

first settlers, I was reared in the public schools and at Harvard College. Early my mind was caught by the age-old struggle for freedom; America meant to me a vital new experiment in free political institutions; personal freedom to choose one's way of life and service seemed the essence of the liberties brought by those who fled the mediaeval and modern tyrannies of the old world. But I rebelled at our whole autocratic industrial system—with its wreckage of poverty, disease, and crime, and childhood robbed of its right to free growth. . . .

I seek no martyrdom, no publicity. I merely meet as squarely as I can the moral issue before me, regardless of consequences. . . . I am not complaining for myself or others. I am merely advising the Court that I understand full well the penalty of my heresy, and am prepared to pay it. The conflict with conscription is irreconcilable. . . .

But I believe most of us are prepared even to die for our faith, just as our brothers in France are dying for theirs. To them we are comrades in spirit—we understand one another's motives, though our methods are wide apart. We both share deeply the common experience of living up to the truth as we see it, whatever the price.

Though at the moment I am of a tiny minority, I feel myself part of a great revolt surging up from among the people—the struggle of the masses against the rule of the world by the few—profoundly intensified by the war. It is a struggle against the political State itself, against exploitation, militarism, imperialism, authority in all forms. It is a struggle to break in full force only after the war. Russia already stands in the vanguard, beset by her enemies in the camps of both belligerents; the Central Empires break asunder from within; the labor movement gathers revolutionary force in Britain; and in our own country the Non-partisan League, radical labor, and the Socialist Party hold the germs of a new social order. . . . Their protest is my protest.

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### SOWING THE SEEDS OF FUTURE WARS

'I have to admit that for nearly four years I held opinions which I now find to have been an illusion. I clung to ideals which I now find to have been false.

We were told that England was fighting to obtain a 'righteous peace'; I am learning now what a 'righteous