more positive front in demanding and insisting upon its rights under international law than it now does.

DIFFICULT TO BECOME RECONCILED.

It is difficult to become reconciled to this change in spirit. The European nations, monarchies all, were then far more powerful than they are now, while our country was relatively much weaker. And yet we were absolutely unafraid. In those days there was nothing craven or degenerate in the manhood of America. No citizen apprehended that we were in danger of being attacked by any foreign foe, or that special and costly preparation for such unlikely contingency

was needed or expedient. The civic spirit of the time was forcibly expressed by one whom we all revere and hold in cherished memory—Abraham Lincoln. In the course of a speech delivered at Springfield, January 27, 1837, he said:

At what point shall we expect the approach of danger? By what means shall we fortify against it? Shall we expect some trans-Atlantic military giant to step the ocean and crush us at a blow? Never! All the armies of Europe, Asia, and Africa combined, with all the treasures of the world (our own excepted) in their military chest, with a Bonaparte for a commander, could not by force take a drink from the Ohio or make a track on the Blue Ridge in a trial of a thousand years.

At what point, then, is the approach of danger to be expected? I answer, If it ever reaches us, it must spring up among ourselves. It can not come from abroad. If destruction be our lot, we must ourselves be its author and finisher. As a nation of freemen we must live through all time, or die by suicide.

Thus forcefully and prophetically did Lincoln express the innate feeling of genuine Americanism. There is no strain of cringing or apprehension in his emphatic words, although we stood virtually defenseless in armament before a world fundamentally hostile to free institutions. Moreover, we appeared to be near the verge of war with France because of disagreement respecting the spoliation claims, and at that time France was considered the leading military power in Europe.

BELIEF HELD BY LINCOLN.

Though our Army consisted of but a few thousand men, nevertheless Lincoln believed that in case of invasion every patriotic citizen capable of bearing arms would promptly and cheerfully respond to the call of his country, even with such firearms as defeated the British regulars at Concord, where, as poetically expressed:

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

In his speech he lacked not the solid foundation of precedent in referring to Bunker Hill, Saratoga, Trenton, King Mountain, Yorktown, and New Orleans, and especially the last, where a hastily improvised army of backwoodsmen under Jackson, a country lawyer, defeated more than twice their number of regulars, reputedly the pride of the British Army. Unique and memorable in warfare, their loss was only 15, and for every one of these 200 of the enemy paid bloody forfeit.

Such was the inspiring courage of those days, when Paul Jones boldly attacked and captured British war vessels on their home coasts and Perry achieved a decisive victory on Lake Erie, not to mention other naval exploits of equal brilliancy and importance.

And less than a year ago the bankrupt, discredited, and despised "Sick Man of Europe," as Turkey had long been dubbed, was apprised of the approach in hostile array of the combined expeditionary fleets of England and France. It was believed by the experienced Admiralty experts who planned this new offensive, as well as by prominent officials of our own Navy, that no insuperable difficulty would be encountered in passing the Dardanelles, sailing on through the Sea of Marmora, and capturing Constantinople, that most coveted of cities.

DAYS LENGTHEN INTO WEEKS.

And yet what a surprise to all the world when some of the war vessels and cruisers were sunk by the Turkish fire and those not sunk driven skulkingly away! But surely they could take or destroy Smyrna, on the Asiatic coast. Cablegrams to the newspapers stated that the defending fortifications could make but feeble resistance and that the city would be taken by force, or compelled to surrender within a day or two. Vain promise! Illusory hope! The days lengthened into weeks, and the weeks into months, but Smyrna remained undismayed and defiant under the Turkish flag.

Nevertheless, strategic resourcefulness was not exhausted and a new plan was evolved. This contemplated the landing of a formidable army on the west or undefended shore of the Gallipoli Peninsula. Once the army was landed, as stated, a strong infantry attack could be made on the Turkish fortifications from the rear, which would so weaken the Dardanelles defenses that the reenforced war vessels, cruisers, and torpedo boats could pass through in comparative safety, and be accompanied and aided by the advancing army on shore in the taking of Stamboul, as the Turks call Constantinople. But all to no purpose. The fleet was driven away as ignominiously as before, and the casualties of the army that landed exceeded 130,000. The remnants succeeded in escaping to their ships under cover of the night. The expedition confidently counted upon to strike a decisive blow and speedily end the war—sent against what was believed to be the most vulnerable point of the entire war line—was humiliatingly defeated, routed, and driven away. If the despised Turks could thus repel invasion, why should Americans fear?

