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43rd Meeting

Public Opinion and the War

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Table of Contents

First Speaker	
George Creel	
Chairman, War Information Bureau	
.....	1
Second Speaker	
S. K. Ratcliffe	
Formerly of Editorial Staff of the "Manchester Guardian"	18

NOTE: THE FOLLOWING SPEECHES WERE NOT IN THE ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPT

Mr. Augustus Thomas
Dr. Robert Erskine Ely
The Honorable James M. Beck

Introduction

Alexander J. Hemphill, Presiding

Members of the Economic Club, Honored Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen: We are now at the end of the first year of our actual participation in the war. During that year we have learned to endure some few privations. We have begun to make some sacrifices. These are a mere foretaste of the greater and more serious burdens that we must take up as the war goes on/ It is essential, therefore, that public opinion must be so swayed that we shall have a united people to have the grim determination that we shall aid our Allies to win this war and bring about an enduring peace. (Applause)

There is no cause so potent in guiding public opinion than the War Information Bureau in Washington. It is my great privilege and pleasure to introduce to this audience Mr. George Creel, the chairman of that Bureau, and a distinguished journalist. (Great Applause)

First Speaker

George Creel

Chairman, War Information Bureau

Ladies and Gentlemen: It is a great and solemn hour in the life of America. The sword is in our hands and once again we shall prove to the world that a love of peace is not mere love of life,

that the preference of right to might is not poltroonery, and that while a nation may refuse to fight for a single material gain, it offers 105,000,000 lives in defense of liberty and the humanities.

Freedom and justice and aspiration -- these dream words have ever been the great clarions of our national life. Whether in 1776, when it was tyranny to repel, or 1861, when it was a race to free, or 1898, when Cuba called, or 1917, when autocracy menaced our free institutions, the clank of shackles has always been a sound to summon the nation to arms.

The world has looked upon us as materialists. Out of the prosperity that came to us from our resources and our energies, the sneer has been fashioned that we are money mad, a race of “dollar grabbers.” Nothing is further from the truth.

America is a nation of incurable dreamers. The heart of the people is not found in ledgers and their aspirations are not expressed in profits.

The soul of the many is found in the far-flung idealism of the Declaration of Independence, not in the cautious phrases of the Constitution. False prophets and strange gods have won no more than lip-service, for deep in the heart of the nation an abiding faith in the ultimate triumph of love, justice and brotherhood has remained untouched. Financial genius may be given it day of

homage, yet its right to control the destinies of America has never failed to be resisted, and the great money-makers do not live in memory beyond the reading of their wills.

Vision, spirit, ideals, without the clue afforded by these words, the United States stammers and is unintelligible. Democracy has never been, and never can be, other than a theory of spiritual progress, and no program of materialism has ever received the approval of the American people. With us money has been no more than the symbol of achievement, for always has our generosity kept pace with our genius. It is the dollars of America that have carried education into the dark corners of earth, that have fed the hungry of the world and healed the sick, that have been poured out to relieve every distress and to open closed doors to the sun.

More greed does not entertain the visions that turn deserts into orchards, than spin steel gossamer across dizzy chasms that conquer mountain, forest and plains. The cash register type of mind never shed blood to end slavery, never took the sword in defense of weakness, nor ever stood ready to die for principles. We are children of the spirit, people of the dream, and we evolved our system of government because it is only a democracy that expresses the soul and gives the opportunity to make dreams come true.

Why would it not be so? America is not an accident but the fulfillment of a purpose. These men and women, who first came to these shores, braving the terrors of dark waters and an unknown land, were not so much victims of persecution as they were masters of their fate. They left the

Old World premeditatedly, resolving to found a new order under which every soul might stand erect, with right to aspire, to rise, to be free. And those that followed them were driven by the same tremendous impulses, risking wretchedness and death that they might escape ancient injustices and cruel repressions, that they might know the wonders of liberty.

It may not be denied that the experiment has not been crowned by complete success, but let it be remembered always that failures are not the fault of the institution but the neglect of the individual. The ballot is in our hands -- powerful for every purpose -- and there is not an evil in our national life that may not be cured by intelligent exercise of the franchise right. For anyone to cry out in hopelessness, to adopt an attitude of despair is not an indictment of democracy but an individual confession of ignorance and cowardice. Democracy is not an automatic device but the struggle everlasting. This great truth is often overlooked, and the growing curse of the land is these impatient thousands who seek to substitute revolution for progress, and who prefer miracles to the slower processes of achievement.

Slowly, but with increasing certainty, the equal justice dreamed by Jefferson is coming to pass. Each day sees new victories for progress, and even as America has led the world in invention, industry and the mastery of materials, so will she lead the world in solving these age old problems of poverty, inequality, oppression and unhappiness.

