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AMERICANIZATION AS A WAR MEASURE

REPORT OF A CONFERENCE
CALLED BY THE SECRETARY OF
THE INTERIOR, AND HELD IN
WASHINGTON, APRIL 3, 1918



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CONTENTS.

| | Page. |
|---|-------|
| Officials and others in attendance: | |
| Governors and other State officers..... | 5 |
| Members of Council of National Defense..... | 6 |
| Members of State councils of defense..... | 6 |
| Members of chambers of commerce, trade, and other associations..... | 7 |
| Representatives of industries..... | 9 |
| Educators..... | 11 |
| Others..... | 11 |
| PROCEEDINGS. | |
| Address of Hon. Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior..... | 13 |
| Address of Mr. Elliott D. Smith..... | 21 |
| Expressions by members of State councils of defense: | |
| Mr. Roswell Page, of Virginia..... | 23 |
| Mr. Levi Mayer, of Chicago..... | 24 |
| Secretary Lane..... | 25 |
| Gov. Bamberger, of Utah..... | 25 |
| Mr. Somers, chairman of the board of education of New York City..... | 26 |
| Dr. Finley, commissioner of education, State of New York..... | 28 |
| Secretary Lane..... | 29 |
| Address of Mr. George Creel, chairman of committee on public information..... | 30 |
| Discussion: | |
| Dr. Finley..... | 32 |
| Mr. Young, of Iowa..... | 33 |
| Report of committee on resolutions, by Governor Stewart, of Montana..... | 36 |
| Expressions by other members: | |
| Mr. Lubin, of the State council of defense of California..... | 36 |
| Mr. Metcalf, of the council of defense of Nebraska..... | 38 |
| Mr. Young, of Iowa..... | 41 |
| Mr. Ohlinger, president of Toledo (Ohio) Commerce Club..... | 41 |
| Gov. Manning, of South Carolina..... | 43 |
| Address of Mr. Will Irwin..... | 45 |
| Statements as to the war sentiment in the States: | |
| Gov. Stewart, of Montana..... | 52 |
| Gov. Manning, of South Carolina..... | 53 |
| Gov. Milliken, of Maine..... | 54 |
| Gov. Alexander, of Idaho..... | 54 |
| Gov. Goodrich, of Indiana..... | 55 |
| Gov. Frazier, of North Dakota..... | 55 |
| Gov. Williams, of Oklahoma..... | 56 |
| Gov. Gunter, of Colorado..... | 56 |
| Gov. Houx, of Wyoming..... | 58 |
| Gov. Hunt, of Arizona..... | 58 |
| Address of Dr. P. Clayton, United States Commissioner of Education..... | 59 |

AMERICANIZATION AS A WAR MEASURE.

INTRODUCTION.

At the suggestion of the National Committee of One Hundred, the Advisory Council on Americanization to the United States Bureau of Education, the Secretary of the Interior called a conference on Americanization as a War Measure, which was held in the auditorium of the Department of the Interior building, beginning at 10 a. m., April 3, 1918. Hon. Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, presided, and Mr. H. H. Wheaton, of the Bureau of Education, acted as secretary.

The following governors, State officers, officials of commercial and industrial organizations and corporations, representatives of National and State Councils of Defense, educators, and others were in attendance and participated:

GOVERNORS AND OTHER STATE OFFICERS.

George W. P. Hunt, governor of Arizona.
Julius C. Ginter, governor of Colorado.
John G. Townsend, governor of Delaware.
Hugh M. Dorsey, governor of Georgia.
Moses Alexander, governor of Idaho.
James B. Goodrich, governor of Indiana.
Arthur Capper, governor of Kansas.
Carl E. Millikin, governor of Maine.
J. A. A. Burquist, governor of Minnesota.
Samuel Vernon Stewart, governor of Montana.
Lynn J. Frazier, governor of North Dakota.
Robert L. Williams, governor of Oklahoma.
Martin G. Brumbaugh, governor of Pennsylvania.
R. Livingstone Beeckman, governor of Rhode Island.
Richard F. Manning, governor of South Carolina.
Tom C. Rye, governor of Tennessee.
Stinson Hamberger, governor of Utah.
John J. Cornwell, governor of West Virginia.
Frank B. Housh, governor of Wyoming.
Frank McClain, lieutenant governor of Pennsylvania, Lancaster, Pa.
Coleman C. Vaughan, secretary of state, Lansing, Mich.
Capt. B. C. Reid, representing State of New Mexico for Gov. Lindsey.

COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE.

- Mr. and Mrs. Grosvenor Clarkson, Council of National Defense, Washington, D. C.
- John S. Cravens, assistant chief of State councils section, Council of National Defense, Pasadena, Cal.
- Fred W. Donnelly, member executive committee, Council of National Defense, Newark, N. J.
- Arthur H. Flending, chief of State councils section, Council of National Defense, Washington, D. C.
- A. W. MacMahon, State councils section, Council of National Defense, Washington, D. C.
- Martha Evans Martin, executive chairman department of educational propaganda, woman's committee, Council of National Defense, Washington, D. C.
- Dr. Frank E. Simpson, chief medical section, Council of National Defense, Washington, D. C.
- Elliott Dunlap Smith, member of State councils section, Council of National Defense, Washington, D. C.
- Miss Mary Boyce Temple, vice chairman of woman's committee, National Council of Defense, Knoxville, Tenn.
- Daniel Willard, chairman of advisory committee, Council of National Defense, Washington, D. C.

STATE COUNCILS OF DEFENSE.

- L. M. Hooper, chairman of State Council of Defense, Selma, Ala.
- Adj. Gen. Lloyd England, chairman of State Council of Defense, Little Rock, Ark.
- J. K. Mullen, chairman of State Council of Defense, Denver, Colo.
- Richard M. Bissell, chairman of State Council of Defense, Hartford, Conn.
- Stanley H. Holmes, chairman Americanization committee, Connecticut State Council of Defense, New Britain, Conn.
- William H. Baldwin, chairman District Council of Defense, Washington, D. C.
- E. H. Rolfs, chairman State Council of Defense, Gainesville, Fla.
- Levy Mayer, member of State Council of Defense, Chicago, Ill.
- T. W. Brady, member of State Council of Defense, Anderson, Ind.
- A. E. Reynolds, representing Indiana State Council of Defense, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Lafayette Young, sr., chairman State Council of Defense, Des Moines, Iowa.
- Edward W. Hines, chairman State Council of Defense, Louisville, Ky.
- Gen. Francis E. Waters, chairman State Council of Defense, Baltimore, Md.
- F. M. Mumford, chairman State Council of Defense, Columbia, Mo.
- Richard L. Metcalf, member of State Council of Defense, Omaha, Nebr.
- John B. Jameson, chairman State Council of Defense, Concord, N. H.
- Dr. Calvin N. Kendall, State commissioner of education, representing chairman of State Council of Defense, Newark, N. J.
- Seemling Romero, chairman State Council of Defense, Las Vegas, N. Mex.
- D. H. Hill, chairman State Council of Defense, Raleigh, N. C.
- W. S. Wilson, secretary of North Carolina Council of Defense, Raleigh, N. C.
- Thomas Allan Box, secretary of State Council of Defense, Bismarck, N. Dak.
- Fred C. Croxton, acting chairman of State Council of Defense, Columbus, Ohio.
- Harold T. Clark, chairman Americanization subcommittee, Mayor's War Board, Cleveland, Ohio.

- Myron T. Herrick, chairman of Mayor's Advisory War Committee, Cleveland, Ohio.
- J. M. Aydelotte, chairman State Council of Defense, Oklahoma City, Okla.
- Louis Sadler, executive manager Pennsylvania Committee of Public Safety, Philadelphia, Pa.
- J. Ross Hamman, member of South Carolina State Council of Defense, president and general manager of Planters' Fertilizer and Phosphate Co., Charleston, S. C.
- David R. Coker, chairman State Council of Defense, Harrisville, S. C.
- L. H. Farnsworth, chairman State Council of Defense, Salt Lake City, Utah.
- L. P. Suck, chairman Committee of Public Safety, Montpelier, Vt.
- D. J. S. Evans, representing Hon. Magnus Swenson, chairman of Wisconsin Council of Defense.
- J. R. Astin, member of State Council of Defense, Military Affairs, Bryan, Tex.
- McGinder Whiteside, chairman subcommittee on patriotic activities among the foreign-born, Massachusetts Committee of Public Safety, Boston, Mass.

CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE, TRADE, AND OTHER ASSOCIATIONS.

- Robert Newton Lynch, vice president and general manager of San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, San Francisco, Cal.
- George E. Crawford, president Chamber of Commerce, Bridgeport, Conn.
- George S. Hawley, manager the Manufacturers' Association of the City of Bridgeport (Inc.), Bridgeport, Conn.
- George E. Bradford, president Chamber of Commerce, Bridgeport, Conn.
- George M. Graham, chairman of National Automobile Chamber of Commerce (Inc.), Washington, D. C.
- W. T. Galbher, president Washington Board of Trade, Washington, D. C.
- Samuel Gompers, president American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.
- E. C. Fisher, manager American Electric Railway Association War Board, Washington, D. C.
- C. E. Hoyt, chairman War Service Board, American Foundrymen's Association of Cleveland, Washington, D. C.
- Joseph Mayer, National Americanization Committee, New York City, Committee on Public Information, Washington, D. C.
- W. B. Megear, president Chamber of Commerce, Wilmington, Del.
- H. J. McGirr, president Boise Commercial Club, Boise, Idaho.
- Sherman T. Edwards, president American Feed Manufacturers' Association, Chicago, Ill.
- Ludus Teter, president Chicago Association of Commerce, Chicago, Ill.
- William Butterworth, director Chamber of Commerce, Moline, Ill.
- Samuel Woolner, Jr., president Peoria Association of Commerce, Peoria, Ill.
- Earl Stinson, first vice president American Railway Engineering Association, Chicago, Ill.
- W. L. Petrick, vice president United States Sugar Manufacturing Association, Chicago, Ill.
- Lajos Steiner, commissioner for the agricultural colonization of resident immigrants, Chicago, Ill.
- M. H. Wendrick, president American Boiler Manufacturers' Association, Muncie, Ind.
- A. Clemens, president Chamber of Commerce, Des Moines, Iowa.
- Henry T. Hooper, president Chamber of Commerce, Portland, Me.

- W. B. Moore, executive secretary Chamber of Commerce, Portland, Me.
- B. Howell Griswold, president of Baltimore Board of Trade, Baltimore, Md.
- William H. Muthart, president Merchants and Manufacturers' Association of Baltimore, Baltimore, Md.
- Harry I. Thayer, president New England Shoe & Leather Association, Boston, Mass.
- A. F. Bemis, chairman National Association of Bag Manufacturers, Boston, Mass.
- George E. Foss, secretary Springfield Chamber of Commerce, Springfield, Mass.
- D. Chauncey Brewer, president North American Civic League for Immigrants, the Industrial Committee, Boston, Mass.
- F. L. Locke, Boston Young Men's Christian Union, Boston, Mass.
- C. M. Culyer, Employers' Association of Detroit, Detroit, Mich.
- E. Walton Schmidt, assistant secretary Detroit Board of Commerce, Detroit, Mich.
- Harry A. Armstrong, vice president Duluth Commercial Club, Duluth, Minn.
- Franklin D. Crabbs, president of Chamber of Commerce, Kansas City, Mo.
- Charles C. George, president Omaha Chamber of Commerce, Omaha, Nebr.
- Louis Sherwood, president Jersey City Chamber of Commerce, Jersey City, N. J.
- Christian P. Fleije, president Chamber of Commerce, Hoboken, N. J.
- Samuel Weill, president National Association of Clothiers, Rochester, N. Y.
- E. Harold Cluett, president Chamber of Commerce, Troy, N. Y.
- Archer A. Landon, president Chamber of Commerce, Buffalo, N. Y.
- Robert Grier Cooke, president the Fifth Avenue Association, Inc., New York City.
- H. C. Anson, president American Clothing Manufacturers' Association, New York City.
- William Fellowes Morgan, president New York City Merchants' Association, New York City.
- Charleton A. Chase, president Association of Manufacturers and Merchants, Syracuse, N. Y.
- Henry MacDonald, director general Mayor's Committee on National Defense, New York City.
- Miss Frances A. Kellor, assistant to chairman, National Americanization Committee, New York City.
- Lionel Sutro, acting chairman committee on commercial education, Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, New York City.
- Dr. William H. Goralline, directing speakers in industries, Chamber of Commerce, Rochester, N. Y.
- Charles R. Towson, industrial secretary, International T. M. C. A., New York, N. Y.
- J. R. Webster, chairman of Americanization committee, Rochester Chamber of Commerce, Rochester, N. Y.
- Duke W. Smith, president Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- O. A. Oils, president Chamber of Commerce, Cleveland, Ohio.
- Qua Ollinger, president Toledo Commerce Club, Toledo, Ohio.
- F. A. Scherling, director Chamber of Commerce, Akron, Ohio.
- James C. Reilly, president Lowell Board of Trade, Lowell, Mass.
- W. S. Horner, president National Association Sheet and Tin Plate Manufacturers, Pittsburgh, Pa.
- Ernest T. Trigg, president Chamber of Commerce, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Walter P. Miller, chairman Americanization committee, Chamber of Commerce, Philadelphia, Pa.

- T. F. Green, War Council, Providence Chamber of Commerce, Providence, R. I.
 R. Goodwyn Rhett, president Chamber of Commerce of the United States of
 America, Peoples Office Building, Charleston, S. C.
 John A. Law, president American Cotton Manufacturers' Association, Spar-
 tanburg, S. C.
 Thaddeus Lake, president of Chamber of Commerce, Spokane, Wash.

INDUSTRIES.

- Lucien N. Brunswig, president Brunswig Drug Co., Los Angeles, Cal.
 H. VanMater, president National Fuel Co., Denver, Colo.
 C. C. Dawson, of the Great Western Sugar Co., Denver, Colo.
 T. H. Deving, of the American Beet Sugar Co., Pueblo, Colo.
 Howard Elliott, president of New York, New Haven & Hartford R. R. Co.,
 New Haven, Conn.
 C. B. Whittelsey, president of the Hartford Rubber Works Co., Hartford, Conn.
 J. E. Otterson, vice president and general manager Winchester Repeating
 Arms Co., New Haven, Conn.
 B. F. Saul, president of the Home Savings Bank, Washington, D. C.
 S. M. Felton, president Chicago Great Western R. R. Co., Chicago, Ill.
 Richard H. Alshon, president Chicago & Northwestern R. R. Co., Chicago, Ill.
 Hale Holden, president Chicago, Burlington & Quincy R. R. Co., Chicago, Ill.
 E. Gorman, chief executive officer, Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Ry. Co.,
 Chicago, Ill.
 B. L. Winchell, director of traffic, Union Pacific System, Chicago, Ill.
 Richard T. Crane, president Crane Co., 836 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago,
 Ill.
 R. W. Campbell, general counsel for Illinois Steel Co., Chicago, Ill.
 Robert J. Young, manager of department of safety and relief, Illinois Steel
 Co., Chicago, Ill.
 W. F. Hypes, Marshall Field Co., Chicago, Ill.
 S. Davies Warfield, president of the Continental Trust Co., Baltimore, Md.
 Howard A. Moses, president Strathmore Paper Co., Milledgeville, Mass.
 Eldon B. Keith, treasurer of Geo. E. Keith Co., Campbell, Mass.
 S. Harold Greene, president of Lockwood, Greene & Co., Boston, Mass.
 Henry S. Dennison, Dennison Mfg. Co., Frammingham, Mass.
 Charles H. Jones, president Commonwealth Shoe & Leather Co., Boston, Mass.
 Albert G. Duncann, director of Bailey Meter Co., 77 Franklin St., Boston, Mass.
 G. F. Quinby, representing Frederic O. Hood, president Hood Rubber Co.,
 Watertown, Mass.
 Maj. B. A. Franklin, vice president Strathmore Paper Co., Milledgeville, Mass.
 A. R. Demoy, vice president of Thinker-Detroit Axle Co., Detroit, Mich.
 F. S. Bigler, vice president, treasurer, and general manager Michigan Bolt
 and Nut Works, Detroit, Mich.
 Dr. S. S. Marquis, biological director, Ford Motor Co., Detroit, Mich.
 F. F. Beull, vice president Packard Motor Car Co., Detroit, Mich.
 B. F. Kearney, president Wabash Railway Co., St. Louis, Mo.
 David A. Marks, president Continental Portland Cement Co., St. Louis, Mo.
 Arthur T. Storey, assistant to president Commonwealth Steel Co., St. Louis, Mo.
 John Gille, general manager Anaconda Copper Mining Co., Butte, Mont.
 F. L. Loree, president Delaware & Hudson Co., New York.
 George A. Cullen, passenger traffic agent, Delaware, Lackawanna & Western
 R. R. Co., New York City.
 DeWitt D. Barlow, vice president Atlantic, Gulf & Pacific Co., New York City.