COASTS ALLEGED TO BE DEFENSELESS.

Many like instances could be cited historically from the days of Marathon to the present, and they will continue to arise anew and emblazon the pages of history while men cherish love of country and have a country worthy of their love and loyalty, self-sacrifice and devotion, such as our own fair land.

And yet, despite these significant facts, timid alarmists mendaciously say that our coasts are defenseless; that our fleet might possibly be of fourth-rate size and efficiency in war; that our Army would present the ludicrous spectacle of a lap dog in fight with a mastiff if pitted against the invading force of some foreign power; that our State militia system is wretchedly inefficient, if not worse than useless; that our only safe course lies in adopting the conscript system under the Federal Government and requiring all citizens to be organized, drilled, and prepared at any moment for mobilization and war; that otherwise foreign navies may at pleasure bombard and destroy our seaport cities; that foreign armies will be likely to invade our country and subjugate us; that we have declined in military power and prestige to the pitiable plane of China, and that we are in duty bound to embark in a plan of preparedness that will justify the continuance of the drastic and irritating war taxes imposed over a year ago—yes, even amplify them until the people shall be as heavily burdened as the hapless and hopeless victims of European conscription and militarism.

There is no purpose to exaggerate the situation, for everything stated in depicting it has been set forth in spoken and printed words, with startling illustrations, by loquacious jingoes, fear obsessed pessimists and callow followers of the big bass drum.

THE REAL DANGERS.

How lurid! What a nightmare! And yet Lincoln's speech of 80 years ago would be even more apposite now than it was then. If there be dangers in store for us it is here and among ourselves that they must originate and develop. Aye, they are already incipiently among us in daily manifestations of greed, graft, and dishonesty; in the belittling and shameless scramble for public office; in the complicated and shifty methods of voting that imply a bribable and corrupt electorate, in the flippant vogue of lauding indiscriminately even the absurdities and foibles of high officials; in the supine remissness to curb and suppress crime by vigorous and drastic measures; in the toleration of law-defying combinations secretly pledged to promote sordid schemes at the expense of the public, and in the glaring failure to take into serious consideration and deal sternly with such lawless miscreants as anarchists, black-handers, and the like.

Such undesirable intruders, insolent in deportment and atrocious in methods, have no right to abide as conspirators and assassins in any self-respecting country. They prove ever to be a danger and menace to free institutions. A law classifying their secret associations as highly criminal ought to be enacted, with the penalty of imprisonment or deportation for subsequent membership in them.

The extirpation of such evils might well be taken primarily as a necessary step in the line of effectual preparedness. A further and decisive step in the same direction, constructive and salutary, would be the proper training under military discipline of the youth of our schools and colleges.

DEMANDS OF PUBLIC POLICY.

The schools are erected and conducted by the public at great and increasing expense. They absorb a large share of the taxes paid by property holders, whether childless or heads of families. Public policy demands that the poorest children shall share equally with the richest in the blessings of free education; but the system gives right to the public to superintend and direct the course of instruction. In consequence it would not be unreasonable to demand that it should include military exercises, which admittedly conduce in case of the young to robust health, bodily vigor, wholesome discipline, and laudable self-reliance.

Such results could confidently be expected from careful military training under direction of competent Army officers, selected for that service. Without civic friction or notable expense the potential military strength of the Nation could thus be raised in a few years to approximately 15,000,000, and it will be remembered that the average age of the participants in the Civil War hardly exceeded 20 years. Such preparation would involve no menace of war to any other country in the world. It would excite no apprehension.

It would serve simply as a means of testing our latent strength and rendering it available in possible emergencies. It would be assuring that an efficient army could readily be mobilized should the duty of national defense ever call it into the field. It would be a volunteer army, and such army may always be counted upon as the hope and reliance of a free country.

With such troops it was my privilege as a youth to mingle in all phases of war, and it is but a just tribute to add that they could not be surpassed anywhere on the globe in loyalty and enthusiasm, intrepidity and fortitude. Notwithstanding the current vogue of certain opinionated and callow persons to sneer at a volunteer army, it was such army that saved the Union, and no army in all the world surpassed it in valor and efficiency.

WHAT WASHINGTON HAD IN MIND.

It was preparation of this character that Washington had in mind when he declared that to be prepared for war would be the best means of assuring peace. But at that time civic and political adjustment was still incomplete among the States of the new Republic. It had a population of 4,000,000 and stood isolated in a friendless world. No wonder that preparation to meet possible dangers should then seem advisable.