It has been said that America is not one people, that Americans are not a race. Yet blood ties, after all, are not the closest ties, and the bonds that bind strongest are those that we tie of our own choice. Kinship is no mere matter of birth or race or language, but a deeper something that springs from similarity of ideas, ideals, and aspirations. And in this sense America is one people, Americans are a race, for our fathers had the same passion for freedom, and the sons have the same faith and a common heritage.

It is to keep this faith and to guard this heritage that we have taken arms. For 3 years we proved our devotion to the ideals of peace, carrying our patient forbearance to an ultimate of humility, and we drew the sword only when the seas filled with our innocent dead, when ancient law was set aside, when treachery put the torch and bomb to our peaceful industry, and when it was seen that the Imperial German Government was dead to honor, faith and humanity.

We fight for freedom for the right of the world to work and aspire, for a peace that is not shadowed by the menace of an aggressive autocracy. Our ideals are not stained by a single ignoble motive; we ask nothing for ourselves that we do not ask for all, and having drawn the sword it shall not be sheathed until we have effected every high determination. (Great Applause)

Two battlefields are before us - one in France and Flanders, and the other in the heart and mind of the peoples of earth. For, in this new day when war has called psychology to its aid as well as science, public opinion is a vital part of National defense, a mighty force in national attack. The

strength of the firing line is not in trench or barricade along, but has its source also in the morale of the civilian population from which the fighting force is drawn.

As the nation is united, resolute and convinced of the justice of its cause, so may heroic efforts be expected of its defenders. Disunity, ugly discontents and a failure in faith tar at the very heart of courage. This fight for public opinion is the business of the Committee on Public Information. We do not call it propaganda, for that work, in the German hands, has come to be associated with lies, secrecies and shameful corruptions. Our work is educational and informative, for we have such confidence in our case that we feel that no more than a fair presentation of its facts is needed to win the war. Under the pressure of this necessity, the Committee has grown to be a world organization. Not only does it reach deep into every community in the United States, but it carries the aims and objects of America to every land. There is no part of the Great War machinery that we do not touch, no medium of appeal that we do not employ. The printed word, the spoken word, the motion picture, the poster, the sign board -- all these are used in our campaign to make our own people, and all other people, understand the causes that compelled a peace loving nation to take arms in defense of its liberties, its free institutions, and its high hope of a happy future.

In the beginning, let me say that I have never considered myself a censor. The desires of government with respect to the concealment from the enemy of military policies, plans and movements, are set forth in certain specific requests. No law stands behind them. Their

observance rests entirely upon honor and patriotism. There are violations, as a matter of course, the papers holding to the unwritten agreement have suffered injury from papers less careful and less honest, but on the whole the press has responded in the same spirit of unselfish service that animates the firing line. (Applause)

The bargain is the bargain of the press and it must of necessity provide its own discipline. As it is realized, however, that the requests of government are concerned with human lives and national hopes, as it is drive home that the passing satisfaction of a news item my endanger the transport or a troop train, the voluntary censorship grows in strength and certainty.

I was not in favor of a censorship law in the beginning, nor am I now in favor of the enactment of any legislation. Aside from the physical difficulties of enforcement, the enormous cost, the overwhelming irritation, and the inevitable tendency of such laws to operate solely against the weak and powerless, I have always had the conviction that our hope must lie in the aroused patriotism, the nobler consciences, of the men who make the papers in America. (Applause)

At every point our accent is on expression, not repression. From the Committee goes out the official war information, in each of the war-making branches we have sworn representatives whose duty it is to open up operations to the inspection of the people as far as military prudence will permit. We believe that public support is a matter of public understanding, and it is our job to a, take dead wood out of the channels of information, permitting a freer, more continuous

flow. This is not the simplest thing in the world. On one hand is the press, impatient, of reticence and suspicious of concealments, and on the other hand we have generals and admirals reared in a school of iron silence. Both, however, are in process of education. The press, I feel, is commending to realize our honesty of purpose, and the military experts are growing to have an increasing faith in the power of absolute frankness. The Army and Navy, through this Division of News, has pledged to the people instant and honest announcement of all casualties, all accidents, all disasters. Bear this in mind when the air fills with rumors about the sinking of a transport, the loss of thousands of soldiers in France, the destruction of the fleet. Brand them as lies, and publish the liar, for the Government does not suppress such news or seek to minimize it. We do not have to conceal reverses because we do not have to fear for the courage of America.

The Committee prepares and publishes all war literature that is issued in pamphlet form. It commands the services of any writer that it may choose to call, and at its back stand over three thousand of the leading historians of the country, every man in the service. These pamphlets, covering every phase of America's position, purposes, aims, are printed in many languages and millions of copies reach not only the people of America, but go to every corner of the world, carrying our defense and our attack. Experts plan the most effective circulation schemes and experts direct the distribution in order that every printed bullet may reach its mark.