- Raymond B. Price, United States Rubber Co., New York City.
- W. S. Mallory, president Edison Portland Cement Co., New York City.
- Carl F. Lomb, president Bausch & Lomb Optical Co., Rochester, N. Y.
- F. N. Hoffstot, president Pressed Steel Car Co., 24 Broad Street, New York City.
- E. A. S. Clarke, president Lackawanna Steel Co., 2 Rector Street, New York City.
- W. H. Woodin, president American Car & Foundry Co., New York City.
- A. B. Schultz, secretary New Jersey Zinc Co., 55 Wall Street, New York City.
- A. J. Porter, president Shredded Wheat Co., Niagara, N. Y.
- C. L. Close, manager of bureau of safety and sanitation, United States Steel Corporation, New York City.
- Henry D. Miles, president Buffalo Foundry & Machine Co., Buffalo, N. Y.
- Felix M. Warburg, care of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., Wall Street, New York.
- Gano Dunn, the J. G. White Engineering Corporation, New York City.
- J. R. de la Torre Bueno, General Chemical Co., New York City.
- U. S. Bethell, president New York Telephone Co., New York City.
- H. F. Telf, representing Newcomb Carlton, president Western Union Telegraph Co., Washington, D. C.
- Allen T. Burns, Carnegie Corporation, New York City.
- John A. Perkins, works manager, Harmony Mills, Cohoes, N. Y.
- A. C. Bedford, president of Standard Oil Co., New York City.
- P. A. Hewlett, representing J. E. Keperley, vice president and general manager, Curtiss Aeroplane & Motor Co., Buffalo, N. Y.
- W. E. Miner, treasurer Atlas Portland Cement Co., New York City.
- Joseph Alling, president Alling Cogy Co., Rochester, N. Y.
- E. M. Chase, vice president Lohigh Valley Coal Co., New York City.
- F. W. Keough, editor American Industries, New York City.
- C. McCullough, jr., vice president and general manager, Lackawanna Steel Co., Buffalo, N. Y.
- Charles R. Stekels, New York City.
- C. J. Welch, United States Tire Co., New York City.
- Thomas McDonald, Carnegie Steel Co., Youngstown, Ohio.
- Charles R. Hook, vice president American Rolling Mill Co., Middletown, Ohio.
- H. L. Round, vice president Republic Iron & Steel Co., Youngstown, Ohio.
- Guy E. Norwood, president Republic Rubber Corporation, Youngstown, Ohio.
- A. B. Jones, second vice president Rubber Association of America, Akron, Ohio.
- H. T. Waller, bureau of education, B. F. Goodrich Co., Akron, Ohio.
- Thomas Devlin, president Thomas Devlin Manufacturing Co., Philadelphia, Pa.
- Samuel Ren, president Pennsylvania Railroad, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Alba B. Johnson, president Baldwin Locomotive Works, Philadelphia, Pa.
- C. H. Schlacke, general manager Midvale Steel & Ordnance Co., Chester, Pa.
- Charles L. Taylor, director United States Steel Corporation, Pittsburgh, Pa.
- W. A. Luce, assistant general manager Ellsworth Collieries Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.
- E. F. Bach, director sociological department the Ellsworth Collieries Co., Ellsworth, Pa.
- George J. Baldwin, chairman American International Shipbuilding Corporation, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Maurice Fels, Philadelphia, Pa.
- David Kirschbaum, president A. B. Kirschbaum Co., Philadelphia, Pa.
- A. B. Farquhar, president A. B. Farquhar & Co. (Ltd.), York, Pa.
- Paul Thompson, fifth vice president, United Gas Improvement Co., Philadelphia, Pa.
- Charles F. Comy, president Giant Portland Cement Co., Philadelphia, Pa.

W. Lawton Scaife, Scaife Foundry & Machine Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.
 E. M. Herr, president Westinghouse Machine Co., East Pittsburgh, Pa.
 Edward W. Parker, director Anthracite Bureau of Information, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Edward T. Stotesbury, president Philadelphia & Reading Co., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Dr. Albert E. McKinley, McKinley Publishing Co., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Charles W. Brown, president Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.
 J. B. Rider, vice president and general manager Pressed Steel Car Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.
 C. A. Buck, Bethlehem Steel Co., Bethlehem, Pa.
 J. M. Lockhart, president Lockhart Iron & Steel Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.
 F. P. Palen, vice president Newport News Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Co., Newport News, Va.
 Decatur Axtell, Chesapeake & Ohio Ry. Co., Richmond, Va.
 Dr. Sigfried, Coal Co., Bear Creek, Wis.
 E. E. White, general manager E. E. White Coal Co., Stotesbury, W. Va.
 Edward Zaremba, Zaremba Co., Niagara Life Building, Buffalo, N. Y.
 John McLeod, assistant to the president, Carnegie Steel Co., Carnegie Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.

EDUCATORS.

P. R. Kolbe, Ph. D., Bureau of Education, Washington, D. C.
 J. L. McBrien, Bureau of Education, Washington, D. C.
 Hugh J. Molloy, superintendent of schools, Lowell, Mass.
 Dr. John H. Finley, State commissioner of education, Albany, N. Y.
 Arthur S. Somers, president Board of Education, New York City.
 W. C. Smith, supervisor of immigrant education, State Department of Education, Albany, N. Y.
 Sara Elkus, board of education, New York City.
 Thomas A. DeVilbiss, president board of education, Toledo, Ohio.
 John P. Garber, superintendent of schools, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Milo B. Hillegas, commissioner of education, Montpelier, Vt.

OTHERS.

Simon J. Lubin, president State Commission of Immigration and Housing of California, Sacramento, Cal.
 Burrell White, San Francisco, Cal.
 Samuel McCune Lindsay, Treasury Department, Washington, D. C.
 David Rosenstein, magazine writer, 1324 Vermont Avenue, Washington, D. C.
 Frank A. Thackey, chief supervisor of farming, Indian Bureau, Department of Interior, Washington, D. C.
 Mrs. Frank H. Bliss, Portsmouth Apartments, Washington, D. C.
 A. M. Dockery, Third Assistant Postmaster General, Washington, D. C.
 E. B. Chase, consulting engineer, Washington, D. C.
 Mr. Stree, Bureau of Public Information, Washington, D. C.
 George Creel, Bureau of Public Information, Washington, D. C.
 Mr. and Mrs. C. O'Hara Craig, 1018 I Street, Washington, D. C.
 Mr. G. McMurchy, correspondent of the Omaha Daily News, Washington, D. C.
 Mrs. E. C. Stillwell, Washington, D. C.
 Clay Talbin, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.
 A. C. Johnston, secretary of state, Dover, Del.
 Mr. and Mrs. J. E. Hilttenhaus, 2122 N. Calvert Street, Baltimore, Md.

John Mitchell, chairman of commissioners, State Department of Labor, Albany, N. Y.

E. W. Fairchild, Daily News Record, New York City.

C. I. Chamberlin, Geneva, Ohio.

Frank J. Lanahan, assistant chairman American Red Cross, Pittsburgh, Pa.

W. H. Ball, secretary to Gov. Brumbaugh, Harrisburg, Pa.

Roswell Page, second auditor of state, Richmond, Va.

G. F. Kull, secretary Wisconsin Loyalty League, Milwaukee, Wis.

I. C. White, assistant geologist, Morgantown, Wis.

Miss Clara Zarenba, Buffalo, N. Y.

Gen. Louis T. Bryant, commissioner of labor, Statehouse, Trenton, N. J.

Sara Kirby, New York City.

A. S. Henning, Chicago Tribune, Watt Building, Washington, D. C.

PROCEEDINGS.

ADDRESS OF FRANKLIN K. LANE,

Secretary of the Interior.

GOVERNORS, LADIES, and GENTLEMEN: We are not gathered to speak bitterly of others, or to speak boastfully of ourselves. We have come to talk together as Americans, to find out how there might be made a greater America, a nobler America. We see clearly now what we have not so clearly seen before, that a democracy must have a self-protecting sense as well as a creative spirit. We have lived in the full expression of the most liberal and idealistic political philosophy. There has been nothing of paternalism in our Government. We have conceived it to be our high privilege to open this continent to those who came seeking the advantages and the beauties of a new land in which the individual mind and heart could have free and full development. The Statue of Liberty enlightening the world at the main gateway of our country has been symbolic of our national attitude. We have believed, and we still believe, that liberty contains a magic healing power for many of the woes of man; that if we can turn its rays upon those troubles which have caused bitterness between peoples, the world will be made sweeter, safer, and saner; but in the ecstasy of our enthusiasm over the discovery of this curative agent which we had thought a panacea, we have overlooked our own responsibility. We have thought it was enough to say "This is a land of freedom and equal opportunity," without teaching what these terms meant. "Let us keep our hands off; let each man go his own way; let all things be thought, said, and done which each may choose to think or say or do; and sooner or later, by the conflict of minds and acts, truth will prevail." That has been our thought.

We know now that there is no such thing as Americanism unless Americanism is in our souls. We have got to feel it first, and then we have got to put it out among other people. We have heard talk of Americanization before, and what has it meant? It has meant the boycott. We want now to give a new significance to that word. We want it to mean help; we want it to mean sympathy; we want it to

mean understanding; we want it to mean largeness of view and not smallness or narrowness. We want it to mean, not patronage, but the largest human fellowship. We want that word to be translated into terms of wages for men, of living conditions for men; of an America that will mean something to the man that comes across the water from the other side, who has come to us with a different understanding of the word "liberty" from that which we have had.

The native Americans, those men into whom the traditions of liberty have been sunk by experience of generations, are primarily responsible for whatever indifference has been shown by this Nation in the education and enlightenment of those whom they have invited to these shores. Upon us is the responsibility, and that should be the keynote of this gathering to-day--ours the responsibility and ours the opportunity. You men represent great bodies of industry, railroads, factories, foundries, and works. To you this question is vital because the men that you have are men that can not be exploited indefinitely. They are men who must feel that their interest is your interest; that America means something to them more than an abstraction, and I am proud to see within the last few days a growing feeling, expressed concretely in favor of a larger justice for those who work for us and with us.

There stands before your eyes to-day the example of Russia. The greatest disappointment of the year has been the downfall of Russia. And yet downfall is not the precise word that should be used. The crumbling of Russia is perhaps a better expression, for I can not believe that Russia is destroyed and that that great nation of a hundred and eighty million people, with seven thousand miles of straight-away territory, can be crushed out of existence by the iron heel of the Kaiser like some stray beetle. A race that is so near to its beginning can not be so near to its end. There will be another Russia some day, a wiser, a more intelligent, a better educated, a more intensely national Russia.

The truth as we now see it is that Russia was not a nation. But why did Russia fall? Because of her ignorance. Eighty per cent of her people could neither read nor write. There was no leadership in Russia. There was no central thought in Russia. There was nothing around which the people could crystallize, once the Czar had fallen. He was the leader of the church, and he was the leader of the people. He was removed, and then they could visualize no other leadership, and so Russia bled as no other country has ever bled. With six million dead upon the battlefield, Russia turned from a political revolution to an economic dream. It was like a child that reached out of the window for a butterfly, and reaching too far fell out and was crushed. The people of Russia are kindly, generous, catholic, sweet in nature. They had a sense of neighborliness, but

they had no sense of nationality. They have never acted as a nation. They did not know the Russian nation. They had followed their leaders. They had done what they were told, and when the leaders were gone they took up the belief that the revolution meant that a good and glorious time was coming, in which all of the land would be divided; and so these men who stood along the eastern front went home to get a share of that land, and left us upon the western front to make the fight to save civilization.

Russia abandoned orderly processes within her own country and abandoned her allies on the outside and the great cause of humanity, but we must not be harsh with a people who can not read and who can not write—a people who have no means of knowing what democracy is. Is it to be wondered at that they thought when our commission went to the other side that it was composed of representatives of all the great interests of the country, and that they spoke of this Nation as a capitalistic republic, and the men who were sent as our commissioners abroad were regarded not as commissioners of a free nation but as the representatives of great capital? And by word of mouth this report went through the land, until those people had difficulty in being heard by this nation that we had come to save. We offered them our help and they said, "We have come to know that America is not what on paper she represents herself to be; she is a land where the plain people are exploited for the benefit of the few who are up above, and we propose to push ourselves up through that floor and come out into the light of economic freedom ourselves." And so, spurning the hand that we held out, Russia went down. She passed from a political revolution into economic anarchy, as well as political anarchy. But I am not without the hope that there will come a new Russia. What we want to know is, Are we in danger of any kind of Russianization? Is there the basis for any kind of insidious suggestion here? Are we alive to the needs of our present conditions? Russia will be herself some day, and we shall be proud to welcome her and grasp her by the hand; but we wish to prepare now against the possibility of any sentiment being aroused that will make it possible that that ignorance which dominated Russia to her destruction for the time being shall prevail in the United States.

What is it to be loyal to America? We are to preach Americanism. You are the prophets of a new day. You are the missionaries who are to go forth. What is the story of America? Is it told in the flag? The flag is but a symbol. It represents hopes and achievements and longings and fears, but the flag is not America. The story of America is not told by telling the story of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, or by telling the story of the advance of the immigrant across the continent in conquering this country. It is not told by telling the story of the battles of Yorktown or Gettys-

burg or Santiago or Manila. It is not told by telling of our great inventions and our great inventors, Whitney and Edison. It is not told by outlining the philosophy of William James or Emerson. It is not told by the poetry of Poe, Longfellow, and Lowell. All these are expressions of the American spirit of adventure, of purposeful searching after the thing that is better. But America is an aspiration. America is a spirit. America is something mystical which lives in the heavens. It is the constant and continuous searching of the human heart for the thing that is better.