But the thought was not original with Washington. Fully 2,000 years before his time it was current in Rome and succinctly expressed in these words: *Si vis pacem para bellum*. Nevertheless, peace was exceptional at the time. Mars ruled, and the Temple of Janus was seldom closed.

Let us hope that our own Temple of Janus may be kept permanently closed and that we may not be driven by a temporary hysteria from the traditional policy of our country in respect to war preparations. The peace sought by the Romans through preparation for war was to keep in subjection and helplessness the colonies they had conquered. Of course, we are in no need of preparation for such purpose, nor do we need it in order to intimidate the nations now at war by leading them to apprehend that we are preparing with sinister design to attack and crush them when the war ends.

It is true that there would be no motive for doing so, aside from spectacularly displaying our power, but it has probably not escaped the attention of European diplomats that some among us would be willing to go to almost any extreme to do that. The sending of the fleet around the world would be insignificant by way of comparison.

But the present scare should be considered in *pari materia*, as the lawyer might say, or with reference to like scares in the past. It is really not new, although it has assumed a new and aggressive form. A strong impulse was imparted to it by the Spanish War, and about four years ago it was galvanized into new life by a writer named Gen. Homer Lea, infirm in body and mind, and since deceased. Issue was promptly taken with him on some atrociously vindictive remarks he made touching the Union Army and alleged desertions from it during the Civil War.

WITH DIRECTNESS AND POSITIVENESS.

The denial was made with a directness and positiveness that challenged reply, but no reply came in attempted defense of his irrational assumptions and imputations. Yet he surpassed in faultfinding and thrilling admonitions as to our alleged unpreparedness a conspicuous naval commander who contemporaneously assured the country that Japan was ready for war and on the point of attacking and seizing by force our Pacific possessions and western coast! How strange that fear should grow among such experts in the ratio of the expensive means we employ to remove occasion for it! And how strange that their criticisms in this line should usually be directed against their own country!

Such experts have been telling us for many years in much the same strain that the country is defenseless and must prepare for war or face the risk of invasion and conquest by some of the leading powers of Europe. For example, let us turn to the report of Maj. Richard Delafield, a chief officer of the engineering branch of the Army, to Jefferson Davis, then Secretary of War and later president of the Confederate States. Maj. Delafield headed the celebrated military commission that made the report.

The other members were Maj. A. Mordacai and Capt. George B. McClellan, who commanded the Army of the Potomac early in the Civil War and was Democratic candidate for the Presidency in 1864. This commission was selected with special care and authorized to go abroad and make a searching study of the military situation in Europe, including the Crimean War operations. Its observations covered the years 1854, 1855, and 1856. The following quotation from it will be found peculiarly interesting and significant in its relevancy to the present situation. As Shakespeare makes Lady Macbeth say to her bewildered guests at the banquet table:

My lord is often thus (terrified by Banquo's ghost)
And hath been from his youth.

Trite and stale are these harrowing admonitions, now revived and repeated. Says the report, dated at West Point:

We possess a nucleus of military knowledge in the country barely sufficient for the wants of our Army in time of peace. The auxiliary branches are not provided for. Our coast defenses are not conducted with as much energy as an individual bestows in building a residence for his family.

POSSESSIONS OF EUROPEAN POWERS.

It is undeniable that of the number of guns needed for the defense of our seacoast the Nation does not contain, including the whole standing Army, men enough that know how to fire hot-shot and hollow shot to provide a single man for a sixth part of the guns. In this unprecedented state on our part several of the powers of Europe have steam transports and munitions, with fleets superior to our own, ready at any moment to throw on our coasts disciplined armies that could land in six hours after anchoring.

Yet with blind indifference, professing at the same time to be all powerful, our people neglect the many calls and statements of those they appoint to study this subject, leaving us at the mercy in the first years of conflict of either of the naval and military powers of the Old World.

Nevertheless, those distinguished military experts failed to alarm the people and but little attention was bestowed upon their lugubrious complaints and admonitions. A few years afterwards the Civil

War broke out and the latent patriotism of the country burst at once into an inextinguishable flame and rose irrepressibly to the highest standard of civic duty. Animated by it the Nation not only grappled successfully with its courageous and resourceful domestic foes, but presented as fearless a front to Europe and insisted as resolutely upon the acknowledgment of its rights under international law as ever it did before or since.