Another Division has gathered together the leading novelists, essayists and publicists of the land, and these men and women, without payment, toil faithfully week after week in the preparation of

brilliant, comprehensive articles that go into the Saturday and Sunday papers of the United States.

We are giving increasing attention to specialized appeals, and there is one department that pays particular attention to the rural press and to the plate matter service. Another is concerned entirely with women's part in war work, ministering to the women's pages of the press, and there are still others who look after the labor press, the religious press, and the periodical press.

The foreign language press is dealt with by a distinct division that has enlisted the services of over 200 volunteer translators. Reports are made on virtually every paper in the United States that is not printed in English, and we try to fight ignorance and untruth with a steady stream of articles selected with particular reference to the race of to the problem of bitterness.

The Official Bulletin has a daily free circulation of 100,000, and although seemingly prohibition price was fixed, over \$25,000 has been received in subscriptions in its first year. There are other mediums of public appeal than through the printed word, and we are developing them to the fullest possible extent. The Division of Four minute Men now commands the services of over 25,000 speakers who appear regularly in the motion picture houses, carrying messages from the government to the people.

The Division of Speaking has coordinated the efforts of all Government Agencies and of all the patriotic bodies, to the end that some order has been brought out of oratorical chaos. It is this Division that arranges mass meetings or aids them, calls war conferences in the states, and sends picked individuals and groups on speaking tours that reach from coast to coast.

The Division of Pictures prepared and distributes, advises upon and censors photographs and moving pictures to the number of more than 700 a day. As in the case of the press, there is no law that can be invoked, but the patriotism of the motion picture industry itself has enabled us to exercise an iron control in the interests of the national service.

Under the direction of Charles Dana Gibson, the artists of America have been mobilized for the production of posters, car cards, and every other form of pictorial appeal, and already over 400 designs are being displayed carrying the messages of the army, navy, food, ships, Red Cross and the Y.M.C.A. Where once we had the worst posters in the world today we have posters that compare favorable with the best in the world. (Applause)

A similar mobilization has taken place in the advertizing forces of the nation, and from a central office here in New York a great army of experts is directed with almost military precision. These men put the idea and needs of government into proper and attractive form, arrange for its presentation in the daily and periodical press, on the billboards of the country and in the cars, and in the coming year alone will furnish millions of dollars worth of space to the national service.

Motion pictures have been given a deservedly high place in our activities, and our photographers cover the country, making a complete and running record of war work on land and water, in field and factory, in the cantonments in the United States and on the firing line in France. In addition to this, the great producers are preparing patriotic pictures to express the national purpose; and we are developing our own feature films that will flash before the eyes of all Americans the history and meaning of democracy.

The problem of the foreign born is not the least of the difficulties that beset us. Nothing is more true than that people “do not live by bread alone,” the great majority live on catch phrases. For years we have discharged our duty to the alien by mere reference to the melting pot, and yet it has been years since the melting pot has done any melting. These hopeful thousands, coming to the land of promise with their hearts in their hands, have been treated with every neglect and indifference, and only in the most haphazard way have they been brought into touch with the bright promise of American life. To meet the needs of the hour, we have organized the various foreign language groups into loyalty leagues and through the foreign language press, through their societies, through their leaders, are carrying on daily work to give them the understanding that is the only sure foundation for love and loyalty.

The activities that I have mentioned concern themselves entirely with the domestic situation, but beyond the United States are countries that are just as much a part of my job as any

commonwealth in the Union. It is our right and our necessity to fight for public opinion in every other country in the world, and we make this fight in print, in speech, and on the screen. We found that America was dependent upon foreign press agencies for our intercourse with other Nations, that the volume of information was small, and what was worse, concerned only with the vile and unusual in our national life. To remedy this evil situation we devised cable and wireless services, and each day 1,000 words go out to every foreign capital for distribution to the press of the particular country. From Tuckerton we send to the Eifel Tower, and from France the service is relayed to Berne, to Rome, to Madrid, and Lisbon. Our cable service to England meets the needs of Scandinavia, Holland, and Russia. From Tuckerton a service in Spanish goes to Darien for the South American countries, and from San Diego we leap to Cavite and from Cavite to Shanghai and Tokyo. In all of the great capitals we have offices and staffs for the handling of this press service, for the distribution of a feature service that goes out by mail, for the selection and assignment of speakers, and for the exhibition of the motion pictures that set forth America's social, industrial and war progress.