You are men of iron and steel, and wood and copper. You are men who deal with these material things which go to make up the great prosperity of this country, but fundamentally each one of you is a religious leader. Each one of you has in his soul a mystical quantity which represents your Americanism. There is something bigger and finer in everyone of us than the individual himself. That thing that is finer is the thing that prompts us to do the work that we are doing; and why are we working; why are we striving; why are we fighting on the other side to-day? Because of a divine dissatisfaction within our own souls. We are compelled to move on and on by something that we know not of. That is the essence of Americanism. Take out of our hearts the belief that the Battle Hymn of the Republic is true, that God's truth is marching on, and you defeat America; but until you take that from us, I care not what the battles of the world may show—the spirit of America, the real America can not be beaten in battle.

I want to get into your hearts, if I can at this time, a passion for Americanism, not only because Americanism is the spirit of our country, but because Americanism is the most advanced spirit that has come to man's spirit from above.

There are great systems in contest at this time; the system of the man who orders and is obeyed by the man below, and the system that we have set out, where the man below, makes his own future. Russia made her mistakes because in the time that was given her to make herself, she did not preserve herself. We were blessed by leaders in our early days of political revolution; we were blessed by men who saw that there must be coalescence and there must be conservatism; that there must be time for the making of a nation; that we must grow and evolve into nationality; that traditions must be formed; that men must come together in spirit and understanding before there can be any such thing as a nation. So we are here for the making of a more perfect nation; a nation in which there will be harmony between the capitalists and the workman, if you please; a nation in which there will be harmony between the man who is born on this soil and the man who is not born on this soil. Never forget that the man who is not born here may have within his soul the very

essence of Americanism, and may have had it long before he ever saw New York harbor or the Golden Gate.

The people that I love, the people that make a common nation with me, are the people into whose eyes I can look with frankness and directness and know that what they say they mean. They are people whom I understand, whom I instinctively understand, who speak my language. The people that I love, and the people who make the land that I love, are people who can put their hands down into the soil of this country and take their hands out and smell that soil, and say "That is ours; we are identified with it; we are tied to it, and we love it, and will fight and sacrifice for it." The people that I love and the land that I love is the land where my boy's dreams of his future may come true; a land in which he can realize the aspirations of his heart. The land that I love is the land in which my spirit, my life, my ambition can have expression. Where I can feel that, although I may be of the most humble origin, yet opportunity will open before me; so that I can rise, not merely to place and to power, but so that I can rise to the fullest expression of manhood, whatever manhood there may be in me; so that I am not held down, so that I am not oppressed, so that no kaiser or czar can put his hand upon me and compel me to a course that is contrary to the right impulse of my nature; so with my neighbor as myself, that I may regard myself as rightfully entitled to develop every possibility and opportunity there is in me to serve my fellows and serve myself and serve mankind. We are coming to that great philosophy. It is a philosophy that reaches into economics and into the social order just as much as it does into our political conditions.

Gentlemen of great enterprise, do not think for one moment that you are to pass by within the next few years with indifference the immigrant who has come here or the man who has been here generation after generation. There is a rising tide of demand that man shall have a more perfect opportunity for self-expression. Some of you know it. I look over this audience and I see men who have realized this for years. You must think in terms of manhood, and you must be able to give expression to the impulses and the sentiments and sympathies that are in you. Do you understand what that means? It means that you must not patronize the man who works for you. It means that democracy, in essence, is that every man has a chance. It means that primarily—and that is our first consideration here, perhaps—the very thing that is essential to be done now is that we shall put into the hands of every man, born in this country, or not born in this country, who is here to-day, the tools by which he can open the archives of Americanism; by which he can know

what the President writes; by which he can know what other nations do, by which he is not bound and fettered by the language that he originally speaks, but by which he can have opened to him all the opportunities of our great newspapers, of our state papers, and of all those means by which enlightenment comes to man. Liberty enlightening the world! We are the bearers of that torch. It must be a human torch, lighting the path down which will come a finer civilization. It must be a torch for the curing of the nations. It must be a light that will be broad and not narrow, catholic and not insolent, sympathetic, human, essentially divine.

We are trying a great experiment in the United States. Can we gather together people of different faces, creeds, conditions, and aspirations, who can be merged into one? If we can not do this we will fail, indeed we will have already failed. If we do this we will produce the greatest of all nations and a new race that will long hold a compelling place in the world. It is well, therefore, that we come together at such times of stress as this, and we should have come together long since, and put our heads to the problem as to what are the initial steps in bringing about that harmony within our country which will give it meaning, purpose, and cohesion. We should not be moved to this by fear. There is nothing to fear. Our wars have been fought by men of foreign birth—Irishmen, and Germans, and Swedes, and Scotchmen. We see their names every day now in the list of those who are dead on the battlefields of France. There is no such thing as an American race, excepting the Indian. We are fashioning a new people. We are doing the unprecedented thing in saying that Slav, Teuton, Celt, and the other races that make up the civilized world are capable of being blended here, and we say this upon the theory that blood alone does not control the destiny of man; that out of his environment, his education, the food that he eats, the neighbors that he has, the work that he does, there can be formed and realized a spirit, an ideal which will master his blood. In this sense we are all internationalists.

Now there are several things which we have come upon recently which seem to those of us who have not been wise to be discoveries. The first is that we have a great body of our own people, five and a half millions, who can not read or write the language of this country. That language is English. And these are not all of foreign birth. A million and a half are native born. The second is that we are drafting into our Army men who can not understand the orders that are given them to read. The third is that our man power is deficient because our education is deficient. The fourth is that we ourselves have failed to see America through the eyes of those who have come to us. We have failed to realize why it was that they

came here and what they sought. We have failed to understand their definition of liberty.

To be an American is not to be the embodiment of conceit as to all things that are fundamental in America, or to be satisfied with things as they are or to let things drift. Germany has made herself a composite, compact, purposeful nation by methods of education as well as by authority. We can make ourselves a composite, purposeful nation and impose no authority other than the compelling influence of affection, sympathy, understanding, and education. Out of this conference should come not a determination to make more hard or difficult the way of those who do not speak or read our tongue, but a determination to deal in a catholic and sympathetic spirit with those who can be led to follow in the way of this Nation, and as to those others who can not, other procedure must be applied.

It is now a year since we entered into this war, and our men are standing shoulder to shoulder with Frenchmen on their right and Englishmen on their left, holding the line that is to save civilization. The war is coming nearer and nearer to us each day. Each morning we turn with anxious and with proud eyes to read the list of our own heroes who have made the supreme sacrifice. In a few days more this list will swell from a few short inches into continuing columns and pages. Then we will first clearly see the horror of this war. And then there will surge through our souls a passion of indignation and outrage that will close our ears to talk of peace and fix our will to win. For now nearly four years we have been looking afar off at a series of unprecedented battles the least of which brought down more men than served on both sides at Gettysburg or Waterloo. All of northern France is one battlefield. There is hardly a town, hardly a little river, that is not already sanctified as the field of some battle fought for liberty, and this thing will go on. This thing is not done. This thing is still a challenge to us. The Emperor of Germany has given notice to the world that he regards this as the greatest of all of the battles, the crowning battle, by taking charge of the troops himself. He will overwhelm the French, the Americans, and the English, and keep on to Amiens, sweep on by wave after wave. There is no picture that man has ever painted that tells a more horrible story than the events of the last 10 days. Men in solid ranks come up against the encircling line of guns and rifles, and the front rank falls, but there is a rank behind, and that advances, and that one falls, but there is still another one behind that, and that one comes forward. And so by added increments of death the Kaiser wins his way. But his way is not yet won. Von Hindenburg has said that the first act was done in the great play of German history. Ah, the first act may be won, but the first act never tells what the last act may be.

We are to have a part in that last act, and it will be a noble part. They have been fighting great battles on the other side. Ah, yes, but great battles, as Ludendorff says—great battles do not mean victory. It is the last battle, it is the final charge, which determines which side will win. Remember when you look over the paper to-day and your eye moistens a bit—remember that that is a thin line there, a thin line to meet battle, but I believe it will not break. It is a thin line, but remember there are Scotchmen in that line, Scotchmen from Glasgow and from Edinburgh that do not surrender; and there are Englishmen in that line: Englishmen from all of the manufacturing towns of England and from the far north country, down to the sweet Surrey; Englishmen who stood off Napoleon for 22 years; and there are Irishmen in that line, gallant Irishmen, who are fighting to-day that an Ireland may be saved to which will come home rule. What is her prospect and her dream unless they win to-day? What is Ireland's hope? What can be her hope? If the allies are defeated will she be treated any better than Lithuania, or Poland, or Belgium? Will her babies go as the Belgian babies, like wild horses after a battle, roaming up and down the country, hand in hand, eating the roots of trees, digging up whatever they can? Lost children, motherless, fatherless children? Oh, and there are Australians in that line, and Canadians, too—men who do not want to fight and who do not love war any more than we do, but who can make it just as well. And there are Frenchmen in that line—Frenchmen from Verdun. Can one say more? They stand steadfast, they are sure. For four years they have seen this on-coming host. It is a thin line that they have held, but we are weaving into that line our boys in khaki, so that it will be a thick line. Ah, yes, the last act is not played, but it will be played, and in that day we will be proud of the part that we played. We want no power. We do not care for power. But America is valueless if Germany becomes the one dominant power of this world. And against that possibility being realized your boys and my boy must give up their dreams, give up their ambitions, give up their lives, if need be, so that that horror may not spread. And what are we, who are denied the opportunity to make the supreme sacrifice, what are we to do? Let us take a strong resolution that the America to which those boys will return will be a land in which there will be a surer justice and finer sympathy, a greater love for all mankind, a realization more full of the hopes of our fathers, and of the hopes that are within our own breasts. Let us make America more worthy of our own dreams. And to-day I hope is the beginning of that campaign. We shall make America better worth while to Americans and of higher service to the world.

ADDRESS OF MR. ELLIOTT D. SMITH.

Gentlemen, I have been asked to explain, for the benefit of those who are here, who are not directly connected with State Councils of Defense, the relationship of the State Council of Defense system to Americanization, and more especially to the Americanization work of the Bureau of Education of the Department of the Interior.

As many of you probably know, State councils of defense have been created, either by acts of State legislatures or by proclamation of the State governor, in every State of the Union. They have been designated as the official war emergency organization of the State. As such, they are charged with conducting all of the war activity of the States not directly within the fields of the established executive departments. In many of the States they include the members of these executive departments, and thus include that work, in addition to their other functions. Besides this State position, they are the official representatives in each State, of the Council of National Defense. They conduct certain national war programs transmitted to them by the Council of National Defense.

In addition to these two governmental functions, they have been designated by the Council of National Defense as the official organization in each State to correlate and centralize all voluntary activity relating to the war. They are the coordinating agency for the war work of all voluntary societies and associations, and they have also been asked by the Council of National Defense to supervise the solicitation of funds by these associations for war purposes. They are, however, essentially State bodies. Their origin is traced to State law. They exercise complete independence in all local matters and in the adoption of national programs to local conditions. They represent the Council of National Defense, but they are not controlled by it. As a result, there is a considerable variation in the form of the organization and in the success that they have achieved.

In every State in the Union, with the exception of two of the very smallest States, these State councils have created in each county or similar area a county council of defense, and at the present time they are engaged in a great majority of the States in creating a still smaller system. This smaller system of councils in the small communities, usually called community councils, exists in school districts and in townships, precincts, and smaller areas. These local and sub-local councils exercise the authority that accrues to them as the representative of the State council in their jurisdiction. They secure the means of connecting the State council system and the State council system correlates and coordinates with the individual citizens and small associations.

On February 12, the Council of National Defense, at the request of the Bureau of Education of the Department of the Interior, sent to the State councils advance sheets of one of its bulletins, asking them to appoint a committee on Americanization, to perform two important functions: First, to assist the United States Bureau of Education in carrying out its national program. Second, to conduct and put through a State program for Americanization, for education.

This bulletin contained an outline of the fundamental points in this National and State program. One of the most fundamental is the special request that the State council of defense shall bring together and bring out the work of all of the voluntary agencies. By this bulletin, the several State councils of defense were each designated in their State as the one official representative of the United States Bureau of Education in the State, for its Americanization work as a war emergency measure.

The Bureau of Education is now engaged in preparing a follow-up bulletin containing the first steps in that program. These first steps consist in the establishment of a war information service, for the purpose of bringing full knowledge of our aims and ideals in this war, of the relation of America to all other races and all matters that concern the alien and the foreign-born in America, home to the individual aliens so that they will no longer be a prey to anti-American propaganda on the part of German agents, and to ignorance and fear.

Now, the Council of National Defense stands in regard to Americanization as a transmitting agency only. It has also transmitted to the State councils, on behalf of the committee on public information, a request that they assist that committee in its efforts to prepare a mailing list of all Americanization agencies and all associations of foreign-born citizens for the purpose of spreading through those agencies and associations, propaganda and information relating to the war. It hopes within a short time to issue to the State councils a bulletin, similarly requesting their assistance on behalf of the Bureau of Naturalization of the Department of Labor in its work.

The State Council of Defense will thus become, not only the correlating agency for work of Americanization societies, but will center in itself work representing the three departments of the Federal Government most concerned with Americanization—the Department of the Interior Bureau of Education, the Committee on Public Information, and the Department of Labor Bureau of Naturalization.

The importance of the work which the State councils are called upon to perform, the importance of their position in that work, and

the importance of their assuming this duty with the greatest possible seriousness and putting all that they have of authority into this work can best be shown merely by running over the position which they have in this regard. They represent the State Government, and in most States they represent the Americanization work of the State Government. They represent on behalf of the State Government and the Council of National Defense, and the Bureau of Education, the centralizing agency for all voluntary Americanization work, especially relating to education. They are the one official war emergency Americanization agency of the Bureau of Education. We hope that there will be in a short time an agency of the Department of Labor. They are assisting and acting to that extent as a representative of the Committee on Public Information in its war information work.

SECRETARY LANE: Now, I would like those who are here representing State councils to express their views as to how this work can be done at home, in their own State, and what more can be done so as to bring about the end that we have in view, giving to the people who are here a better realization of what America is. If there are any members of the council who do not know what can be done at home, or how it can be done, who have tried methods and have succeeded or have failed, we will be glad to hear from them.

Mr. ROSWELL PAGE, of Virginia. The newly elected governor of Virginia, Gov. Westmoreland Davis, on receiving the resignation of the members of the State Council of Defense, formed by the former governor, called to his assistance the State officers, and formed them into a State Council of Defense. The Council of Defense has divided the work up into this order: They have given to the adjutant general, all matters connected with the Army and Navy. They have given to the superintendent of education all matters connected with the schools and the whole school system, and they have given to the commissioner of labor all matters connected with the great working elements of the State. They have given to the commissioner of agriculture the department of agriculture and to others the work of their special departments. To myself was given the department of the bar and bench and the clergy for organization through the bishops, through the judges, through the clergy, through the Baptist associations, through the Methodist conferences, and through the schools. Within the past week a member of the State Council of Defense made a tour with the local superintendent of schools through a small county in Virginia in which both Patrick Henry and Henry Clay were born. He went from one school to another telling the children what the thrift system is, what a war-saving stamp is, and what a Liberty bond is. He urged every child present to go home and ask his parents to allow him to buy a thrift stamp, and then

when they got enough of them, to buy war-saving stamps and even Liberty bonds. As a result there were not enough thrift stamps and war-saving stamps in that district to supply the demand. That is but an instance of the activity of the members of the Virginia State Council of Defense. The governor of Virginia regrets very much not to be able to be here, and he asked me to come and say that Virginia may be trusted to do whatever is necessary. Virginia will do the best that she can do.