Though England and France were notoriously in sympathy with the Southern Confederacy, yet they did not dare to declare war in its defense and send to its assistance their fleets and armies of invasion. Moreover, when we turned attention to Mexico, invaded by a French Army with approval of foreign powers, that army was promptly recalled, and the British Government in turn ruefully submitted in arbitration to pay \$15,000,000 to the United States as damages for the losses incurred through the depredations of the *Alabama* and other Confederate cruisers.

ADHERES TO SPIRIT OF REPORT.

And all this was done without the burdensome expenditures involved in the plans of preparedness so strongly urged by the Delafield military commission. It must be admitted, however, that McClellan adhered to the spirit of the report in organizing and preparing the Army of the Potomac for active field service. He sought to bring the men to the regulation standard of efficiency in equipment, drilling, marching, camp life, and the customary military exercises.

Months were spent in preparation before he ventured to offer battle to a less disciplined foe. Yet that brave and splendid army retired in defeat from the Chickahominy. And no person can truthfully claim that it surpassed in efficiency and brilliant achievements the more hastily mobilized and indifferently prepared armies of the Tennessee, Cumberland, and Frontier.

The comparison involves no reflection upon Gen. McClellan nor anybody else. It is rather intended to vindicate the American Volunteer as an intrepid and efficient soldier in time of need, even though lacking the experience and training of a Regular. "Give me men that can shoot," exclaimed Kitchener when calling for recruits, "and I care not whether they know the right foot from the left."

The true vision of genuine patriotism, whether in the military service or civil life, contemplates primarily the welfare of the country from every conceivable angle—its safety, its honor, its consistency, its international friendliness and impartiality, its sagacity in economic activities and its aim to achieve the highest practicable standard of efficiency in public service at the least possible expense. Such is a fitting conception of the ideal soldier and patriot—the country's defender in war and upbuilder in peace.

AMERICAN PRIMARILY A PACIFIST.

The patriotic soldier of this type agrees with Washington and Lincoln, with Sherman and Grant, with heroes and statesmen innumerable, in opposing war under all circumstances if it can honorably be averted. Every genuine American, nursed in tradition and

proud of his country, is primarily a pacifist; but when the storm breaks and the world is in tumult no man—not even the noisiest in belligerency—surpasses or even equals him in heroism, courage, and fortitude as defender of the Nation and its cherished institutions. As Senator McCumber recently declared in the United States Senate:

From my own observation, if I were to select a man upon whom I was to rely for courage of conviction, for staying qualities, one who would fight to the death for a principle and against all odds, I should always select the man whose words and efforts are for peace. I would never in the world select the bully or the braggart.

It was Washington who said in speaking of war:

My first wish is to see this plague of mankind—war—banished from the earth.

At Harrisburg, in 1861, Lincoln thus addressed the assembled people:

Allusion has been made to the peaceful principles upon which this great Commonwealth was originally settled. Allow me to add my meed of praise to those peaceful principles. I hope no one of the Friends who originally settled here or who lived here since that time or who lives here now, has been or is a more devoted lover of peace, harmony, and concord than my humble self.

Gen. Sherman's view of the subject is thus strikingly expressed:

I confess without shame that I am tired and sick of war. Its glory is all moonshine. It is those who have neither heard a shot nor the shrieks and groans of the wounded who cry aloud for more blood, more vengeance, more desolation. War is hell.

ENTERTAIN VIRTUALLY SAME OPINION.

Gen. Grant entertained virtually the same opinion, and said that he was naturally predisposed to choose the life of a farmer rather than that of a soldier. And further he declared that—

Though educated a soldier and having passed through two wars, I have always been a man of peace, preferring to see questions of difference settled by arbitration.

The Duke of Wellington's opinion of war was expressed in these emphatic words:

War is a most detestable thing. If you had but seen one day of it you would pray that you might never see another.

Referring to war and preparation for it, Count Tolstoi appealed to the world, saying in part:

No enlightened man can help knowing that the universal competition in the armament of States must inevitably lead them to useless wars or to general bankruptcy, or else to both the one and the other.

In a speech on the True Grandeur of the Nation, delivered in Boston, Charles Sumner, hardly second to Daniel Webster in ability and statesmanship, referred thus to the appropriations made in apprehension of and preparedness for war:

It is a measureless, fathomless, endless river, an Amazon of waste, rolling its prodigal waters turbidly, ruinously, hatefully to the sea.

