

# EBB OF PACIFISM IN AMERICA

Voices Which Were Loud Last Summer Have Been Silenced by a Few Months of War—  
How the Leaders Came to Realize the Futility of Their Old Arguments



George W. Kirchway.

Charles Edward Russell.

William J. Bryan.

William Lyon Phelps.

George Foster Peabody.

PEACE MOVEMENT'S FORMER LEADERS WHO NOW FAVOR STRONGEST EFFORTS AGAINST GERMANY.

By GEORGE MACADAM.

THE plight of the idealist who, his eyes on the stars, is rudely brought back to earth by stumbling over a reality, is strikingly shown by the present condition of the pacifist party in this country. Before our entry into the war the peace movement, because of the many people of standing and influence who were among its most active workers, loomed large as an obstacle to aggressive action. Today, in the language of a Federal authority whose business it is to know, "the movement has petered out; its active membership has boiled down to the professional gasbag element."

Before the war, in every "advanced" intellectual movement, there was a striking laxness of moral distinctions. "Broad-mindedness" was the watchword. Birds of very different feathers flocked together on the same nest so long as they had a mutual interest in hatching one particular egg. The advocates of peace were no exception. The dove cote was open to all—talons and beaks were not barred, nothing more was asked than that while around the cote the dove song be warbled and assistance given in hatching the peace egg.

And so in those ante-bellum days philanthropists, educators, publicists were associated in the same movement with Socialists, anarchists, alien propagandists; men whose generous sympathies led them to strive for the establishment of a better and purer form of government than human nature is as yet fitted for were working with men who would break down and destroy all government.

But today the great majority of the altruists are out of the peace party; they recognized the reality of a war of justice, and quit idealism for humanity. Some of the altruists are still in the party, but they "are singing low," to quote one of the most influential who, accordingly, insists upon the anonymity of this quotation. And such flabby activity of the peace movement as exists today is being stimulated by the Socialist, the anarchist, the alien propagandist, or "the professional gasbag element."

The sudden shriveling of the peace movement is one of the most striking things in our eight months' war history. Let us take a tally of the organizations that were working for peace, either immediately or soon after that momentous day in April when the American people decided to accept the challenge that the Hun had given them, openly with his U-boats and covertly with his incitement to strikes, destruction of munition plants, and other like acts of enmity:

The American Union Against Militarism. This was an outgrowth of the Emergency Peace Federation, the well-financed organization that sprang into being just before Congress was to receive the President's war message, and which flooded the country with full-page advertisements announcing "The American people do not want to

be stampeded into war. There is no call to rush into war, with its horror and sorrow"; appealing to "Mothers, daughters, and wives of men—Have you no hearts? Have you no eyes? Have you no voice? and you do not want war"; and asking of all citizens: "Will YOU stand by YOUR country if war comes?" It also organized the "On to Washington" expedition, at \$18 the round trip, hotel expenses included, to attend the war session of Congress. Practically the same people were the active members of both organizations. They included Amos Pinchot, Agnes Brown Leach, Crystal Eastman, sister of Max Eastman, editor of *The Masses*, the magazine recently suppressed; Max Eastman himself, Jane Addams, Professor Emily G. Balch of Wellesley College, Oswald Garrison Villard, Professor David Starr Jordan, and the Rev. Dr. John Haynes Holmes.

The Civil Liberties Bureau. This was an affiliation of the American Union Against Militarism until Oct. 1. L. Hollingsworth Wood is the Chairman of its Directing Committee, which includes Roger N. Baldwin, John S. Codman, Crystal Eastman, John Lovejoy Elliot, and John Haynes Holmes. Its letter paper gives the names of 104 "co-operating attorneys" who are located in sixty-seven cities scattered over the country. This same letter paper states that the organization is "For the maintenance in wartime of the rights of free press, free speech, peaceful assembly, liberty of conscience, and freedom from unlawful search and seizure." Roger N. Baldwin, who has charge of the main office, put it frankly the other day: "We're trying to hang on to the right to agitation."

The Bureau for Legal First Aid. This is an affiliation of the Civil Liberties Bureau and attends to the local work in this city. The American Legal Defense League. "The object of this league," as stated by its letter paper, "is to legally defend in the courts constitutional liberties in any part of the United States." Harry Weinberger is its general counsel and Executive Secretary. The letter paper originally issued (whether it is still being used cannot be stated) gives among the Board of Advisers the names of Governor Charles S. Whitman, Oswald Garrison Villard, Mayor-elect John F. Hylan, Leonard D. Abbott, Henry R. Linville, President of the Teachers' Union; Mischa E. Appelbaum, Professor Henry R. Mussey of Columbia, Owen H. Lovejoy, Secretary of the National Child Labor Commission; Professor Emily G. Balch of Wellesley, Algernon Lee, President of the Wand School, and Miss Lillian D. Wald of the Henry Street Settlement. It should be stated here, though it is a little out of sequence, that quite a few of the Board of Directors have resigned, just who and just how many could not be learned by the writer. A visit to the office of the league elicited the information that Harry Weinberger was in Washington defending before the Supreme Court Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, anarchists, convicted in New York of urging resistance to the conscription law. A young man in charge refused any information. It can be stated, however, that Governor Whitman, Mr. Hylan, and Mr. Villard are among those who have withdrawn their names.