MR. LEVI MAYER, of Chicago. Illinois has before her one of the great problems of this country in dealing with the foreign element, and the problem has not yet been entirely overcome. We believe that drastic measures may be necessary for those who can neither read nor write the English language, and feel that they are still at home notwithstanding their transplantation to this country. Education is of slow development. By the time its processes have taken root, we hope and believe that the war will be over and the allies, of course, victorious.

We have in Chicago alone about 500,000 Germans, and we have districts which are purely foreign—Norwegian or Swedish or Bohemian or Russian Jewish—all of the different nationalities represented in this country. They are as much at home as they were in the countries they came from, except that they know that they are no longer in their native countries, but in Chicago and Illinois.

We should like to have this association consider this suggestion; some of the State legislatures do not meet for a year or two. In Illinois our next session is in January, 1919. It is too slow to accomplish the necessary results through the State legislatures. We believe that the true remedy lies with Congress, because that method is immediate and effective, and, of course, will be carried into quick development and application by the State officials and the State councils of defense.

We should like to have any foreigner in this country denied the right to follow his vocation, whether it be practicing law, or practicing medicine, or carrying brick or mortar, or delivering newspapers, unless before a given date, say July 1, he makes application for his first naturalization papers.

Of course, Mr. Chairman, I do not refer to alien enemies who are not entitled to naturalization, but I refer to the millions in this country who are not alien enemies, but are ignorant of our institutions, or laws, or language, or habits, and our customs. And the way to begin is to begin at once.

Second, the foreign language newspapers, with all due deference to the views expressed by our illustrious chairman, do need some correcting process. It would not do, Mr. Chairman, to send into these densely populated districts propagandists who, in the language of

that particular district, can speak to the people who live there. It is their newspapers that are published morning and afternoon that are preaching the doctrine of ignorance, by keeping enlightenment from their readers. Now, the cure for that is not necessarily the abolition of these foreign-language papers, but a compulsory process which will require them in every issue to have some article written, if you please, by the Bureau of Education, written in English and translated into the foreign tongue, which will begin this continual process at once and thus inculcate into the brains of the readers of these papers the great blessings which you have so graphically, so eloquently, and so truly described.

Those two suggestions represent ideas which I would like to have this gathering, guided by yourself, consider and put into proper resolution and address to the Congress of the United States, rather than to the 48 State legislatures.

SECRETARY LANE. I have no doubt whatever that if this body asks foreign-language newspapers—and I am saying this without knowledge, but upon intuition—that if you ask the foreign-language newspapers of this country to do the very thing that Mr. Mayer has just said, they will do it; that the trouble with us has been that we have not asked them to do these things, and they have taken, in some cases, an attitude of hostility that otherwise we could have led them from. Not that all are loyal at this time, but that they live here and intend to continue to live here, and the editors of the great, great majority are sincerely attached to us. I shall be very glad, indeed, for discussion of this proposition. It is suggested to me that Gov. Bamberger, of Utah, might say a word.

GOV. BAMBERGER. Mr. Chairman, Governors, Ladies and Gentlemen: I landed in New York, at Castle Garden, a boy 14 years of age. In those days I was very particular whom I associated with, in spite of the number of precedents that have been called here this morning, so I chose to come as an immigrant in the hull of the ship. It was safer there than above, you know. Besides, I did not have the price of anything else. I came; and I counted the minutes, the years, the months, and the days until I was 21, and then as soon as I had the opportunity of renouncing the then King of Prussia and swearing allegiance to the Constitution of the United States I did so, and it was one of the greatest privileges in my life. I realized what it meant to have the protection of this great land, that assurance of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. I finally went into Utah, and Utah gave me the greatest honor that they could bestow upon any man and elected me as its governor. Now, what chance would a boy like myself have had in the old country?

I am trying to show my appreciation of this great Government of ours, the greatest Government on the face of the earth by far, by

speaking for the Liberty Loan, and I have volunteered for the full term, until the 4th of May. I thank God that I have the privilege of showing my loyalty to the people of America by setting example to others, and I hope that I may be able to accomplish some good.

We have a way of sending missionaries abroad in our country from time to time, and when we have sent our boys away, I told the boys "You are now entering upon the grandest mission you have ever attempted to perform; you are going abroad in a short time, and your mission is never to return until the tyrannical Government of Germany has been wiped off the face of the earth."

Mr. SOMERS, chairman of the board of education of New York City. In New York we are doing the best thing that can be done, and we are doing it in the manner that appears to us to lead somewhere to the fruition of a plan such as the Secretary has indicated in his opening address. I sympathize very much with what Mr. Mayer has stated. I want the thought to rest in your minds when you come together this afternoon, with reference to the foreigners who neglect to become citizens, that you may lead a horse to water but you can not force him to drink. If you do force him to drink he will kick just the same if the kick is in his nature. My suggestion is, then, that if we demand from these foreigners that they make application to become citizens of this country, that that will not change the spots of the leopard, if he has spots.

The work, after all, rests in the public school system of America. Our system has failed to develop that kind of Americanism that we have been preaching about for the past 25 years. We have been a good deal like the soothsayers of Rome. We have talked about these things, and when we have got on the street we have laughed at each other. We can not accomplish the aims we have set up to accomplish as a result of the work we have been doing in education. I have never heard in all of my experience of more than a quarter of a century anything more strikingly presented to us of our failure to accomplish what we aimed at than the words of the Secretary of the Interior to-day; and let me say, Mr. Secretary, that so much am I impressed with that address, with the strength, with the foundation upon which it rests, that I hope before this convention adjourns that it will ask the secretary to see to it that a copy of that address is placed in the hands of every school-teacher in the United States as an inspiration.

New York City, many, many years before this horrible catastrophe of war was forced upon the world, took up this question because it saw the need for it. We are, as has been described, at the gateway of the Nation. We get the contributions from all of the countries of the earth. We take them in and some of them we keep among us. Many leave us and go out to the agricultural sections of the Nation.

But those that we keep there have presented a problem to us for years and years, and, concerned with the solution of that problem, we have established education classes in our day schools, continuation classes and special classes in our night schools, for the education of the foreigner. We have divided the administration into three groups. We have concerned ourselves with teaching the illiterate foreigner, teaching him to read and write English and something in elementary civics that he might understand what he ought to know about the institutions of the land to which he came. Then we have organized classes for teaching English to the educated foreigners. You know that many educated men and women come to this country from abroad who do not know our language; and we had that feeling, just as the Secretary has said, that you can always get closer to a man's heart when you look him in the eye and understand what he is saying. The common language after all is the crux—the thing that binds natures together and makes men and women love each other.

Then we have organized groups of classes combining both, bringing the illiterate and the educated foreigner together. Last year, for instance, in New York City we had 617 classes in our evening schools for teaching English to foreigners; 617 classes with an average attendance of 25 to 30, many of them adults. So difficult was the problem to maintain the interest that before the close of the session we were actually compelled to reduce that number to 433, and I want to tell you why. We have found that among many of our adult population there was a disinclination to attend schools and take advantage of the opportunities to be gained there because of the conditions under which these people were living. The father would say, "I shall not stay home and mind the children while my wife, she go to school;" and the wife would say, "I shall not stay home while my husband, he go to school." These are the stories that come to us from our teachers who have gone among these people to interest them in the work of educating themselves. So we were actually compelled to reduce the number from 617, with which we started, to 433 in one year.

We organized a number of special continuation classes. We appropriated last year \$16,000 with which to extend this work into the summer evening schools, opening special schools for the summer time which adults might attend and be instructed in the English language. We were able to spend only \$5,000 of that money. We simply could not get the people to come. They would not attend our classes.

We have gone further. We have gone into the factories, into the industries, and we have organized classes there among the foreign workers for teaching English to foreigners. I should be ashamed

as an American citizen to read to you the list that I have in my mind, of the industries, the firms, some of those who were referred to in Mr. Mayer's discussion—the firms profiteering out of the opportunities that this war gives, who absolutely refused us the chance to organize a class to teach the boys and girls in their employ who can not speak the English language.

We hope, when we go back to New York, to have new inspiration and a deeply religious belief that it is our mission to go among those people and compel them to allow us to enter and educate them. We in New York City doing this work realize the importance of it and the difficulty of it, want your backing, and we want the backing of the Bureau of Education. We want the backing of Congress, if need be. We want legislation that will compel these people to recognize the efforts that are being made by educators throughout the land to Americanize every boy and girl and every man and woman that comes to our shores and hopes to live here and earn his living.

I shall not take up your time with discussing the other war services we have rendered, except briefly to refer to the fact that we have appropriated recently \$19,000 with which to equip 1,500 high-school boys to go out into the agricultural school districts of New York State this summer, under high-school teachers, to learn farming, in order that they may help the Government.

The other day we appropriated \$7,500 and appointed a director to take charge of school gardens, that the little kids may do something for food production and food conservation, and thus help in a small way to stiffen the arms of the boy who is on the other side, determined to win this war.

I have told you briefly what New York City has been doing for years in the way of Americanizing. I come back to the original proposition, What is the function of the school? It must be planted in the mind and heart of the child, and through the child you must reach the home. We must go into the home and induce the parent to come to night school, to come to summer school, to come to school at any time their duties may permit them to do so, and be instructed in reading and writing the English language, and in the governmental institutions that shower so many blessings upon them.

I could talk to you about other things that crowd into my mind. When you adjourn I want to leave these thoughts with you as contributions of what New York City has already been doing, and we do that without boasting, because we realize it is our religious duty to do that in the interest of the entire nation.

Dr. FINLEY, commissioner of education, State of New York. Mr. Chairman, may I say that there is a bill before the Legislature of the State of New York requiring the attendance of every minor,

every illiterate minor, upon such instruction, and I hope that this body will authorize me to give it support.

Mr. SOMERS. Why can not Mr. Finley include the adults in that measure?

Dr. FINLEY. I shall be glad to if the bill does not.

Secretary LANE. Before adjourning I want to say that a list of questions has been presented to me on matters that should have our consideration. For instance, should a policy of Federal aid for Americanization to the States be adopted? Should this be supplemented by a separate policy of State aid to local communities in cities where a substantial number of foreigners reside? Should compulsory attendance of non-English-speaking and illiterate persons at school be adopted by the States? If so, what ages—16 to 21 years included, or over 21 years?—and a number of other questions, all directly touching this matter; and so in view of the motion that has been made and carried, touching the propositions brought up by Mr. Mayer, I think it would be well if at this time a committee were appointed to frame a program for this afternoon's questions that should be considered, so that we may, as our friend from New York says, concretize, and if you have no objection, without further action, I will ask these gentlemen to serve on that committee: Gov. Stewart, Gov. Manning, Gov. Milliken, Mr. Mayer, Mr. Clark (of Cleveland), Mr. Somers (of New York), Mr. Gompers, Mr. Holden, and Mr. Lynch (of California).

AFTER RECESS.

The conference reassembled at 2 o'clock p. m., after recess, the Hon. Franklin K. Lane presiding.

ADDRESS OF MR. GEORGE CREEL,

Chairman of Committee on Public Information.

One of the most interesting phases of modern warfare is the emphasis that has been placed on psychology—that is, on the recognition of public opinion as a vital factor in attack and in defense. You know it has come to be realized that the real strength of the firing line is not in trench or in barricade, but it is the morale of the civil population from which the fighting force is drawn. It is just as your national union; the resulting cause is just as it stands unanimous behind its leaders, so are you going to get heroism in the trenches; but when they are torn by discontent and disunities, just so you will find the firing line failing.

This fight for public opinion is the business of the Committee on Public Information. We call it educational work. This committee does not only work here in the United States, but in every country in the whole world. There is not a great capital in which we do not have our visitors. We have taken the wires; our wired messages of 100 words a day from Tuckerton to the Eiffel Tower; this message goes to London, to Scandinavia, to Holland, to Darien, and to Spain; it is taken out of the air and reaches all over Europe; from Peking we get it into Russia. We send it into all these capitals, and we hire theaters for pictures setting forth the war program of the United States and our industries. As an illustration of the work in Russia, our men reach from Petrograd to Vladivostok; we have a great printing establishment right on the ground, people who know the Russian character; we have eight theaters in Petrograd and eight in Moscow showing our pictures, teaching them about America and Americanism. We get them across the line into every one of the Austro-Hungarian districts; we go into the Silesian Capes and try to drive home the lesson to the Bohemian, to the Slovak, to the Polish Russian, to the Magyar, all the unhappy people held under the German yoke. To them we try to prove that every effort they

make for the defense of Germany to-day rivets their chains, and that what they are fighting for really is their own souls' damnation. We go to the prison camps: there are a million and a half prisoners in Russia, and all our speakers try to bring home to the men the meaning of America, the purpose of America, the purity of our ideals, and the nobility of our objects. All over the world this is going on, and here in America our activities take the same wide sweep.

For years we have dismissed our responsibility in the alien by talking about the melting pot. You know and I know, and every other man of any intelligence knows, that it has been years since the melting pot did any melting. Month after month, year after year, the hopeful thousands came to this country, their hearts in their hands, their faces in a glow in the light that shines from the Statue of Liberty, and nobody met them there, and we saw the sorry spectacle of thousands of agricultural laborers from Europe going to sweat shops in the industrial centers of the East, while the acreage of the West called to them. We have seen them lured into box cars and driven here and there, scorned by the States, by the cities, by the communities, and by the Government itself, and so how have they come to know America? One of the forces which betrayed Russia was the thousands of Russians who went back from the ghetto to tell them that Americanism was a lie; that there was no such thing as democracy, no such thing as equality, no such thing as hope. Never, in my heart, have I been able to blame them, because the ghetto of New York is there; it is one of the great ulcers of American life, and we have never done anything in the world to let the light in; to let them see America as we know it. That is our problem to-day—to make the promise of America true—not only to our own souls, but to these people over here. They do not speak our language and are not educated, perhaps, but there was something in their hearts that has driven them across the sea. So, after all, they are, perhaps, the truer Americans, because they came here driven and impelled by an aspiration, and that, after all, is true kinship. Ties of blood are not everything. They tie to the blood, but we tie ourselves to the strongest. So what we have got to do is to give democracy a meaning to people to whom it never had any meaning.

You, of course, get down to the problem of the schools. We have got to begin to teach in the schools not only the children, but we have got to take the adults in some ways. The tragedy of America is that it takes the child and then drives a gulf between him and his parents, because we leave them where they were. You have got to go to work, it seems to me, and throw open your school buildings at night. Any Americanization program can not have any firmer base than the community center, by making use of the school buildings of the

United States all the day round, month after month, instead of a few hours a day for seven or eight months out of the year.

After you have got through with your schools, after you have gone to your community centers where you bring the people, the neighborhood groups, the cross sections, you have got to go still further; you have got to give them a sense of justice; you have got to have your legal aid units through all the country; you have got to create some machinery by which they can get justice without having to go through our expensive legal procedure.

It is not a mere question of books; it is a question of our doing something in our communities and in our States to make these people believe we are on the square, and we have got to be on the square with them or else we are going to lose them. Our whole industrial structure rests on this, and already to-day, in every one of these groups, you see them dreaming of a free Poland, you see men dreaming of a free Bohemia, of a free Slav state to which they may return after this war. I tell you what we must do to-day on this Americanization program; it is not only to meet the needs of the hour, it is not only to furnish inspiration for our crisis, but what we have got to do is to get down to the solid foundation under America and to lay a foundation for a democracy.