In Russia alone, as an illustration of activity, our organization stretches from Petrograd to Vladivostok, one great printing plant is employed for our work along, the principal theatres are hired for the exhibition of our pictures, and our speakers and printed appeals, in every one of the varied languages of Austro-Hungary, go into the enemy country wherever possible, along the firing line, into cities and villages, and particularly into the prison camps. The enemy countries themselves are invaded through the air. Bombardment planes, loaded with leaflets and pamphlets

that tell the truth to a deluded people, go regularly over the firing line and far into the land both on the eastern and western fronts.

There is no activity of the Committee that we are ashamed to reveal, no dollar that is spent on a furtive errand, but peculiarly is this true of our work in other lands? No as we are able, the Committee guards against the reaction of war.

It is a tremendous fight that the Committee is waging, and to its banners it calls all that is fine and ardent in our civilian population. This fight for public opinion, both here and over all the world, will not be won until every man, woman and child enlists as a soldier, standing squarely behind the war, believing passionately in its justice, and combating lies, prejudices and misrepresentations just as our men in France combat the Hun.

Let us fix it so that we will not have to wear gas masks here at home. (Laughter and Applause)

Each month sees new thousands pouring across the sea to join the American Expeditionary Force in France. No man left behind has any right to consider his lot, save in comparison with the lot of those who have gone forth to offer their lives on the altar of liberty. Here in America the worst that may befall us is discomfort, inconvenience of money loss, but our soldiers and sailors face daily the danger of death and the horror of those wounds that are worse than death.

This is the thought with which we must lie down at night and get up on the morning. We are safe at home while others go down into the valley of the shadow to fight for us. The least we can do is to keep blazing the fires of courage and determination so that the light may flame across the sea into the very trenches.

To whine, to quarrel, to nag, to think in terms of selfishness, is not only to confess a yellow streak as broad as the Sahara, but it is a deliberate betrayal of the fighting forces for we fail them in faith. This is the trying time for America, the irritating hour of preparation. Grief has not yet come to us in full agony, glory is not our portion for a while, and out of the sheer sweat and drudgery of getting ready to fight a vast peevishness is in danger of possessing us. Trains are not running on time, this business is hurt or that business destroyed, the fuel situation is intolerable, some days are wheatless, and others meatless -- how infinitely small these things are when considered in relation to the tragedy that menaces the world. Think of Belgium, Poland, Serbia and France, and come to the realization that unless we win this war their fate may be our own.

If I have spoken critically it is because I feel passionately. America must be thrilled into unity and projectile force, for only by standing together, without thought of party, race, creed or ancient prejudice, can we cry a message across the sea that shall shake the insolence of those who now find hope in our confusions.

In the preparation of war, there have been failures, neglects and inefficiencies, but as a whole, the great task has been greatly discharged, and in the record that has been made every true

American has ground for faith and pride.

The Navy, our first line of defense, has leaped from personnel of 83,000 to a fighting strength of 350,000. Over 1,000 war vessels are in commission, 700 privately owned vessels have been purchased and chartered, and 950 vessels are being built. Our fleets patrol the ocean lanes in domestic and foreign waters, our destroyers are taking part in hunting down the submarines, and today, the Navy of the United States stands recognized as a might force upon which full dependence can be placed. When it is remembered that for 5 years the navy was shamed and derided, and that the man at its head was attacked as few men have been attacked, the full unfairness of partisan criticism can be appreciated by honest men. If I single out Josephus Daniels for particular mention, it is because the Nation owes an apology to this faithful official whose courage has been vindicated by the results that he has achieved. (Great Applause)

Within the year, the Army of the United States has grown from 9000 officers and 200,000 men to 123,801 officers and 1,528,924 men. From thousands of factories, reorganized for war purposes, are pouring steady streams of what allied experts pronounce to be the “best” rifle, the “best” machinegun and the “best” motor truck.

Shipbuilding, an abandoned craft, had to be revived, but today the 2,000,000,000 ton program is well under way, and there is every reason to believe that fundamental necessity of tonnage will be met fully. (Applause)

It is assumed by many that there is a lack of enthusiasm for this war, and that the country is in the grip of a mysterious apathy for which some remedy should be found. Such as these are simply unable to distinguish between noise and action, every call of the Nation has been answered instantly and fully, and this effective acquiescence, after all, is a test of patriotism rather than mob-rioting and window-breaking.

Almost within a month after the declaration of war, the traditional policy of America was reversed by the enactment of the Selective Service Law. On June 5th, 10,000,000 men were registered, and in September, 90 days after the driving of the first nail, 32 great cities were ready for the occupancy of the selected men.

On June 15th, scarcely 2 months after the President's appearance before Congress, General Pershing and his staff arrived in France, and on July 3rd, the first division of American soldiers reached the land of Lafayette and Rochambeau. Each month has seen new thousands go across the sea. It is not simply an Army that we are preparing, but an entire nation that we are putting into the fight.