The Women's Peace Party. This is the organization of which Jane Addams is President. The Workmen's Council of America. This is what might be called a super-labor organization. Its purpose is to weave into a whole, but not supplant, labor organizations that otherwise would be unrelated. It has affiliations in all parts of the United States, but its main strength is in the east side section of New York City. It estimates its strength at 600,000.

The People's Council of America. This is undoubtedly the peace organization which has spent the most money, made the most noise, and got the most notoriety. It was formed by Louis P. Lochner, who acted as impresario for Henry Ford's peace ship.

There were a number of other organizations, among them school and college societies, but most of them were of small influence compared to those already named.

How unreservedly these various organizations were going in to fight the war is plainly indicated by a telegram that was sent to the members of the House and Senate who voted against the war resolution. It was sent by the Emergency Peace Federation, the parent body of the American Union Against Militarism. It read:

On behalf of the Emergency Peace Federation I extend sincere thanks for your patriotic stand in opposing war. May I request that you communicate at once with Representative Kitchin, to whom I have written a letter suggesting co-operation between ourselves and pacifists in Congress?

LELLA FAYE SECOR, Secretary.

This telegram was construed in Washington as meaning that any attempt on the part of the Administration to wage an aggressive war on Germany by conscription of an expeditionary force would be met with the united force of pacifists and anti-war members of Congress, indorsed by a backfire of artificial sentiment fanned by the activities of the federation and other peace societies. That this construction was justified is shown by the bitter fight which was waged against the Selective Draft act, also against war revenue measures.

An immense amount of propaganda was sent out by the pacifists. It went to every city, town, and hamlet in the land. It was estimated that no less than 2,000,000 people were reached by it. It was only last August that the Women's Peace Party was sending propaganda throughout the country, importuning women to oppose the Government's war plans, to oppose the draft, food control regulations, war bond issues, and a continuance of the war.

The propaganda as to the constitutional right of free speech and the much-heralded offer of the peace societies to provide legal aid to street speakers, suspended students, and others arrested for opposing "the evils of war," bore an abundant crop of soap-box orators. In our principal streets the gutters ran with seditious speeches. It was a little more than three months ago that Cleveland Moffett went "over the top" in an effort to stop the flow at Broadway and Thirty-seventh Street. In September the police were dethroning soap-box orators amid boos and hisses.

And now the peace movement is dead, or in a state of suspended animation.

In the course of the last fortnight its demise was verified by visits to the offices of all the peace societies and a number of leading pacifists. One man of prominence in the community said: "There is no peace movement now." He insisted upon anonymity. Another man of prominence said: "The movement has gone into Winter quarters." He also insisted upon anonymity. There was found no prominent pacifist who was willing to talk pacifism.

A visit to the Workmen's Council of America, which was organized in July,

brought out these facts: It affiliated with the People's Council, and made a strong effort to align the labor organizations of the country in the pacifist ranks. It held a national conference in September, broke off its affiliation with the People's Council, and renounced anti-war propaganda, deciding to confine itself to "work for an industrial democracy." J. B. Salutsky, Executive Secretary, explained, however, that this was "more a question of policy than of opinion."

Miss Lane, local spokeswoman for the Women's Peace Party, said: "We have nothing now under way. We're not for, but we're not opposing, the war. We're not working for the Red Cross, or anything like that. We believe that getting the vote has given us a potential power; we won't go to Congressmen now as a hopeless little group. No, we're not circulating much literature."

"American Union Against Militarism" is the name in the hall directory of 70 Fifth Avenue; it is also the name on the door of Room 1103, also it is the letterhead on the paper in possession of the lone young woman in charge of the office. But a prominent pacifist protested against the use of the name American Union Against Militarism. "It is now," he asserted, "the 'American Union for a Democratic Peace.'" In Room 1103 one got the impression that business was dull. The only information of interest to be had was that the organization had maintained an office in Washington, but that this had been given up and that the only one now extant was the one right there in Room 1103.