DR. FINLEY. A soldier, an English "Tommy," was talking to his captain. There, in the dim shadow in the background, was a cross above a grave, and Tommy said to the captain, "Too bad that a man should come to that just for using a few words." And the captain said, "Words, words, words, are the most powerful things in the world. All the good or bad that there is, in the world is done through words." And I am thinking of the reach of these words, and I am thinking, too, how careful we must be in preventing the wrong use of words. Words are vital things. "In the beginning was the Word." And I have been doing what I could in New York State since I have been commissioner of education to teach, to help everybody to know the word in which our history, our laws, our ideals, have been written. The first speech I made when I became commissioner of education four years ago in New York was on this very subject, and we have made some progress.

A few days ago I was visiting one of the cantonments not far from here. I sat at mess with the boys. An hour later I came back to the mess hall, and here three or four little groups of men were trying to learn the language of the country which they were called to defend. In one group were three or four Italians and two or three Bohemians, I think they were, and this was the exercise: First, each student had to take a long handled shovel which represented a rifle; then the teacher would run across the edge of the room and then the student would say, "Halt, who goes there?" as best he could

say it. Then the teacher would say, "Friend," and then the soldier would say, as well as his ancestors struggling in his throat would permit him to say it, "Advance and give the countersign."

We should have made that sort of thing unnecessary, but there are tens of thousands of men in the camps who can not speak our tongue, the language of this land which they are called upon to defend, can not even understand the orders. The first thing we must do is to teach those men to speak the English tongue. We must teach them the language of this land in which they are living in order that they may come to love that language, and we must have not only the practical man, the practical geographer, but we must also have the poet to go with the scientist to interpret this America as it has been so wonderfully interpreted to us this morning. If they could all understand what our Secretary said this morning, it seems to me it would not be necessary to do anything more.

There are three bills on this subject before the Legislature of New York at the present moment. One of them appropriates \$50,000 for the use of the commissioner of education of the State for the purpose of training teachers who are to teach English to foreigners. That is the first necessity, that there should be teachers, and that they should know how to teach. In the second place, after we have the teachers, we must make provision for the employment of the teachers, and there is a bill providing that the cities and the smaller communities even must make that provision. In the third place, after we have the teacher and the place for the teacher to teach, we must have the pupil. Mr. Somers said this morning that the great difficulty was to get the pupil. There is a bill providing that the illiterate minor shall attend school so many days in a year. Perhaps we can not oblige him to drink, but at any rate we can put before him this source of learning, and that bill is before the legislature requiring every illiterate minor in the State of New York to attend evening school, or school in a shop, if the provision is made, so many nights in the year.

Mr. YOUNG, of Iowa. I have been working on the Council of National Defense for a year and the speakers have been numerous, but they have not reached our part of the disease. The thing that perpetuates treason and perpetuates disloyalty is the German school, which teaches in the infant classes and below the high school. How are you going to Americanize when you are bringing forth un-Americans in America?

Secretary LANE. Are those public schools, Senator?

Mr. YOUNG. Public schools? Yes, sir. There are thousands of public schools in the United States that will close this afternoon

singing "Deutschland Uber Alles." They are singing "Die Wacht Am Rhine" in the Northwest, not in the Ghetto.

We thought at the beginning that the people would love this country because it was so good. We found out that was an overestimation of their judgment. If you will suppress or prohibit the teaching of German, or any other foreign language—you can include all of them—below the high school, that is one step; and then when you do this, require the educational forces and the schoolbook companies to get out American German textbooks—that shall not advertise the Kaiser and kaiserism and the royal family. I doubt if there is a man here that has read the textbooks used in his own State in teaching the German language. I have, and when I read them I wanted to get a gun and go right to the trenches regardless of age or distance. It is a part of the demoralization of American life and has been for the past 40 years.

Read "In Fatherland." If any of you has ever studied it and translated it, where the boy asks his uncle about Germany and his uncle said, "Yes, they have German States, 26 of them"; and he asked his uncle if they are very much like the American States, and he replies, "Oh, yes, very much like American States"; and he goes on to make out that Germany is a free government, when you know that is not true and has not been for a thousand years. They are undermining the hearts and souls of the little boys and girls on our farms, not in the cities only, but everywhere else. I can take you to religious schools in which there is nothing taught but German. The religious preacher who preaches in German is perpetuating discord for the United States, and the reason he does it is because he will not learn English and does not want his people to learn English; if they learned English, he would be out of a job.

We could throw German out of a good many of the public schools except for the good-hearted board of trustees that dislikes to throw a nice lady out of the business of teaching German. We have not got to the place where patriotism overrules affection.

The thing you need on the school boards, and everywhere else in public service at this age, is absolute courage. If you could fill Congress with men elected for one term who never wanted to come back, if you could fill our legislatures with the same kind, you could get some legislation for the United States of America. When you find a disloyal man in Congress you can trace him back to the fear he has of a German constituency.

I was in Berlin when they sunk the *Lusitania*. I was in the trenches at the front for 30 days in 1915, and in Berlin they told me we could not appropriate money in the United States to begin preparations for war. Why? Because we had so many Germans in the United States, bank presidents and Congressmen, and those

who created them, and German newspapers. If I were President of the United States there would not be another one printed tomorrow, or any other time, not one.

I am a newspaper man and have never had any other occupation, but there is no jealousy, because they are not interfering with my subscription list. But I know the power. You go into Wisconsin and Minnesota where you will see a German national bank president, who would have been currying horses if he had stayed in the old country, sitting on a porch reading a German language newspaper, and if you talk to him about the war he will say, "But it was British lies," British lies, everything British lies, and they had two years in which to make the world believe all the atrocities were British lies, and they could not have done that if we had not had German language newspapers. Great Britain had better sense, and did not permit any German, whether naturalized or otherwise, to vote in England. I believe the effect of language has brought about more wars in the world than religion, the Indian troubles, and everything else. Norway, Denmark, and Sweden separated on account of language.

I was in the Balkan States in 1917. The Balkan States could not get together on account of language. I tried to send a newspaper from one country to another, and I could not do it on account of the language. Language is the foundation of everything.

I believe that 90 per cent of all the men and women who teach the German language are traitors and out of sympathy with our Government. I want you to put that down because it is true. I made up my mind when I was in the trenches on the other side that if God would let me live and get back I was going to tell the truth the balance of my days, and I asked Him to forgive me for the past.

If you will do these two things, if you will prohibit the teaching in your several States of the German language in the schools, below the high schools, and let the colleges and the universities do as they please, and give us Americanized school books, and if there are translations of speeches in there, let them be from Lincoln and Wilson and the modern patriots of the United States.

I have but one model. I think this country is good enough for anybody, and I think it is good enough for a foreigner that comes here and gets rich. I have no respect for the man who gets rich in the United States and does not appreciate it. I should like to pay his fare to the country from which he came and in which he performed some manual labor before he left there.

I am tired of the pretense of German efficiency. They have deceived us and camouflaged us in education, in music, in mechanics, in inventions. There is only one way to get together, and that is to get together on the English language. One language, one flag, one country, one God. That is my sort of patriotism.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Gov. STEWART. Mr. Secretary, Ladies, and Gentlemen, the committee on resolutions did not attempt to go into great detail in presenting the subject matter for discussion. We took first the questions suggested by the Secretary of the Interior, but deeming that there was not time for us to consider in detail all of the various suggestions therein set forth, we adopted briefly a few general subjects:

1. We recommend the adoption of the policy that the Federal Government should cooperate with the States, and through the States with the local communities in carrying on an extended, intensive, and immediate Americanization program, including education in every possible way, especially for non-English-speaking foreign-born adults.

2. That the industries employing large numbers of non-English-speaking foreign-born persons should cooperate with the local community, State and Federal Governments in carrying out this proposition.

3. That adequate appropriations should be provided by the Congress to be expended through appropriate governmental agencies for the foregoing purposes.

4. That in all schools in which the elementary subjects are taught they shall be taught in the English language only.

After discussion the resolutions were adopted.

Mr. LUMIN. I represent the State commission on housing, of California, and also the State Council of Defense of California.

The commission of immigration was established four and one-half years ago upon the initiative of Governor (now Senator) Johnson. During that time we have put into effect, or tried to, what we conceived to be a program of Americanism which involves very much more than merely teaching English to foreigners. As a matter of fact it involves very much more than teaching anything just to foreigners, because it is true in California that not all of the unpatriotic or antipatriotic men and women are of foreign birth. Our program attempts to comprehend them all.

We have made a great many mistakes. We have tried to profit by those mistakes, and I have been instructed to bring to you certain reasons and a program for your consideration, based primarily upon our mistakes.

The characteristic features that distinguish it from many other programs that have come to us is that it is practical; it is not a paper scheme worked out in the den or in the closet or in the study. It is the result, as I said, of many mistakes. Almost every feature that we recommend to you, Mr. Secretary, has been tried out. Furthermore, it is comprehensive in another way. In the formation of

every committee, in getting up any kind of activity, we have tried to take in our whole population. We have, first, recognized on all committees, the foreigner. He is interested in the question of Americanization. We have recognized labor. Furthermore, it is definitely democratic.

Now, the last message, Mr. Secretary, that we have to bring is this: Speaking for California, we are willing to cooperate with the Federal Government to the limit. But there should be a common leadership here. To-day we are receiving communications in California from six Federal departments in Washington on the subject of Americanization. We are receiving communications, advisory, from five or six, maybe now there are 20 semipublic self-appointed organizations that are telling us what to do. On the day I left California we got two telegrams asking us to do certain things, both from Government officers. If we had done both of the things we should have had to stand on our heads and our feet at the same moment. We are willing to cooperate to the limit, but we insist in that cooperation that there be one central, responsible head in Washington with which we shall deal.

Mr. Chairman, I will close, if you will allow me, by reading this foreword:

FOREWORD.

Out of an actual experience in the field of Americanization extending over more than four years, the commission of immigration and housing of California has evolved certain lessons which it has the honor of presenting to the attention of the Federal Government.

First, the commission has come to a realization of the seriousness of the situation, intensified by our being at war. It subscribes whole heartedly to the words of the President, "It is not an army we must shape and train for war; it is a nation." It realizes the truth as expressed in the National Service Handbook of the Committee on Public Information: "Battles of this war will be won, in a large part, behind the lines. . . . Even a million men in the field will mean little with a sluggish 98,000,000 at home."

Then the commission's experience has brought out the fact that Americanization should take within its scope the native born as well as the immigrant. Not all antipatriots are foreign born. Furthermore, the attitude of the alien toward this country, in great part, is a reflection of the attitude of our own citizens toward him. Americanization should undertake to teach the duty of the host, not less than the duty of the guest.

Again, the commission has discovered that Americanization means infinitely more than teaching English to foreigners. In normal times, it may be sufficient to give the alien our language, waiting patiently before superimposing other and vital information. But in these times of stress we can not wait. We must reach the foreigner in the language he understands, through the media with which he comes in daily contact.

Furthermore, the commission has learned very definitely that to succeed in this task of Americanization an organization must be thoroughly and sincerely democratic. All committees must carry representation of the foreign born and of labor. The program must not be handed down from above, either by a group

of aristocrats or by a group of employers. Above all else, snobbishness and paternalism must be avoided.

And, finally, the exigencies of the situation demand an impetus from the Federal Government which shall articulate and unify all effort. But the coordinating and inspiring and energizing Federal agency must itself be centralized under one head, under one man, who, of course, will utilize all available and appropriate existing agencies, National, State, and local. Again we quote from the National Service Handbook: "To work means organization and centralization * * *. Let us take as our watchwords, intelligent efficiency and get together."

MR. METCALF, of the Council of Defense of Nebraska. We have reached the conclusion that it is absolutely necessary to have a law that will bar from all grade schools, private as well as public, all foreign languages. You heard from Senator Young a few minutes ago some words that perhaps startled some of you, but living in the adjoining State, I, as well as other men who have tried to discharge our duty to our country, could say things that would startle you. It is not in Washington, it is not even in New York, that you find these startling things, it is particularly in those Northwestern States. There are 18 districts in our State where the public school has been driven out by German schools. In those German schools nothing but the German language is spoken or taught. No attention whatever is paid to teaching anything but the German. We have in 12 other districts, in 12 counties, many public schools with only a few pupils, owing to the competition of German schools. There are other districts in which children spend three days in German schools, where they learn nothing but German, then three days in the public school, but having been filled up on the German they are not, in condition to learn anything else.

We have one public school in one district in our State where there are but two pupils, while within a stone's throw there is a German school having 33 pupils, teaching nothing but German. Of the 339 teachers investigated, less than 2 per cent are certified, and in nearly all instances, with respect to these graded and private schools that come in such competition with our public schools, they drive many of them out. As a rule, though not entirely without exception, but as a rule, they train the children up to the sixth grade, and do not bring them to the eighth grade, where they could enter the high school. Of 379 teachers investigated, 350 were Germans. In three counties where German schools predominated, the German national hymn was generally sung until our State Council of Defense protested. In 400 of these schools the American national hymn, up to 30 days ago, had never been sung. It needed this war to uncover the situation in which our country is rapidly drifting. We have in our State passed many years ago a measure locally known as the "market law," that was passed at the behest of the German Alliance.

That law requires that whenever 12 patrons of a school district shall indicate a certain foreign language to be taught the chosen one shall be taught, and the school board has no choice. The result of that is that the German language is taught generally throughout our public schools.

At the last legislature, two years ago, a determined effort was made to defeat that law, but the German Alliance, backed by the German-language newspapers and a few of the English-language newspapers that did not have the courage or vision to see what there was going on, defeated the repeal of that law. And the same legislature that defeated the proposed repeal of that law defeated a proposition to introduce in our graded schools a course on Abraham Lincoln. One speaker on the floor of our legislature stated that he would rather put \$100,000 in a hog barn. To-day our legislature is in special session. A few days ago the house, without a dissenting vote, passed a bill to repeal that so-called market law. It is absolutely necessary that we protect ourselves from this private grade school, as well as to provide that there shall be nothing but the language of the country taught in the public graded schools.

Following the defeat of the proposed repeal of this law, our State Council of Defense, which dares to take a law when it is righteous and backed by public sentiment, sent out a request asking every school that is American in purpose to substitute the English language for the German language. In most of the public schools, without an act of the legislature, we persuaded the school boards to throw it out. In many private schools, by the very power of that righteous request, we have persuaded them to throw it out, yet we find some resistance.

At the time we were fighting for the repeal of this law we did not go so far as some people have and say that it should not be taught as a cultural study. We want to stay on ground that we can maintain if the war ceases to-morrow; so we took the position that in high schools, colleges, and universities they may have what they choose to have, but in the grade school nothing but the language of the country shall be taught, and if there is any time to spare, teach them of Lincoln, Jefferson, Washington, and Wilson, and our own great Americans, and instill into them American ideals rather than the so-called ideals branded with "kultur."

Just one word about the German-language press, and a word with regard to the suggestion from the platform that you must not proceed from the standpoint of hate. I can say to you that any man that tries to do his duty on a State Council of Defense, or upon any body trying to protect our country, however kind and careful and considerate he may be, any such man is pointed out and branded by

these German language papers and by these German politicians as an emissary of hate.

Within the past four months, Mr. Secretary, we have had nearly 700 men brought before our State Council of Defense, and I myself have personally spent as much as two hours trying to awaken the thought of a single individual trying to help him along that thorny road which he must cross, trying to awaken his sense of duty to his adopted country. I have been kind and considerate; still I, as well as every other man in the hearing of my voice, must use the iron hand when necessary; and I have been called an emissary of hate by the German language newspapers which preach to these people.