When one remembers the shames and scandals of 1898, a great pride may be taken in the honesty of 1918. No administrative scandal has shamed our record, and greater proof of a people's devotion to declared ideals cannot be given than the expenditure of billions without

such revelations of dishonesty as have humiliated every nation in every other war. Our satisfaction in these achievements, heightened as it may well be by the expressions of appreciation from those nations who await our aid in the great struggle, is fundamentally, however, not in the things done, but in the larger purpose for which they are done. It must not slacken our efforts in grappling with the greater tasks yet before us. It should not be diminished by the unthinking whose standards of military preparation and achievement are those of the predatory powers who have devoted the years of peace to the purposes of armed conquest. No man who goes forth to battle for America, no home from which he has been taken, can now or in years to come, be robbed of the priceless comfort of knowing that he defends the cause of a nation whose ways were the ways of peace and whose purposes may be read in its devotion to freedom, justice and the rights of our common humankind.

Let us enter the second year of war with a confidence born of achievement and sustained by the high purpose. The path of peace now leads us to the fields of battle. But no purpose of conquest or revenge shall serve us from that path, nor becloud our judgment as to the achievement of our purpose. Knowing ourselves and our cause we shall be sure footed where the lust of conquest makes irresponsible governments blind. We shall face the issues of the future with the clear eye of a single purpose and with a full confidence born of national unity. God grant that we may see swiftly the full accomplishment of the work to which as a nation we have set our hand, and that victory may be soon an sure, let every man, woman and child in the united States realize that they are called to the colors as much as the soldier and the sailor. (Great Applause)

MR. HEMPHILL: our next speaker, Ladies and Gentlemen, was formerly a member of the staff of the London Daily News. Prior to that connection, he was editor of the Statesman in Calcutta, India. He has come over here during the 5 successive winters and has addressed hundred of American audiences. I present to you Mr. S.K. Ratcliffe of London.

Second Speaker

S. K. Ratcliffe

Formerly of Editorial Staff of the “Manchester Guardian”

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: No Englishman can stand before an audience such as this in America today without wishing first of all to say a word from the English point of view with regard to those things which are filling all our hearts and all our minds. (Here Mr. Ely informs speaker to talk louder.)

Mr. Ely worries me to begin with by saying “louder”. (Laughter) I am reminded of something that happened years ago in the enormous Albert Hall in London when the distinguished speaker Forten (?) came home from a tour around the world. He began to speak and they called “louder.” He said, “Wait a minute, you will hear in a moment. It is not lack of voice it is lack of courage.” (Laughter and Applause) And lack of courage is excusable when one humble member of a

country in this great alliance is speaking before so representative an audience as this of the American people.

We are all thinking and hoping and praying with regard to those heroic lines of men in France and Flanders today. There is nothing that we can do except to work, except to keep up our courage and hold on to our faith.

These are somber hours and if the signs of the moment are not lying, there are darker hours in front of us and a greater strain, but there is 1 thing -- there are 2 things, of which we are sure: We are sure with regard to the courage, the steadfastness, the magnificent character of the men of England, of France, and of the United States. (Applause) We are sure, in the second place, that whatever happens in these days or in the immediate future, the cause in which we stand together is going to be carried by the free peoples to triumph. (Great Applause)

Now, I conceive that my humble duty this evening is to say something from the English point of view with regard to public opinion in the country and the way in which we have considered the problem of public opinion and the success or failure which has attended us in our efforts to deal with it, and you will not want, I expect, an Englishman to address himself to that subject without saying a few words, to begin with, in reference to that famous or notorious British censorship about which every newspaperman and I suppose every citizen of Great Britain heard a vast deal, especially during the first 2 years of the war.

Now, our friend, George Creel, had the great happiness of saying to you a little while ago, that whatever else he was, he was not a censor. Well, let me congratulate him upon that negative fact. If he were a censor, we should have to consider him in similar case to the censor in Great Britain and if there is a more unhappy man in Great Britain today than, let me say, the Food Controller, or the Fuel Controller, that will be the head of the press row, upon whom falls all the criticism and all the attacks which come to him with regard to the distribution and the selection of war news.

We have had a censorship, a censorship of war news, and all other matters connected with the war since the opening days of the struggle. We have also, as you know, to your inconvenience, a mail censorship, which has been built up to the most astonishing point of precision, especially during the last 2 years.

Now with regard to the mail censorship, I am not going to say anything, except that I suppose we have taken it as one of the necessary evils of the war and we cannot avoid suffering under it. But there is just 1 aspect of that mail censorship about which I want to say a particular word. There has been going into England during the whole of the period of the war from all the countries of the world an innumerable host of letters and of packages through the parcel post and otherwise, which have passed through England and have been stopped there.

