

small, trying to suppress them; against the ten thousand men on the submarines were one million trying to resist them, and besides, immense mine fields, shore batteries of cannon and all kinds of immobile defences. In defiance of all these, the submarines destroyed eleven million tons of allied shipping and hosts of human beings. In the air attack on Whitsun in 1918 there were only thirty-three planes carrying on the offensive, and of these only six were lost, although they were opposed by one hundred British planes and as well by eight hundred guns, four hundred search-lights and a whole division of troops. Have we any idea of what the submarine and aeroplane of tomorrow can accomplish? Why, the French today can drop in one raid one hundred and twenty tons of bombs ten times the war maximum in weight, and every ton ten times as powerful in explosive destruction. There is death and desolation multiplied one hundred times already. In a single factory in Germany there is produced now two thousand tons per day of nitrate of ammonia--a compound which can be quickly converted into the most terrible of explosives. In the whole course of the Great War there were dropped in England only three hundred tons.

We have even now British experts and American experts arguing as to how many cruisers each country is going to be allowed. General Groves is authority for the statement that one hundred modern aeroplanes in ten minutes can lay a cloud of poison gas from fifty to one hundred and fifty feet thick over an area of one hundred square miles. How long would a thousand cruisers last against a weapon like that? Aeroplanes travelling three hundred miles an hour, undetectable by sound, can carry gas bombs which would depopulate London. The only way these weapons can be met is by reprisals. Reprisal will follow reprisal until the civil population passes, this nation today, that nation tomorrow, by millions, into eternity.

What we now call "The Great War" was won chiefly by pressure of blockade--a blockade perfected by the co-operation of your American Navy--a blockade which denied the means of living to one hundred million human beings not in combatant ranks at all. This, too, was by way of reprisal, and it was carried on until the civil population cracked. In the next war there will be air blockade, and can the imagination picture what it means? If we ever have another, women and children and workers at home will be encircled with fire and sword the same as the Tommy and the Jack-tar.

We hear a lot about freedom of the seas and rights of neutrals. Neutrality did not prove to be tolerable for very many or for very long in the last war. Seventeen hundred neutral ships were sunk with thousands of neutral lives. Up to the twentieth century there was never a neutral ship sunk on the high seas in war. I wonder if people really think that neutrality is going to be possible in a great struggle of the future.

There is another reason why the whole institution must go. While it exists at all, those who want to escape its curse cannot escape. The sea is one and the air is one, and you might as well say the world is one, and as one it must stand or fall according as it shows capacity or fails to show capacity to meet the new conditions which mankind has brought upon itself.

It is hardly worth while to adduce another reason. But this also can be said: that war has lost its efficacy; it never can bring victory again; it can only bring defeat and despair for both conquerors and conquered; it can leave nothing behind but victors in reaction and vanquished in revolution, and all alike impoverished. War once served a human purpose; it can now of its very nature serve such a purpose no longer; it solves no problem; it affords no security; it offers no prizes to the victor.