The average German is easy to reach when you can talk to him apart from his politicians and German-language editors, but when you go away and let the German-language newspaper loose on him it is a thing of poison. Of the 15 German-language papers in Nebraska, three only are loyal; two in our State have the indorsement of our Post Office Department and are licensed to go through the mail; yet on July 4, three months after war was declared, one of those papers issued a souvenir spoon bearing upon it the picture of Von Hindenburg on one side and of the Kaiser on the other. The other paper has printed everything that has been sent from Washington, every advertisement from each department, and thus won from the various departments a certificate of good character, but when it came to the general proposition it has spread poison throughout our State in an insidious way.

While you are Americanizing the schools and the children, teaching them nothing but the language of the country, also bring the grown people in. It is an easy matter to do it, but we will never do it so long as we hold our mails open to the German-language press.

I make the prediction now, if this war should last one year longer there will not be a German-language paper admitted to the United States mails, because it is absolutely necessary for America to protect itself from them.

I would not open United States citizenship to any man that was unworthy of it. Instead of forcing anyone to it, I would put it further from their reach. We have in our State many naturalized citizens who are not doing justice to their country. I have the names here of 25 men in our State who, in the Republican Party or the Democratic Party, have held positions in our Legislature, have held high public positions. If there were a prohibition campaign, or if there were a political campaign, these men would be out on the stump holding the German vote in line for the breweries on the one hand, or their favorite political party on the other. This is a campaign for the honor of America, for civilization of the world, for humanity itself, and there is not one among that number of Nebraska's natur-

alized politicians that is out doing anything to help, not one among that number.

On the other hand, I can name a number of men—alien enemies—one I have in mind especially is now out speaking and pleading even, even with naturalized Americans, urging them to come in and stand up for the country which provides them with protection. We have one man who became a splendid governor of Utah, who came to this country when he was 14 years of age, a man who had to go through that same thorny path that all our German friends must pass over. He said: "I had to go over the same road that you have to go over, and I had a struggle as you have had to struggle, but finally my gratitude to America won the day," and in the presence of such a man as that I feel that I am going to be a better American citizen. We have a few of them in Nebraska, a few of them in Iowa, but we have to contend, as Senator Young told you, with the insidious influence of German politicians, of the German-language press, and of cowardly statesmen who are playing to the German galleries.

Mr. YOUNG. I wish to make just a brief suggestion—that is, that this committee call upon educators and book publishers to give us real American textbooks that shall quote from Lincoln instead of Bismarck and the Kaiser. That would help a great deal where the books are retained in the States, where you can not put them out altogether. We are entitled to have it. I would ask the committee if they could not put a paragraph in suggesting to educators and book publishers that they do that. I have written to every school-book publisher in America suggesting that we want to get rid of those that are devoted entirely to the so-called fatherland and to have an American that shall teach their language with our literature.

Mr. OHLINGER, president Toledo Commerce Club, Toledo, What has been said to-day has interested me tremendously. I also come from the Black Belt where Senator Young comes from and the gentleman from Nebraska. I mean by that the belt in States that have been printed in red in German textbooks and labeled as German territory, and, of course, the reason for that has been the very fact that German has been such a prominent part in the curriculum of those schools. For some 30 years there has been reported in Germany the name of every school where German is taught in this country, the names of the teachers, and they have those lists catalogued, such importance do they attach to that system. I may say also that the school law of Nebraska has been held up as a model of legislation on behalf of that of the German language.

I think the most important thing in this whole proposition of Americanization is this subject of the schools and the barring of the German language from all the grades, to keep it in the high school

as a cultural study, if you will; but it should be barred from all private and public schools as a language of study and also as a cultural language in those grades.

I am ready to admit that there has been and possibly is now place for a foreign-language press in the United States; any foreign population whose immigration is still coming to this country, whose flow of immigration is still large, must have a foreign-language press, because these new immigrants have the right to have something in their own language as a mediary between them and their new environments. There are regions to which that does not apply, and it does not apply to the German immigrant, because the German immigration has actually ceased; there has been hardly any German immigration to this country for the past 20 years, and none whatever in the past 3 years. There is absolutely no reason, so far as the German population is concerned, why a German-language press should continue in the United States. It can have its basis only on two suppositions: First, that those who support that press are incapable of learning the English language, and if that is the case, then they need no press at all, or, second, upon the supposition that they wish to retain their national solidarity and retain their language as a means of that solidarity. When you come to that, they have no right to a press, because it is absolutely necessary for the preservation of our ideals in this war that the one bond of union shall be the Union of the United States and that there shall be no subsidiary nationality. Everything else must give way to this one supreme Union.

I do not think we should go on record as forcing the foreign-born element in this country by a certain period to apply for naturalization papers. I think that is the wrong method. American citizenship, as you have very well said, is a matter of ideals and of spirit, and if we can get the spirit of American citizenship and the spirit of Americanism into these people you will not need any force to compel them to become naturalized. They will be glad to be naturalized. It depends upon us whether we can present those ideals with the vitality and force in order to compel these foreign-born people to apply voluntarily for citizenship. Unfortunately it has not been the case in this country in the past. A few days ago I met a man born in Germany who came to my office with his wife and asked, if it was not possible for him to be relieved of his stigma of representation as an alien enemy. He had lived in this country 40 years and has two sons in Gen. Pershing's army, but in spite of that he was compelled to register as an alien enemy, because he had not felt during those 40 years the throbb of national life enough to become a citizen. It lies with us to present these ideals with such force

that our foreign-born element will voluntarily and gladly come forward and apply for naturalization.

I believe this proposition for compulsory naturalization should not be urged, because if you examine the history of the past few years you will realize that one large section of this country has been unequalled for naturalization. It has been urged upon the members of that race to become naturalized as quickly as possible and to acquire the right to vote, and they have done that for the purpose of controlling the public forum of this country in the interest of the German language. That is a thing which we wish to avoid. Do not let us have naturalization until the foreign-born come forward and are glad to receive it and welcome it. Let us make it more precious, something that has to be aspired to, not something to be forced upon a man. And if we fill ourselves with the ideals of Americanism sufficiently we can propagate those ideals in such a way that they will be glad and anxious to become members of our political community.

Gov. MANNING. Mr. Secretary, I want to offer a resolution that will enable us to put in effect the policy that has been outlined in those resolutions. In South Carolina we have not a very serious problem. Less than 1 per cent of our population are foreign, and in the National Army in the cantonments in that State are truly American soldiers, because in those camps there are less than 1 per cent of foreign-born. We feel, however, Mr. Secretary, and realize the conditions that exist in other parts of the country, especially in view of the revelations that have been made here, which seem to have been unknown to some of our members, but, of course, were known to others; we realize the necessity of trying to correct those conditions, and I feel that we all stand here under the American flag, with all that it represents, for our unity, for our power, for our aims, and for our purpose and we stand under that flag and by it with loyalty and high resolves. But in order to carry out the purpose of this resolution I would offer the following:

Resolved, That the honorable the Secretary of the Interior appoint a committee of nine members, representative of those in attendance at this meeting, including governors, chairmen of State Defense Councils, officials of commercial organizations and industrial corporations, and representatives of the workers of the Nation, who shall ask a hearing before a joint session of the Senate and House Committees on Education for the purpose of furthering legislation that will give Federal direction and leadership to the movement for teaching the English language to the illiterates and non-English speaking persons of foreign origin residing in the United States and which will promote through the public schools, the systematic instruction of such persons in American ideals, standards, and citizenship.

¹The words "and representatives of the workers of the Nation" were inserted at the suggestion of Mr. Gompers, Gov. Manning assenting.

I offer this resolution.

Secretary LANE. The motion is to the effect that this committee, when appointed, shall convey to Congress the spirit of this conference. That is about it, it strikes me, that in conveying these resolutions the spirit of the conference may be very well presented. I see no objection to it whatever, excepting that it seems to me that if they present the resolutions that it expresses the sentiment of the body. Gentlemen, this motion is before you.

The resolution was adopted. The chairman appointed as members of the committee the same gentlemen who had constituted the committee on resolutions, namely, Gov. Stewart, Gov. Manning, Gov. Milliken, Mr. Mayer, Mr. Clark, Mr. Somers, Mr. Gompers, Mr. Hale Holden, and Mr. Lynch.

In response to a suggestion, Mr. Mayer, of Chicago, introduced a series of resolutions (1) to require all unnaturalized foreigners over 21 to apply for naturalization papers and to study the English language, and (2) to require all foreign-language newspapers to publish articles supplied by the Bureau of Education.

The resolutions were supported in a vigorous speech by Mr. Mayer. The superintendent of public schools of Lowell, Mass., stated that the law requiring that instruction shall be given in the English language is not universally observed in the schools of Massachusetts and other States. Dr. McKinley, of Philadelphia, discussed the international aspect of the question of naturalization, and showed that the action contemplated by the resolution would affect Americans abroad and embarrass the State Department. Mr. Garber upheld the view of Dr. McKinley; he stated that though the schools can do much in Americanization, the influence of the home is potent, and a common American spirit is needed above all things. Mr. George M. Graham thought it futile merely to require that certain articles be published, and he urged that all German-language papers be barred for the period of the war at least. Mr. Brewer, of Boston, objected to wholesale naturalization of unassimilated foreigners on the ground that in many communities they would control the elections contrary to the interests of native inhabitants and of the country at large. Others took part in the discussion.

Secretary Lane called attention to the fact that the resolutions were not only outside the domain of the conference, but they were also antagonistic to its purposes. He stated that strict censorship should be and is exercised over the foreign-language papers, and that compulsory naturalization is unwise and impracticable. Mr. Mayer withdrew the resolutions.

Secretary LANE. Gentlemen, I take great pleasure in presenting to you a man from California who has lived the life of the trenches, mixed with the men abroad, and knows the feeling of those coun-

tries, and has interpreted with rare clearness the feeling of the people on the other side—Mr. Will Irwin.

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, I should like to talk about just one little episode "over there" which came under my observation, because it is rather interesting, and it is because we have had very little information on it on this side, and because it bears directly upon our American problem at present: that is the Italian break at Caporetto last October, the break in the Italian Army. I was present at the time: As a matter of fact, I was with the Italian Army for some time before this happened and rather expected just what did happen. I was there afterwards and know a little about it, and I know that it was never put clearly to the people of the United States. I must bore you with a little bit of history and geography about the early part of this war before I come to the point. You know that the northern part of Italy, in the days before the great Italian movement, was held by Austria, and the middle by two Papal States, and the south by two extremely incompetent kingdoms. When, in 1860, Garibaldi began the Italian movement the hardest fight was against Austria, but the south never had Austria to hate as the north knew it. Italy has been a nation only since 1860; she is the oldest people but the youngest nation in this war. While she has made miraculous progress in pulling together a nation out of the adverse elements with which she formed herself, the patriotism of the average Italian was 40 years ago, and is still to a certain extent more for his native village than it is for Italy.

Some one said when united Italy was formed, "We are just a collection of marbles in a box." That was a little true 40 years later when Italy entered this war. She came nearer entering it for idealistic motives than most of the nations that went into the war; because when you have counted up the nationalists of Italy, that old imperialist lot that I regret to say infest every nation, but which is in the minority on our side and the majority in Germany, even that old nationalist element was not the thing that dragged Italy into the war. It was a sympathy for democracy, particularly for French democracy, because the cultures of Italy are the French.

Now, time went on and the Italian Army performed miraculously at the north. I have always considered the Italian Army to be by far the best organized army on this side. Their success was especially remarkable because they did not have a single level foot of territory to fight over. It was all mountains or high desert hills. You know Napoleon once said, "God made Italy so that Austria would have some one to beat." The shoe is really on the other foot. Italy has always seemed to have the Indian sign on Austria since Garibaldi's time. It was across a country where there was no water, no place to dig trenches—they had to blast them with blasting pow-

der. Italy had forced her way through to the point where she had only one more hill to conquer.

I stood three or four days before this break came and looked across a mountain rising just in front of me, with the Italian trench line running over the head of it, and the Austrian line just below the summit, and beyond that, as far as the eye could reach, clear out to the horizon, as I saw the horizon from a 3,000-foot peak, there lay a perfectly level plain, not a river that interfered with the open route to Austria; and Italy in August and September of last year, occupied that position. One more gathering of force, and that summit of San Gabriel would be won, and they would spill over into the eastern plain, leaving the way open for the allies to get to Vienna. Germany prepared to meet that.

I could have it in my heart sometimes to be sympathetic with Austria. Poor old Austria is so tired of this thing. When I was in Austria last August and the early September, I did not see an Austrian of any class who was not willing to weep on anybody's neck for peace. The Austrians had the saying that it would be 5 years after this war before a German would be received in Rome, 10 years before he would be received in London, 15 years before he would be received in Paris, and 50 years before he would be received in Vienna. But Germany came down to press her vassal, for Austria is her vassal; Austria can not quit, because Germany has a grip on her. Germany came down to press her up and to relieve that situation, and Germany prepared this thing, worked it up for two or three months, by wonderful preliminary bombardment, but here is the point: It was a preliminary bombardment of propaganda.

I am going to tell you what I know about it from unimpeachable sources. To begin with, the majority socialist, or rather the official socialists of Italy, a body of 50 men, a body of very clever men, the one cohesive political body in the Italian Chamber of Deputies, had been against the war from the first. They were formed under German patronage in the days of the Triple Alliance, when Germany was considered the little father of Italy. They had great admiration for the German political machine, and they took their stock by the principle of international deeds, the principle of internationalism, notwithstanding the fact that the Germans had appeared to be the friends of the French and the English.

Against the war was the old premier of Italy, for 10 years the king-maker, whose connection with Germany was extremely close. He had begun as a partner of a Jewish-German banker and mixed up now with the ruling bank of Italy, in every way connected with Germany. He had tried to stop the movement to enter the war and was sulking in his tent. Possibly he was glad then, I do not know; but certainly the socialists began it. It began, very likely, when

some of the Russian matters had come up in the days before and Russia was going to get down to Italy and hold a conference with these socialists. It was followed by a propaganda among the peasant women of Italy.

Now, here we come to another very curious thing. I can talk all night about the curiosities of this war. Here is a very curious thing. Women are making the public opinion of Europe now. The civilian public opinion is made by women, and, in fact, the public opinion in general of the nations. The reason for that is the strength, the manhood of the country, is at the front. The women are running the country. What we call public opinion in practically all the belligerent nations is women's opinion. So in Italy they began on the peasant women. They got in and they started on that method of German propaganda strategy which was employed all through last year, the method of creating mistrust of England. It was always England, just as this year they are beginning to hammer at the United States; but it was then England. They tried in every way to create mistrust of England. They tried to show that the country had simply sold itself out to England; that their men were being killed simply for England; that there was no necessity for the war; the war could be stopped immediately, and Italy would be better off than before, but the English would not let them. They talked that way to the peasant women.

The peasant woman of Italy is usually uneducated, because Italy has neglected public education on account of many obstacles that she has had to meet. She is a soft, loving, gentle, industrious, good soul, and she does not see very far behind her home maker, and she does not know anything about international relations, and she listened to this and all she could see was that she was being cheated out of her man, and she began to hate the war.

Then came the next stage. The men came home on leave. The women got hold of them and talked this to them, and there is the place where woman is not only making public opinion, but the way the army takes it, it makes all the difference in the world when a man comes home on his leave what the woman says to him; whether she says, "Go back and beat them and God save you," or whether she says, "For God's sake, don't go back," and cries on his neck. These men began to come home on leave. It was discovered that a lot of them began to desert. A great many deserted and used the military knowledge they learned at the front to put up barb-wire barriers themselves and to dig in, and they defied the police in that way.