If you would like to know, if you would like to see an illustration of British organization -- and every good American is absolutely convinced that there is no such thing in the world as a good piece of British organization, (Laughter) -- but if you would like to see, a part from the bigger things we have done, a very perfect piece of organization, you could not do better than if you were in London in these days than pay a visit to the headquarters of the postal censor, just behind the central headquarters in Fleet Street. You would there be taken over 1 block of the most marvelous places of the world. You would be shown innumerable packages which have been stopped by the postal censor, addressed to people of the enemy country, suspicious packages addressed to the neutral countries, every one of which has been examined and done up again and indexed in order that it may reach the consignee when the terrible days of the war are over and you would be amazed not only at the completeness with which that job has been done, but would also be deeply touched at the illustration it gives of the feelings of people on this side of the Atlantic. I do not know how many hundreds of thousands or millions of packages there are in the postal censorship department which have been sent by new Americans to their folk in Europe, and this is one of the queer little touching facts when the packages appeared, when statements began to appear with regard to the shortage of the necessaries of life in the Central Empire, it fell to our postal censorship to stop countless little quantities of food and other things which were hidden by your citizens here in their packages for their people at home. That is one of the queer little touching facts of the human side of warfare which you can see in that curious establishment.

But now with regard to news censorship: as you all know it was an extreme trouble to American journalists and American public men in the opening days of the war. It was so new to us. We had not been able to handle a censorship as they have handled it in the Central Empires of Europe and naturally we made all kinds of muddles. We have smoothed those out. We have now or had for a long time a rigid censorship with regard to all the news of the war and we have had also censorship with regard to the description of events connected with the war.

But this is an important point as we are considering public opinion. In England, no matter how severe the case has been, or how urgent the moment or how great the crisis, we have never had a censorship of opinion; we have not had a censorship of editorial opinion. (Applause) A newspaper must submit all its news to the press censor and he uses his own discretion as to whether he will submit descriptive articles which touch upon certain aspects of the war situation or any particular bits of description with regard to any incident of the war or in the war zone. He does not submit his editorial writing. He has before him all the days of his life and in all the moments of his work, he has the fear of a great abstract power which is known in our common parlance as “Dora” and “Dora” is the Defense of the Realm Act. (Laughter) he writes, therefore, in the constant fear -- I will not say in the reverential worship, of this mysterious guidance. He knows that if he makes a mistake or if he goes beyond the line that “Dora” has her ruthless agents and he will most certainly be called to account.

Now we have with regard to censorship certain complaints and I think there is 1 thing that we have the right to demand of our censorship and that you will have the right to demand of our friend, George Creel, in order to see that the departments of government keep up to that high mark which he has stated to be their absolute resolution -- we want the truth about the war.

(Applause)

We have been asking in England from the beginning the truth about the land war and the truth about the submarine. We have only had a part of those 2 kinds of truth and with regard to the submarine we have asked for the facts over and over again. We are now told that we are going to have them in detail.

What I should have liked to see on the side of the Allies from the beginning was this: That they establish an absolutely rigid standard of truth for themselves in their bulletins, not by any means telling all the truth, but making those official statements such that every man and woman in the fighting countries and in the neutral countries would know that every word that came officially from the war departments and the navy departments on the Allies side was the best statement of the truth as it was they could get at the moment of its sending out. (Applause) One of these days we shall reach that ideal and I think we have the right to look to the United States for the fulfillment of our hopes in this regard.

Let us hope and trust from today on our people shall know all the deep and black truth, even the back truth about the war. There is one thing always true of your people and of ours that they rise to a challenge and they are never so great as when the demand is greatest upon their faith, upon their courage and upon their resolution. (Great Applause)

Now I come to that other aspect of the matter which Mr. Creel has dealt with in such brilliant detail this evening - what our government has done in that quite new department, from our point of view, of government publicity. I have heard certain complaints with regard to our habit as a nation that we have had certain pride in our history and in our country and in our government, our constitution and the rest of it that we may have sung somewhat of our achievements and our position in the world. I do not know, I am not in a position to judge how far those opinions are real as to our behavior, but I think it will be agreed that we haven't been a great advertising nation as regards official publicity until this war and that we got at that slowly in the opening stages of the war.

The British government has developed during these 3 years a wonderful system of national publicity which we have applied in particular to 3 special departments.

In the first place that amazing achievement of the making of the British army in the first year of the war under the direction of Kitchener. (Applause) I have spoken, as the Chairman said, to hundreds of American audiences during the 4 winters of this war and I am quite certain that until

this year the American people, as a whole, have never understood, even the bare outline of that amazing accomplishment of the British people and the British government -- the mere fact which was stated by Mr. Balfour, Foreign Secretary of England more than a year ago -- that within 18 months of the beginning of the war, we had had nearly 6,000,000 men who had joined the colors upon the voluntary system and enlisted. (Great Applause)

Nothing that happens in the future can alter that amazing fact, which, I believe, has no parallel in the history of any land or any system in the world.