Roger N. Baldwin, Director of the Civil Liberties Bureau, is a frank young man. Said he: "We're trying to make a fight to keep people's mouths open and printing presses running. We stand on the test for civil liberty stated by Lord Parmoor: 'The supreme test of civil liberty is our determination to protect an unpopular minority in a time of national excitement.' We're making a straight out-and-out fight for American liberties; and because most of the people whose liberties are restricted under wartime legislation happen to be pacifists, Socialists, labor agitators, I. W. W.s, and anarchists, it is no reason why we should not defend their liberties." This is not surprising news, but it is valuable as inside information.

Great activity and corresponding results were asserted rather than admitted at the home of the People's Council of America. Louis Lochner, the peace ship impresario, was out, but his press agent was on hand. "Peace movement?" repeated he. "I should say there is. It's going strong. The People's Council now has 200 fully organized locals, representing thirty-eight States, and eighty-one more locals in process of organization. No, I can't tell you how many members we've got. We're sending out





J. G. Phelps Stokes.



Upton Sinclair.



Henry Ford.



W. E. Walling.



John Spargo.

IDEALISTS WHO HAVE BECOME OUTSPOKEN ADVOCATES OF A WAR TO VICTORY.

large quantities of literature, but I can't tell you how much. Funds? Yes, I can tell you where they come from. It's a dollar down and a dollar a month."

A man who had been sitting beside him interpolated: "There is no pro-German money."

"No, not a cent," continued the press agent. "It's all raised from the dues of our members. We'll have an office open in Washington not later than the first of the year. Then if you don't think there'll be things doing, just watch the columns of the newspapers."

This may be press agent camouflage, but it is none the less interesting to remember that the Germans are now massing tremendous bodies of troops on the western battle front, that they are about to make a supreme effort, that Secretary Baker has warned the country to prepare to hear of reverses, and that in certain quarters it may have been decided that it would be good strategy to have a loud-voiced cry for peace sounded throughout the American Nation.

No less interesting than the sudden shriveling of the activities of the peace societies is the decimation of the pacifist ranks brought about by America's entry into the war. The list is a long one, and

only its general character can be here indicated.

Because of the sensational methods of his peace advocacy, the name of Henry Ford stands out. Mr. Ford spent \$400,000 in his expedition to "get the boys out of the trenches by Christmas." Upon his return to this country he announced that he was ready to spend \$25,000,000, or as much more as might be necessary, to prevent any improvement or extension of the naval or military establishment of the United States. Four months after we declared war he said that "we must prepare to go the limit for the struggle." A little later, in taking \$5,000,000 of Liberty-bonds, he said that the United States, in making war on Germany, did "the best thing that ever happened for the world." He has also come out for universal military training, and now he has himself joined the staff of the Shipping Board.

William Jennings Bryan was another worker for peace who stood very prominently in the public eye. No sooner was war declared than he sent this telegram to President Wilson: "Believing it to be the duty of each citizen to bear his part of the burden of war and his share of its

perils, I hereby tender my services to the Government. Please enroll me as a private whenever I am needed. Assign me to any work that I can do until called to the colors."

Dr. George W. Kirchwey, formerly dean of the Law School of Columbia University and recently Warden of Sing Sing Prison, long an advocate of peace, was elected Chairman of the Emergency Peace Federation on its organization. Within a week he resigned. When President Wilson sent his war message to Congress Dr. Kirchwey said: "The only road to peace is war, and that is good pacifist doctrine from now on. Lots of us have hoped that war might be avoided, but we have seen that it could not be for long. The only thing to do is to fight and fight, and fight hard. One can't play at war."

George Foster Peabody, another pacifist who took a prominent part in the pre-war activities of the Emergency Peace Federation group, came out loyally for the Government. His point of view is shown by the following extract from a letter that he sent to the People's Council in reply to that organization's efforts to enlist his aid: "Citizens be-

lieving in the majesty of the moral order are called upon to prove their faith in their fellows by due reverence and respect for the opinions of others as well as the expressed will of the people through their duly elected President and Congress."

This thought that the present is not a time to speak of individual creeds, but only of our united purpose and of our ardent desire to do everything we can to help our country, has been the guiding principle followed by Katrina Trask, (Mrs. Spencer Trask of Saratoga Springs,) of Dr. Charles Herbert Levermore, and many other prominent pacifists.

"Loyalty to the United States Government in this crisis is loyalty to every ideal of improvement to which we have subscribed and a lack of support is treason to every article of every creed of reform," said Charles Edward Russell, turning his back on the anti-war article in his creed as a Socialist. William E. Walling, J. G. Phelps Stokes, John Spargo, W. J. Ghent, and Upton Sinclair are numbered among the many other Socialists who, in this day of the Hun, recognize a higher loyalty than that which can be given to a political party.