This thing was rather badly handled by the Italian military authorities. Cadorna's fear was that he had no covenant with politicians, and he did not care to have anything to do with the civilian

control of his country, but if you will cast your eye over history you will discover every good general was a good politician. Cadorna did not understand this; could not do it. Cadorna really had no appeal to the imagination of Italians. It needs a man with drama to lead them. It needs a man who has sat before St. Peter's in Rome on a white horse and said, "Soldiers of Italy, I offer you death." That is what will lead Italians—drama. They need it as much as we need humor.

Cadorna answered the desertions by cutting off leave. That makes a man very sore. Any man who leads soldiers after the first week sees that danger makes little difference to them, but food and leave—those are the two things. Cut off food and leave, and you have trouble with your army. When the time came for leave these men were sent back to dig and make roads at the rear, so the morale of the army was a little affected.

Two weeks before this thing occurred I came back to the Italian Army, which I had not seen at that time for nearly a year, although I had known it quite well formerly. I talked to the officers and to the men—men whom I had known. With Italians in the army you can always get up a conversation, because they have 250,000 men among them who have lived in the United States and speak English, and they are crazy to talk English with some one from America. Wherever I went they all said the same thing, "The war is going to be over in December." Officers tried to make engagements with me in January, because, they said, "I am going to Paris for a little time as soon as the war is over," and they continually asked me if I thought that there was going to be any trouble after the war, in January, getting passes back to America. When I would go further into this question, they could not tell me why, but they almost always answered, "Why," they would say, "the peace conference is on in Switzerland." Just as soon as the conference was finished they were going to announce it. That was the universal opinion of the Italian Army. It was so strong that the very officers of the British batteries were affected by it.

Now, just a few words about the military situation. Off here to the right is the head of the Adriatic Sea. The Italian line began at the Adriatic. The line was 30 or 40 miles off this desert to an oasis where there was a town, and this town was held by the Third Army from Goritzia, going right straight up one of the foothills of the Alps. They were a great deal more than foothills. Along near the points where the trouble occurred they were probably higher than anything we have in the Alleghenies, and much more precipitous. The Second Army of Italy was stationed there. The Second Army was the great corps of the Italian Army. It had performed one of the brilliant operations of the war in August. Among the posts

the Italian Second Army held in that territory is the post of Polomena. Polomena is one of the natural gateways into Italy.

It began to be known a few days after I was there that there was going to be an attack, and German units had been sighted among the Austrians opposing us. It was looked upon with considerable calm. There had been 11 great battles, and this was considered another battle, probably an attempt to take back a fort in order to relieve the situation at San Gabriel. It was expected we were going to have a severe attack, but it was looked forward to by the staff with considerable confidence, and when that attack began it developed with a severe preliminary bombardment that occurs at those times. The attention of the Italian Army was strongly concentrated on Tulon. Tulon was a natural place to come over, and the enemy showed every sign of attempting to come through there.

The Italian army stood well; lost one little height; lost very little; stood beautifully against this attack. And so, for three days of this action, more and more it became concentrated on Tulon, and here they seemed to be coming through. Above Tulon, some 20 or 30 miles, is a place called Caperreta. In looking over the profile maps of this region just before the attack, and in talking it over at headquarters, I remember asking if there was any danger in that region, and the answer was no, you can not expect anything to happen up there, because that country is so well defended, no enemy in his senses would think of breaking through that. A battalion could hold that against regiment after regiment.

That position was held by two divisions, extending over probably 14 to 20 miles. These two divisions were a little inclined to be rebellious, though not much, when this thing started; but over on the Austrian front the Russians had been spreading propaganda among the Austrians, and they had got some of the Austrian regiments in a state of rebellion, whereupon the Germans, as part of this plot, transferred two of those disaffected divisions and put them right among the Italian divisions, and turned them loose to work on what they had learned from the Russians.

These men began to meet and began to talk, to fraternize. In that country everybody talks a dozen languages. You can almost identify any man in that region of the world, because they have some language in common. They talked—talked between the trenches—and the conversation went about like this: for among the Austrians there had been agents, putting into their minds the things that they were expected to say. The Austrians would say to the Italians, "We hear the war is going to end in December." The Italians would say, "That is funny, we hear the same thing." And the Austrians would say, "I don't see any use in fighting, do you?" The

Italians would say, "Sure, what's the use." Then they talked it over.

They would come to this conclusion: If any darned snip of a general, with gold lace all over him, tried to make them fight out there, they would be darned if they would do it; and they got to agreeing that if they were called to make a charge on either side, they would come over, throw up their hands, and they would shake hands and say "Comrade." So they had fine fraternization every night that the thing was going on. The Italians were being in the meantime thoroughly disaffected with their government and especially wildly prejudiced against England by matter being circulated secretly through the trenches. They tried to stop it, but you can not stop it entirely. The proclamation was dropped from airplanes.

Finally came one of the cleverest tricks of all. Perhaps you have heard it. It is true. The fake newspapers. Newspapers get up into those mountains very seldom. The men are always hungry for news. They used to ask me for newspapers before they asked me for chocolates or cigarettes. One day the newspapers came up in great quantities. They seemed to be regular Roman and Milan papers. There were the same advertisements and the headlines were the same, so they tell me, and they say if you put the paper opposite a real copy you could not tell which was the forgery and which was not. But the front page was different. The front page, made up so it looked exactly right, contained stories of the awful starvation in Italy; awful conditions about food and food riots in these men's home towns which had been put down with enormous slaughter of women and children, not by the Italian troops but by French and British troops imported for the purpose. All a lie. There was only one basis of fact in that—there had been a food riot a few weeks before. It happened this way: Somebody managed the stoppage of the wheat supply. No bread got in there. It was staged to bring on a riot. That riot was put down by the Italian military police.

Then, finally, here is another thing, although this whole story, of course, will never be told until long after the war. Outgoing letters from the war zone are very carefully censored. Incoming letters from their own people are not so carefully censored, because after all what the censor is after is to prevent the escape of military information, and military information is not coming from the rear forward. Moreover, the letters were censored in small units. So that this coincidence was not noticed until afterwards. Just a day or two before this attack, about one-half or one-third of the married men in those two divisions in the Italian Army received letters or postcards, usually anonymous, from home towns, telling them that their wives had been unfaithful, and naming the alleged man who was responsible for it, all of which was absolutely untrue. Simply

done to put that fellow in such a state that he didn't give a darn for anything. He only wanted to go home and kill that brute. That was the last thing that was done.

Then, one morning, when everything was ready, when the Italian Army was talked out as they wanted it, the blow was struck. The night before these Austrian regiments were taken out, leaving only a thin fringe in the front trenches to distract attention, and crack German shock regiments were put in their places. Five divisions of them were there, and early that morning, with no other preparation than was necessary to remove the barb wire, came over the top and went through them. This was a front of somewhere between 15 and 20 miles; not a front so long as you can say that everyone acts in the same way. There were active divisions here and there, but in the main the Italians behaved according to agreement. They rose up in their trenches and said "Comrade," and were very much astonished when "Comrade" did not stop at all, but went on through and struck the reserves.

The Germans made one bad calculation; they had failed to count on one thing—Italian pride. The Germans made the mistake of plastering north Italy, saying, "We come to rescue you from England. We know you are beaten, but we are not going to press it too far. We are going to stop and give you back your borders. Just have patience with us a little while. We will give you back your borders." That patronage drove all of Italy mad. It was Italian pride that caused Italy to come back.

I am telling all of those facts to you gentlemen and to you ladies from all over the country who are interested in this Americanization. I want to say to every man who goes out through this country, that the German whispering propaganda that was so effective in Italy is laid out among us. In Italy it was carried on by very few agents. In America they have 3,000,000 or 4,000,000 of very intelligent people, thoroughly capable, who are only too glad to spread anything on a tip from a central source. I have been having something to do with that game since I have been back here, and I can trace it through the rumors, through the apparently spontaneous reports that spring up in different parts of the country, just as thorough a scheme of strategy propaganda as the Boche used in Italy against the Italians. The time may come with us, just exactly as it came with Italy, when they will systematize it and send it out as a preliminary bombardment to break down our American morale. We have got to watch it all of the time. It is far more dangerous, in my opinion, than the spy—that poisoning of the public mind to undermine the will to win in this war.

The reserves had been disaffected in other ways. Their morale was gone, and, moreover, here was a little fine point of the drama.

Ahead of the charging German regiment there ran Austrians—men who spoke perfect Italian, dressed in the uniform of Italian staff officers, who rushed into the dugouts and telephone exchanges and division headquarters—and wherever there was a sign of a command they gave the order for a general retirement. The reserves held it so, and the five German divisions walked through and got in the rear of the gallant Second Army, and there was nothing to do. The artillery of the Second Army—sometimes it takes two or three weeks to get the guns up to those positions—were cut off from the rear. The whole Second Army would have been wiped out but for the boys with the sombreros and cock feathers who charged barehanded into annihilation and stopped them dead.

Secretary LANE. Now, I am going to ask, as a closing feature, each one of the governors who has been with us to say just two words regarding the feeling in his State. Gov. Stewart, of Montana.

Gov. STEWART. Mr. Secretary and Gentlemen and Ladies of the Convention: It is pretty hard to express the feeling in any State in two words. I may say to you, however, that in the State of Montana we have as healthful, as strong, as vigorous, and as loyal a public sentiment as there is in any State in the Union.

It was recently my good fortune to call the Legislature of the State of Montana into extraordinary session for the purpose of enacting such laws as might be necessary in the peculiar emergency which confronted our people. We put upon the statute books of Montana a sedition law with teeth in it, a sedition law which ought to be copied into the statutes of the United States of America. We also passed a sabotage law, and we took from the bench of the second highest court in the State a man who had been guilty of seditious and treasonable utterances and acts and tore from him, by the solemn procedure of impeachment, the judicial ermine which he disgraced.

So that I may say to you that this, in common with other things, is indicative of the fact that the sentiment of our particular part of the Northwest is healthful and wholesome. I am glad that we have met here to consider these matters of national import. I think the plan of procedure that has been suggested by Secretary Lane and that has been adopted is a most vital and important one. I should personally like to see some of the suggestions of our friend Mr. Mayer, from Chicago, put into operation. I know that the spirit which actuates him is the right spirit. I tell you that the people of this country are awake to the fact that we are at war, and it is time that the Congress of the United States, especially the United States Senate, was waking up and finding it out, too.

I hope that the discussion here to-day will have the beneficial result of calling to the attention of the Congress of the United States

the necessity for controlling the foreign-language papers in this country, and the necessity for the changing of some of the existent draft regulations. You know that the draft is based upon registration. They first registered on the 5th day of last June, all of the men in this country between the ages of 21 and 31. Then, from that registration the population is calculated, and upon the population so found the draft is levied in each one of the communities. That seems fair. It is, up to that point. But then the alien who had been included in that draft and was counted in making up your population and registration is allowed to go free, and thereby a greater burden is levied upon the citizen population of a given community than would have been levied but for the presence of the alien registered population. That is not fair. Gen. Crowder has called it to the attention of Congress. That is not all. The alien who claims exemption is standing by for the purpose of taking your boy's job or mine when the draft takes him from us and sends him to the Army; and I say that that is not fair either.

Secretary LANE. Gov. Manning, of South Carolina.

Gov. MANNING. Mr. Secretary, I can not resist the temptation of saying to men here, representing many callings and professions and vocations, from many parts of this country, that I think in one sentence I can show how my heart is in this war: I have five boys in it.

Not only that, Mr. Secretary, but I would not have it otherwise, and I want to say that the mother of these boys, who comes from Virginia, would not have it otherwise.

Mr. Secretary, I have attended this meeting with a great deal of interest. As I said in presenting some resolutions a few moments ago, the foreign-born problem is not one that affects South Carolina. Less than 1 per cent of our people are foreign born, but I say, Mr. Secretary, with some regret, that we, like other States, have some people who have been affected by German propaganda, and I want to say here that in traveling through different parts of this country, if there is one feeling on which our people seem to be almost unanimous it is that there is too much leniency in the treatment of those who are pro-German.

When the resolution was passed declaring that we were at war with Germany I felt that America was no longer the place for those who had sympathies with Germany, and I feel now, after we have been in this war a year, when we see what this war means to us, to all of the civilized world and to humanity and to Christianity itself, I feel that it is time that examples should be made of those who are untrue to the American flag and American ideas.

Mr. Secretary, in South Carolina, before we were asked to appoint a State Council of Defense, I proceeded at once, as soon as war was

declared, to appoint a commission on civic preparedness. I appeared before that commission and I told them that until other means were adopted it was an organization which I wanted to use throughout the State to carry out every proposition that came down to us from the Federal Government. That organization went to work with the purpose first of creating sentiment, creating the true sentiment, and explaining to all people why we had been forced into this war. When the State Council of Defense was asked for, I merged the commission on civic preparedness into the State Council of Defense, and I want to say with some pride that the National Council of Defense has sent us the word that among the States of the Union the work done by that council has ranked as fifth in the Union and as first in the South. That council is the organization through which I am working everything. We work down through the schools. It reaches the counties. It goes down to the school district as the unit through which this message is carried. We have the State absolutely organized. This message which I will take to them from this conference will be given to them by my State council and they will try to carry out the purpose of this conference, and I wish to say to you and to this conference that South Carolina has done her part in the critical periods in the history of America. The spirit which carried our people through the Revolutionary days still lives in our people to-day, and we stand ready, Mr. Secretary, to give our boys, to give our material resources and our lives themselves, and will know no surrender until Prussian militarism and German atrocities are subdued and brought to an end. That is the spirit which exists in South Carolina.

Secretary LANE. Gov. Milliken, of Maine.

Gov. MILLIKEN. Mr. Secretary, we have a very small foreign population in Maine. We have a very, very small alien enemy population, so small that we need take very little account of it. I want to say to you, Mr. Secretary and Gentlemen, that we have submerged for the time being, in Maine, all our differences that relate to grade or to class, or to capital or labor. Those are submerged, just as rocks and the defenses in the harbor are submerged when the tide is in, and we are all together and behind the Government in this war.

Secretary LANE. Gov. Alexander, of Idaho.

Gov. ALEXANDER. Mr. Secretary, Ladies, and Gentlemen, I want to bring to you all the spirit of Idaho. In Idaho we believe that he who is not with the Government in this crisis is against the Government, and if he is against the Government he ought to get out, for he has no business in this country of ours. We are loyal to the flag, to our institutions, to our homes, and our country. We believe we are fighting for a principle, and whatever the Government of the United States may want of the State of Idaho in this crisis, we are

ready to furnish to the last man, to the last dollar, and the last breath. All we ask is that when this war is over our boys may come back with victory perched upon the banner of the Stars and Stripes.

Idaho has solved, law or no law, one question that we discussed to-day. At the outbreak of the war I said, "Not another German book shall be bought, nor shall another German book in the German language be used in any school from the universities down," and none is used there now.

There is a great deal of constitutionality about that, but in war times things are different. German is not taught in the State of Idaho, probably will never be, even after the war is over. Whenever there is anything that is necessary in the spirit of winning this war, I want to say to you, Mr. Secretary, that I pledge you my word that it shall be accomplished. I expect to call the legislature for the purpose of making an appropriation, because our legislature adjourned before war was declared, but we have money and have furnished everything required, and you can count on Idaho. Whatever is wanted we will furnish, no matter what it is.