Now I am sure the facts of that were not known. It came out very largely through the wonderful piece of national publicity carried out by the Parliament Recruiting Committee, under some of the ablest publicity agents in England.

We applied it afterwards to the great problem of food economy, which is also facing you in these days, and I think that the publicity commission with regard to the saving of food had very wonderful effect. We have now gone under State distribution and under a system of food cards, but not until the latter part of this winter.

We have applied it also to that other wonderful national adventure of war savings, and indeed, in all these departments I think it would be true to say that most of the things touched upon by Mr.

Creel have already been done in a pioneer sense in that old conservative country on the other side of the sea. (Applause)

With regard to war savings especially, what the publicity commission carried out throughout the whole of the country, with astonishing efficiency, has been to bring the individual citizens in England in the humblest cottage in the land, in the smallest household that you can find, to a real consciousness of the existence of government as his government or her government and to his or her realization of citizenship in relation to the government. It is the first time that the humble individual citizen, man or woman or growing child in the country, has had the concrete illustration of the vital relationship between the individual and the communication in its organized national sense and we have also, I think, led the way with regard to the use of our men of letters and other intellectual leaders for the service of the country in this great cause, and it is here I think that we with your people have the right to stand before the world and challenge comparison. We have all our intellectual leaders by the hundreds. The representatives of our universities, old and new, came into this work of explaining the cause of the Allies to the world and I venture to say that if we want to compare the spirit of your people and of our people on the one hand, with the spirit which has dominated and which has worked through the enemy countries on the other, we point to the temper and to the language of our intellectual leaders in the writing field in this war.

We have not taught those things as Mr. Creel so rightly said with regard to his department, we have not taught those hideous doctrines, which have been embodied in the enemy systems and have been proclaimed, let me say it with shame, by the intellectual and spiritual leaders of the Central Empire, but the temper displayed by our intellectual leaders has been a thing of which not only are we not ashamed, but we are everlastingly proud. (Applause)

If you want to see the real expression of the mind of a nation, look at what its leaders are doing and look at the spirit which its leaders express in a time of crisis such as this, and I say for you, as I say for ourselves, that we are prepared to stand before the Universe when we see what that expression has been.

Now, there is one other thing that I ought to have said with regard to the censor and that is that he has been guilty of the most amazing things from time to time. I know that must be so. There cannot be such a thing as a successful censorship in a free country. He is doing a job that cannot be done. He is quite certain to make himself very ridiculous from time to time. All kinds of illustrations have been given and we newspapermen recall the historical day when a member of Parliament called attention to the fact that a correspondent from the front had quoted Kipling's Recessional in his dispatch: "That tumult with the shouting days, the captains and the kings depart," and the censor struck out the second line and when the representative of the press bureau was asked why he made such an ass of himself, he had to say that there were no kings present to go away. (Laughter)

Now on another aspect of the question touched upon by Mr. Creel, I want to say a word. We have in England under great difficulty retained the practice of free discussion. If we did not have freedom of press as far as possible, if we were not allowed the right to discuss public affairs, we should not only go out of business, but we should be out of existence and therefore you are not surprised that a newspaperman should defend freedom of speech. We are not afraid of discussion in England, as you have all realized when you have seen the reflection of our editorial opinion during this time of war and we are not afraid of it. For one reason, because it is part of our heritage. For another reason, because we are sure of our cause. We don't mind critics, we do not mind analysis, because we know that the truth of the nation cannot suffer from coming out and we do regard it as a most essential part of the atmosphere that free discussion with regard to the conduct of the government of the war shall be continued as far as possible.

We were unprepared for this war; we were unprepared mentally as well as in every other way. We must not be unprepared for the settlement, for upon the settlement depends the future of the free peoples and of everything in which we believe and every principle for which we are fighting today. In this matter as in other matters, I conceive the call was expressed by Mr. Creel in that declaration of his: Find out what Germany has been doing and then don't do it. (Applause)

Now I want to say a few words with regard to 1 other matter which I know is very close to your hearts as it is to ours. Two days ago we passed the anniversary of the day upon which the head of

this nation delivered in Congress the speech, which alluded to this policy of international force, which changed the future of this hemisphere, the future of civilization and the destinies of mankind and in 2 days time we shall reach the anniversary of the day upon which he put his signature to the document which sealed that great judgment of yours in April, 1917.

It needs no words of mine to try to express what the splendid purport of the spirit was that came to us when we recognized that the period of isolation of the United States had ended, that you were standing with the great family of nations, prepared to take your share in the burdens of all civilization and in the work of justifying the Allied powers in this world.