Judge Henry Wade Rogers, a coworker of ex-President Taft at Yale, spoke on the subject as follows:

There was a time when this Nation was the envy of the world as the one great power which had the priceless privilege of exemption from the oppressive burdens of warlike preparations under which other nations were staggering on to bankruptcy. That distinction and preeminence among nations we can no longer boast.

And Lord Rosebery thus expresses the sentiment of our most discriminating friends in Europe:

I know nothing more disheartening than the announcement recently made that the United States—the one great country left in the world free from the hideous bloody burden of war—is about to change its course and embark upon the building of a huge armada.

Such thoughts come to us with the sanction of eminent authority and should be carefully pondered. Extravagance knows no limit in this line, except possibly an empty Treasury and an impoverished country. It leads inevitably to popular discontent, if not revolution. Would it not be more conformable to our cherished traditions as a brave and free people to meet possible danger with calmness and courage, if it should ever come, than to pursue a suicidal policy of wild extravagance in preparing for imaginary foes? We have never yet had a war that we did not ourselves invite, and probably never shall have.

The fighting spirit of the people dwindles in the ratio that they maintain a formidable military establishment. Moreover, the respect and esteem so wholesomely entertained by the public for our military and naval forces would turn to complaint and disdain should these forces be unnecessarily and expensively increased without valid reason or occasion, the public impression being that they constituted simply agencies of useless display and national impoverishment.

For several years we have been plodding progressively along in this line of activity, but without apparent results, according to those who would open still wider the doors of extravagance and waste. They assert that we have neither an Army nor Navy worthy of consideration, and that we would be defenseless and incapable of successful resistance if attacked by any formidable foreign power. And yet we expended in the earlier years of the present century more money in preparation for war than any other nation on the globe.

ACTIVE BOTH DAY AND NIGHT.

Government arsenals, navy yards, ammunition plants, and ship-building have been active both day and night, or were when my attention was drawn to the matter. Three shifts of men, each employed successively for 8 hours of the 24, were unremittingly at work. They have been manufacturing cannon of largest size—guns exceeding 50 feet in length, shells adapted to enormous calibers, field artillery and firearms, ammunition and accouterments—military and naval equipments of every kind and variety. There could not be greater activity in those lines if war was actually raging. And the cost was stupendous. In a short span of years the public expenditures were greater than from the beginning of the Government to the Civil War.

A few years ago it was claimed by the President and leading naval officers that our fleet was second only to that of Great Britain, whose colonial system encircles the globe and whose flag proclaims dominion over vast regions of the earth. A great navy is necessary to communicate with and defend such scattered colonies, each of which is as much a part of the motherland as its most central province.

And yet, without sea-divided colonies, and in the face of a traditional policy adverse to the acquisition of such possessions, we boasted

of the expensive luxury of a fleet second only to that of the leading sea power. It was truthfully said to be the best navy in the world of its size.

So proud of it was a belligerently disposed former President that he ordered it to make a processional tour around the world, more than intimating to other nations that they could not match it—that they had nothing like it in size, equipment, and efficiency. And the people paid dearly for the unique distinction.

WAR PREPARATIONS IN EARNEST.

For example, in 1850, when our merchant marine was world famous, Congress appropriated only \$7,904,723 for the construction of war vessels and the maintenance of the Navy; in 1880, 15 years after the Civil War, when it was said that our merchant marine had virtually disappeared from the seas, the naval appropriations rose to a total of \$13,536,985; in 1900, after the Spanish War, they increased to an aggregate of \$55,583,078.

Mr. Roosevelt became President in 1901, succeeding President McKinley, who was foully assassinated by an execrable anarchist. Then the era of preparation for war began in earnest and the naval appropriations gained steadily year by year. In 1910 they amounted to \$123,114,547, or more than was expended in any year of the Civil War, when our battleships and cruisers blockaded the southern ports and patrolled the oceans and seas in all parts of the world.

The Army appropriations took a like course and upward steadily mounted. In 1897, or just preceding the unpleasantness with Spain, they were \$61,688,477. After the restoration of peace the preparation period ensued. A short span of years sufficed to actualize an increase of 400 per cent in this item. In short, the Army appropriations reached a total of \$248,832,714 in 1910, and it is now urged by the President and his advisers that we at once double or treble that amount.

The zeal displayed in the matter could hardly be greater if war were actually imminent, or if a fixed purpose to plunge the country into the European war inspired the feverish agitation. So far as it may have political significance, an important element of the equation would be the expected acquiescence of the public in the burdensome and vexatious system of taxation now in force.