Secretary LANE. Gov. Goodrich, of Indiana.

Gov. GOODRICH. Mr. Secretary, a wise old man said many years ago, "Shew me thy faith without thy works, and I will shew thee my faith by my works." In this war Indiana points to the record. In every line of endeavor, in the number of her volunteers, for though you called for 5,000 we gave you 24,000, and more in contributions of money; in carrying forward every war activity Indiana points to the record.

Secretary LANE. Gov. Frazier, of North Dakota.

Gov. FRAZIER. Gentlemen, the German-born citizens that we have could not help but be born in Germany, and I believe they are due a great deal of credit for the loyalty that they show during this war. In my State there are a large number of foreign-born Germans and Russians, German citizens, and as a whole they are very loyal. There have been some cases where ardent patriots have spoken disrespectfully of those German citizens, calling them names, disloyalists, etc., and I could not blame the Germans if they did resent it and refuse to contribute to the Liberty loan or the Red Cross; but where they had the proposition explained to them fairly and where they understood the situation they have contributed liberally. North Dakota has gone over the top on every line of war work that has been proposed so far. The Russian Germans and German citizens of North Dakota are to-day sowing wheat and have been seeding wheat for the past week in North Dakota because wheat is what our Government most wants, and I believe that is true in other German sections. If the conditions existed in Nebraska as was stated here to-day, the Germans of that State were not alone to blame. The

people of Nebraska in years past have been to blame in allowing the conditions to be as they are in educational lines in that State. I have a great deal of sympathy for our German-born citizens, and I believe consideration is due them. Anyone that is pro-German at this time and against the Government should feel the heavy hand of the law. By all means have our German papers censored and kept under control, but we have no way, except through the German papers, of educating those German citizens who can not read the English language, and I believe they should be continued in order to reach those people as best we can until the children can be educated up from the school.

I want to say that the people of North Dakota are as loyal and as much back of the President in this war as the people of any other State in this Union. They are going to stay back of the President until the war is won. Our National Guard is all across the water, fighting with the allies, and they will do their part when it comes to the battles. Of course they have made a good record so far, and we are willing to chance the record of North Dakota upon their good work while at the front.

Secretary LANE. Gov. Williams, of Oklahoma.

Gov. WILLIAMS. Mr. Secretary, ladies, and gentlemen, the State of Oklahoma stands ready and is doing its part. We may have had a little trouble in the beginning in the enforcement of the draft law, but that trouble was put down without appealing to the Federal Government. Since then we have had no trouble. We have organized an appeal to the patriotism of the people of the State. It has not been necessary to call the legislature together. We appealed to the Germans to stop German in their private schools. We appealed to the Lutheran ministers to stop it in the parochial schools, and we have succeeded in doing that without resorting to the rule of force. We have felt that that was the wise way. We treat fairly the men of foreign birth and German parentage; we draw them to our country in this way. If we do not succeed by an appeal to reason, then would be time for force, but in this great contest for democracy reason and patriotism should be the first recourse. You can count on the people of this new State to stand with this Government in this time of peril, and we will be with her to the end, and we will be with her when she has won.

The CHAIRMAN. Gov. Gunter, of Colorado.

Gov. GUNTER. Mr. Secretary, my Brother Governors, Ladies, and Gentlemen: Every moment of this assemblage here to-day has been inspiring to me. It is a reconsecration, so far as I am concerned, to the high duties that devolve upon us all as citizens. I have looked over this body and have felt appreciation of the character of its

personnel, and I am proud that from my State of Colorado, away off in the Rocky Mountains, we have half a dozen of representatives.

Now, let me tell you what we are doing out in our Commonwealth. From Washington came the news, five days before the declaration of war, that war was inevitable. Before the shadows of evening approached I had gathered together, as the chief executive of that Commonwealth, 25 of the first citizens of the State, men representing all localities in the State, men representing the great industries of the State, men representing labor, men representing capital; and from that good hour to this I have never called upon a citizen of Colorado to act in this hour of peril that he has hesitated one moment to come and to act. Every Tuesday morning from that day to this those men have gathered in the executive office and have remained if necessary throughout the day, and on more than one occasion throughout the night, aiding the governor by the best efforts of their lives. A council of women was organized, 63 members, an organization reaching throughout the State. These two bodies were coordinated with every one of our 63 counties, and in nearly every county there is complete organization. This Council of Defense was subdivided into committees, such as the committee on conservation, on finance, on marketing, etc., and as questions come up in all of these fields they are dealt with efficiently. The legislature was not in session. We needed money. The members of that council, with a few of their friends, provided the money with which we have proceeded. Out in the short-grass regions seed was needed for struggling farmers. The members of that council helped those farmers, and they got practically every dollar of it back when the harvest season came on. We were troubled with lack of transportation in the State. When congestion occurred in some counties, probably 600 miles from our capital city, the committee on transportation acted. Cars were provided. The products were brought to the market. The women organized throughout the State just as efficiently.

The legislature was called. Seven of the best citizens of the State were selected. The governor told them what legislation he wanted and asked them to draw up bills to meet those conditions and avoid conflicts in the legislature. The legislature was convened. In nine days' time every bill was passed that the governor asked and the legislature had gone home.

Partisanship has not interfered with patriotic service in Colorado. Our senate stood 26 to 26, and yet stood 72 when it came to passing a Democratic governor's measures. The war council was composed of 25 men—9 Democrats and 16 Republicans. The best service of the highest and most unselfish character has been given to their governor ever since.

A National Guard was organized. The quota of Colorado was 5,000. A month before we were to mobilize and turn them over to the Federal Government we had mobilized them in the State. We had uniformed them. We had drilled them, and after spending nearly \$500,000 we turned the soldiers over to the National Government. They are now in Camp Kearney, a magnificent body of men; and as I saw them move by in splendid military review the other day the commanding general said, "Colorado has sent her soldiery here certainly as well equipped as any other State in the Union." We gathered together then to help the selective draft; 85,000 names were listed. The exemption boards were approved.

Not in a locality in that State, in the remotest mining camp, have we had the least trouble. When it looked as if trouble was threatened, I put a president of a corporation, counsel for the defense, in certain of their mining troubles, and a leader of labor upon a committee. The strike was arrested. We have never had a suggestion of trouble since, and when I left our State a few evenings since our leading labor representative of the State said, "Bear the news to Washington that there will be no trouble between labor and capital in this State."

We are all going to unite in every way we can, that Colorado may do her full patriotic duty. More than \$60,000,000 has been subscribed by Colorado. More than 13,000 soldiers have gone out of my Commonwealth for the National Government; at every step we have sought to know what Washington wanted, and all of the powers of that Commonwealth have been brought to bear when we knew what our National Administration wished us to do. I am glad to have been with you to-day, and I thank you for hearing me.

SECRETARY LANE. Before you go I want to say that the committee, of which Gov. Stewart is chairman, on the resolutions which are to be presented, in part at least, to Congress, will meet at the office of the Secretary of the Interior at 12.15 to-morrow. Gov. Houx, of Wyoming.

Gov. Houx. Mr. Secretary and Ladies and Gentlemen: Being from one of the smallest States in population in the United States of America, one of the new States, I came down here with the hope of learning something of importance from your older-settled communities that might be of benefit to my State. I believe I have gained a good deal by being here.

I represent the State which was the first in the Union to give women the right to vote, and they have from time to time been in our legislatures and helped us to make our laws. Consequently, we have the best laws in the Union.

I am heartily in accord with the Secretary's ideas for this education of the foreign element. We have about 30,000 foreigners in our State, employed in the coal mines, and we began some time ago, Mr.

Secretary, through our State board of education, a system of educating these foreigners. We have night schools in every town of any importance, and have had them for more than a year and a half. We control our State schools wholly. We have a State board of education, whom I appointed. They appoint a commissioner of education. More than a year ago we discontinued the teaching of German in our high schools and in our university, which is as good as there is in the West. We have several private schools taught by Germans. They have discontinued the teaching of the German language. There is only one thing that they have asked us to allow them to do, and that is to worship in their own language. We could not, under the Constitution of this great United States, deprive them of that privilege.

We have a population, my friends, of about 200,000. I organized a full regiment, including officers, of 2,200 men in the National Guard, and, as Gov. Gunther said, equipped them, and they are now "over there" and ready at the firing line. When the draft was called, Mr. Secretary, we had furnished so many men from our State that we had seven counties that were not subject to the first draft call at all.

We are 100 per cent American in the State of Wyoming, and we are going to remain 100 per cent American. We have gone over the top on every contribution and everything else that we have been asked to do—the Young Men's Christian Association, the Liberty Loan, and everything else. When you get your machinery in readiness and some concrete system that you want to carry out throughout the United States, Wyoming will be there, sir, to support you.

Secretary LANE. Gov. Hunt, of Arizona.

Gov. HUNT. Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, the baby State that produces the copper has 7,000 men in the field under the colors of the United States, and the people of Arizona are behind these men, and we are going to be behind them until we win the war.

Secretary LANE. Now, I want to present to you the head of the Bureau of Education, who has charge of this work, Dr. Claxton.

Dr. CLAXTON. Ladies and gentlemen, I know the purpose of the Secretary, out of which this conference came. He referred to the fact that this purpose is not new. Before the present Secretary came into office Congress was asked to make an appropriation to enable the Bureau of Education to promote a campaign to banish illiteracy from the United States. A bill making a small appropriation for this purpose is now pending in both Houses. For four or five years, with the approval of the Secretary and with the cooperation of the Americanization committee, there has been maintained in the Bureau of Education a small division through which we have promoted the cause of Americanization.

We should give to the people who come to our shores ample opportunity to learn the English language, the common language of communication in this country, and we should do all we can to induce them to take advantage of the opportunities offered. We should try to teach these people something of the country to which they have come. For hundreds of thousands of them there is nothing beyond the Palisades of the Hudson. They know nothing of the wheat fields of the West, the cotton fields of the South, the fruit-growing sections of the far West; nothing of mountains and valleys, hills and plains, fields and forests, rivers and waterfalls. We should teach them something of the history of the country, something of its marvelous growth and development, something of the principles for which we have been willing to fight and to die whenever it has been necessary. Only thus may we expect them to gain an understanding of our country and of its ideals. Americanization is an entering into the spirit of the country, as the Secretary has so well said.

The crisis through which we are now passing has called our attention to the weakness and the dangers that spring from our neglect of the education of our own people and the proper instruction of those who come to us from abroad. The Secretary of Agriculture is sending out millions of dollars worth of bulletins, urging farmers to produce more food and telling them how to do so; but two and a half million farmers can not read a word of them, and nearly twice as many read with such difficulty that they make little or no use of these bulletins. We are drafting men into the Army who can not understand a word of the commands, and others who can not read any order, direction, or sign, or make any memorandum of anything which they are told or which they see. Until April of last year such men were not admitted into the Army for the reason that it requires an unusual amount of time to drill and train them, and the further reason that most of them can not be made into good and intelligent soldiers. The first draft brought more than 40,000 of them, and in every cantonment one is told the same story of the difficulty of training them, their inefficiency, and the attempts to shift them from one command to another. In a certain encampment I was told that one commander of a machine-gun corps asked for additional men, and a group of illiterates and foreigners were sent him from the Infantry, but after a few days 137 of them were sent back to the Infantry from which they had been sent, because they could not be taught quickly and effectively to handle a machine gun. They could not understand the language of their instructors. We are beginning to learn that the sins of omission must be paid for and are costly. At this time, when these truths are being driven home for us, the Secretary has thought that it would be proper to call this confer-

ence to inaugurate a Nation-wide movement for making plans and obtaining means for the instruction of these people.

The Secretary is right. Americanization can come only through teaching. We must win the mind and heart of the people for the country and its institutions and ideals. This can not be done by force or compulsion. Americanism can never be obtained through processes of Prussianism. The ways of democracy are not the ways of militaristic autocracy. The prayer of the negro preacher, "Oh, Lord, come down with a sledge hammer in each hand and beat 'ligion into these niggers' souls," can never be answered. It does not come in this way. The spirit of freedom and of love for the institutions of democracy that will lead a man to die for them can not be created by force. It must be fostered by sympathy, love, and intelligent leadership. Force, compulsion, and restraint may be necessary for immediate protection against disloyalty, and, when necessary, they must be used, but they are effective only for temporary restraint; they have little value for the promotion of permanent good citizenship and less value in giving an understanding of our reasons for being in this war and the principles for which we are fighting.

We have entered this war in no spirit of selfishness. We have disclaimed in advance all indemnity and all accessions of territory. Neither did we enter it for protection against immediate invasion. The President, whose voice is the clearest that has spoken to this generation, has told us that we have entered it for the same purpose that we fought the Revolution, the War between the States, and the War against Spain—for the freedom of man; for the preservation of the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that the world may be made safe for democracy and that all the world may be free, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people may extend to all the earth.

Having entered in this spirit, and for this purpose, we can not end the war, cost what it may, to be paid in whatever coin it must, until this spirit triumphs and these ends are secured. The war can not end so long as any irresponsible government can wield a nation of seventy or one hundred and twenty millions of people as a giant wields a club or an officer wields a sword, unthinking and unresisting. There can be no safety for democracy, no security of freedom until such governments have passed from the earth. Nor can there be any beginning of democracy among nations, nor any guarantee of the inalienable rights of nations to exist and pursue their happiness unmolested so long as they do not interfere with the rightful progress and freedom and happiness of other peoples. Should a patched-up peace be made with Germany now, within a generation she would have organized into an autocratic militaristic empire, two hundred millions of people or more, and would have given to

them all at least some degree of the efficiency which, through 40 years and more of skillful training, she has given to the sixty-seven millions of the present German Empire. With this increase of strength there would come an increase of the domineering spirit of the Empire and the struggle between autocracy and democracy would begin anew. The war would have to be fought over again and on a scale much larger than that of the present one. Therefore the battle for freedom must be fought out now. It may be long—2, 3, 4, 5, or 10 years. It behooves us, therefore, that we should do everything possible to unite our people in spirit and understanding and in effort. The work begun here today should contribute much toward this. Through it there should be constant improvement in spirit and understanding, and these people, who have come from all the world to live among us, should rapidly become an integral and vital part of us.

Most of these people have not yet known what democracy really is. They must be taught. Many of them do not understand our language and are therefore isolated from the great current of American thought. They must be given an opportunity to learn the language and induced to take advantage of the opportunity. They know little of our history, our ideals, our manners and customs, and of the demands of American social and civic life. They must be informed. If we do this work well, we shall be stronger for the war and its tasks. When the war is over and peace comes we shall have here in America a great democratic people of more than one hundred million capable of playing their part well in the front rank of the democratic nations of the world. We shall be better able to show the world the real meaning of democracy and to illustrate its worth.

I am greatly interested in this important movement and have had something to do with bringing this conference here. I wish to thank you for responding so generously to the Secretary's invitation. I feel sure that we shall have your hearty cooperation in the campaign for Americanization through instruction, leadership, and the uplift of spirit.

Secretary LANE: Now, may I say one word to you about the man who is our leader, the Commander in Chief of the Army and the Navy of the United States, clear-sighted, far-sighted, upward-looking, strong-souled, determined Woodrow Wilson. In his honor let us sing one verse of "My Country 'Tis of Thee" and close.

The hymn was sung, and at 6.30 o'clock p. m. the meeting was closed.