That was, in the first place, a great moral judgment. It sealed our resolution, because it told us that if we wanted any telling, that the people of this country were declaring that we were right and that our cause was just, and on the other hand we thought of it in connection with the change that was coming over the relations between Great Britain and the United States.

We know how imperfect those have been in the past. We know that this century of so called peace, which lay between the close of the 1812 war and the outbreak of this world conflict was not a real century of peace at all. It was marred by misunderstandings and by imperfect sympathies and from time to time, the 2 people so nearly akin not only in race, but in ideals, as my friend has already said, were brought to the verge of open conflict. We knew that the decision of last April was going to make a great change in those matters.

Every speaker who comes from our side to this side and meets the great number of people scattered over your vast country goes back with the feeling that while we are Allies and working and suffering together, we are not yet in the fullest sense friends and friends we must be. We are not yet fully friends in the mind and heart of the common people of America and of England and mainly, first of all, because of unhappy historic memories, and secondly, because of mutual ignorance.

We must get the public instruction carried forward, we must have the public opinion stimulated, the 2 countries must learn about one another. The common opinion of the ordinary folk in England with regard to the United States is an amazing thing. It is quite the same thing as the ordinary view of England which you get from a citizen of this country of the Middle West. Now, it is not to be surprised at. We have not instructed one another as to what we are and what we should be. Now that is the great task of the immediate future in the relations between the 2 nations.

A little while ago my dentist in London told me a story. He said that he was visited by a Lady from Boston, who declared herself to be a Christian Scientist of the straightest sect. So he said, "You don't go to a doctor?" Said she, "Certainly not, and if my eyes seem to me to need attention, I do not go to an oculist." "Now," he said, "that interests me very much. You don't go to a doctor and leave your eyes to the Lord. Why do you bring your teeth to a human practitioner like me?" "Well," she said, "that is a perfectly fair question and I will answer it in this way: That

the Lord works more easily in the soft tissues than he does in the hard.” (Laughter and Applause)

I am not sufficiently learned in the tenets of Christian Science to know how far this answer would pass muster in the Central Church of Boston, Massachusetts, but I am inclined to think that it wouldn't carry the right from them, but whether it is true or not of Almighty power, we know that we can work more easily in the soft tissues than in the hard and the soft tissues in this particular matter are the minds and the opinions of the people which need to be instructed, which need to know the truth and that is what we must do, because what today we are conscious of more than anything else when we think of England and think of America are those innumerable lost opportunities of the past. Just think of what we might have done together since the Civil War? We might have been of mutual aid and inspiration in the commerce of the world, in the growth of democracy and free institutions everywhere, in the teaching and the leading of those peoples who were lower down in the scale and who are moving slowly upwards into citizenship, and when Bismarck, and you know Bismarck was never blind to a great political fact, said that the modern world, that North America was English speaking, our leaders and your leaders ought to have known that he had put his hand upon something which was of immense and incalculable moment to the future of the world. Together we might have guaranteed and established the peace of humanity and we know that when this war ends and it can end only in one way with regard to the actual result, when this war ends we shall have to establish a new international order, which shall make this horror forever impossible for our children. There is 1 conviction rising in the hearts of men and women all over the world and especially in the fighting nations, that this

hideous chaos of states and governments and competing armies which was the world before the war, shall never come back.

We are going to establish an international order of free peoples as the result of this unending sacrifice and we know that to us has been given, as the representatives of the 2 great groups of peoples who are speaking English, we know that to us has been given the larger share in the accomplishment of that task -- for we have brought down to our times this heritage of freedom and of free institutions and we know that about ten million people can fairly be expected to subscribe for Liberty Bonds, but there are 100,000,000 people in the land and every one of the 100,000,00 can have a 25 cent Thrift Stamp or have it bought for them. We want a thrift campaign which shall sweep this country from end to end and from the youngest to the oldest and we would like to have every employer of labor here tonight set an example for the people in his shop, his factory, in his law office, in his bank, wherever he is, whatever he is. Now then, let us do it quickly, splendidly, generously, patriotically, so that we don't have to go away ashamed that a club like this, with this class of membership has done so little, when everyone of us has it put right up to him to do his bit and then a little more besides. (Applause)

MR. HEMPHILL: The next speaker was known to me first as a student of Shakespeare, and then he pursued his profession in which he achieved a foremost place at the American Bar. That combination has produced an accomplished and a splendid orator. In these later days, both by pen and by voice he has called to the attention of his fellow citizens a full realization of this great

struggle in which we are engaged. He is a leader in public service. I present o you the Honorable James M. Beck. (Great Applause; entire audience rising)