WAR PREPARATION IN PEACE.

Let it be remembered that in a brief period of profound peace the appropriations for prospective war preparedness amounted to \$3,000,000,000 or more than enough to pay the debts of all States, counties, towns, cities, and minor public corporations in the country. Again, the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, the Mexican War, and the comparatively recent War with Spain, considered together and computed in gross, entailed hardly one-third of the expenditures incurred in war preparation during a few years of undisturbed peace. In short, we have been paying about three times as much for preparedness in years of peace as we paid for actual war in memorable years of the historic past.

And yet we are solemnly and persistently told by repeaters of propagandist forebodings that there is nothing to show for the billions of dollars expended in preparation for war, barring a few antiquated hulks and a ludicrously small and inefficient Army. Out upon the mendacious pessimists who repeat such drivel.

Even the hysteric victims of the sinister propaganda industriously engaged in frightening the people through the press and other agencies ought to have sufficient discernment and reasoning power to perceive and resent the deception and absurdity of such preposterous representations. Without the increase in military strength just decided upon, in view of the Mexican situation, our Regular Army is larger and better equipped than were the volunteer forces that fought and won the battle of Gettysburg or the citizen soldiery that marched with Sherman to the sea.

Mobilized for active service at any point of danger, it is strong enough to resist successfully an attempted invasion by the military forces of any other nation in the world. With the militia and volunteers certain to join it promptly in case of need, it could destroy or capture any hostile army that might dare to set foot on our shore. The citizen soldiers of whom Lincoln spoke could do so, and our Army has not degenerated in courage, efficiency, and fortitude.

AFFLICTING AND DEVASTATING EUROPE.

But no well-informed citizen imbued with the true spirit of American patriotism and valor can seriously entertain the fear that we shall ever be wantonly attacked. All the warlike countries of the world are now frantically engaged in the sanguinary death struggle afflicting, wasting, and devastating Europe.

They are already well nigh exhausted and likely to become so completely before the restoration of longed-for peace. They will have neither the men nor money requisite for fomenting and participating in any other formidable war during the present century. Even the remembrance of war will excite feelings of grief and horror in those stricken lands. Possibly never again will there be a desire or willingness to witness the hideous spectacles and appalling agonies of its recurrence.

To say that there is even the remotest danger that any one or combination of them would wantonly undertake to make war on the United States once cherished peace returns underestimates the normal standard of popular intelligence and repudiates history, experience, and common sense. Even in our comparative weakness of a hundred years ago the so-called Holy Alliance did not venture to interfere with or affront us.

Our country, sane and unafraid, is certain to be more respected and potential in the councils of the nations than it would be in the attitude of a brawling braggart and trouble-seeking bully, bent upon "shooting up" the world. The present frenzied fear of war and unpreparedness for it is a silly fad, which will disappear with the noisy and distracting agitation attending it. When normal calm is restored and common sense holds sway people will be amazed at the remembrance of this misdirected tangent of popular impulse.

The country that minds its own business and is just in act and faithful to promise in its world attitude makes no enemies. In its

bearing or deportment among nations it compares with the natural-born gentleman in civil life, who is kindly, altruistic, averse to wounding the sensibilities of others, and in return respected by all. For the nation as well as the individual this is the way of peace and safety.

EXCITES APPREHENSION AND DISTRUST.

By sudden and hysteric preparation for war a nation belies its profession of confidence in the fairness and good will of its contemporaries, or indicates a concealed purpose to attack and rob them whenever they happen to be weakened by war, distracted by revolution, environed by perils, or otherwise at a disadvantage.

Moreover, it admonishes and compels them to burden the people with onerous taxation in likewise preparing and keeping ready for war. Preparation of this kind invariably has a somber and sinister background. It excites apprehension and distrust. It leads to counter activities of like nature to meet it.

The traditional policy of this country has been to cultivate friendly relations with other powers. We have not aroused their distrust by big armaments or provoked their anger and enmity by interfering with them. We have followed Washington's counsel in declining foreign alliances. By pursuing this course we have hitherto commanded world-wide respect and good will. If we continue to pursue this policy, judging the future by the past, we can reasonably hope to live at peace with all nations, and avoid war, unless deliberately sought or irrationally provoked by ourselves—a fatuity unthinkable apart from the wily exploitation among us of foreign militarism and attendant preparedness for war.

