

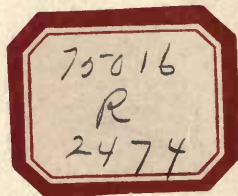
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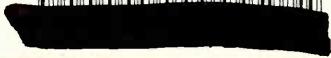
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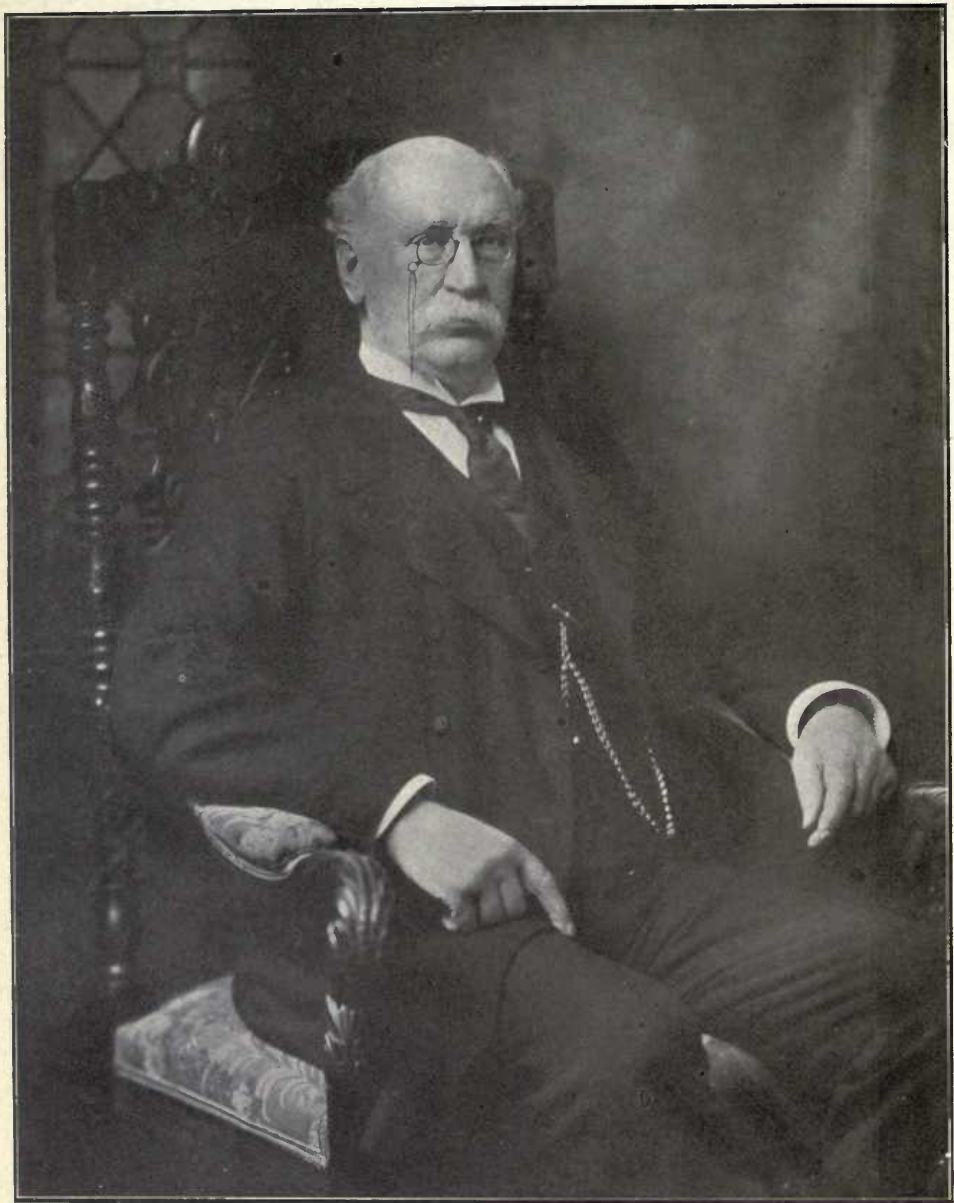


Photo by Marceau, Boston.

HON. ROBERT TREAT PAINE

President of the American Peace Society Since 1891.

PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE SECOND NATIONAL
PEACE CONGRESS

CHICAGO
MAY 2 TO 5, 1909

EDITED BY
CHARLES E. BEALS
FIELD SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY
31 BEACON STREET, BOSTON

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CONTENTS

Hon. Robert Treat Paine, President of The American Peace Society,	Frontispiece
Button and decorative device of the Peace Congress.....	3
Officers of the Congress.....	4
Hymn, "Hear, O Ye Nations," <i>Hosmer</i>	8
Poem, "War," <i>Torrence</i>	8
Introductory Note.....	9
Program	13
General Survey of the Peace Movement.....	20
 PRELIMINARY MEETINGS.....	 22
THE HAMILTON CLUB BANQUET.....	22
Hon. J. M. Dickinson: <i>The Progress of Peace Principles</i>	22
 SPECIAL MEETINGS FOR TEACHERS.....	 35
Edwin D. Mead: <i>Peace and Education</i>	35
Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews: <i>The American School Peace League</i>	46
Miss Mary J. Pierson: <i>Peace Work in the Schools</i>	51
 SUNDAY EVENING CLUB MASS MEETING.....	 56
Prayer by Bishop C. P. Anderson.....	56
Rev. Robert J. Burdette: <i>Man a Fighter</i>	58
Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones: <i>Chicago and the Peace Congress</i>	60
Rev. Emil G. Hirsch: <i>The Function of a Peace Congress</i>	62
President Jacob Gould Schurman: <i>Forces Which Make for Peace</i>	69
 THE CONGRESS.....	 74
FIRST SESSION: <i>Retrospect and Prospect</i>	74
Hon. Robert Treat Paine: <i>America Should Lead</i>	74
Governor Charles S. Deneen: <i>Welcome to the State</i>	75
Edgar A. Bancroft: <i>Welcome to Chicago</i>	78
Rev. A. Eugene Bartlett: <i>Welcome by the Reception Committee</i>	79
Letter from the President of the United States.....	82
Letter from the South American Association of Universal Peace.....	83
Miss Anna B. Eckstein: <i>A World Petition to the Third Hague Conference</i>	87
Dr. B. F. Trueblood: <i>The Present Position of the International Peace Movement</i>	92
Dean W. P. Rogers: <i>The Dawn of Universal Peace</i>	99
 RECEPTION	 114
SECOND SESSION: <i>The Drawing Together of the Nations</i>	115
Prof. Paul S. Reinsch: <i>Interdependence versus Independence</i>	115
H. T. Keeling: <i>Racial Progress towards Universal Peace</i>	121
President David Starr Jordan: <i>War and Manhood</i>	130
 THIRD SESSION: <i>Some Peacemaking Factors in Modern Society</i>	 149
Joseph B. Burtt: <i>Fraternel Orders and Peace</i>	149
Samuel Gompers: <i>Organized Labor and Peace</i>	158
Prof. Graham Taylor: <i>The Industrial Basis for International Peace</i>	165
Hon. Carl D. Thompson: <i>International Socialism as a Peace Force</i>	170
 FOURTH SESSION: <i>Commerce and Industry</i>	 179
Hon. George E. Roberts: <i>War Expenditures in an Economic Age</i>	179
W. A. Mahony: <i>Damage and Cost of War to Commerce and Industry</i>	181
A. B. Farquhar: <i>Pennsylvania's Experiment in Christianity</i>	190
Marcus M. Marks: <i>Business Men Want Peace</i>	193
Hon. H. N. Higinbotham: <i>World Expositions as Peace Factors</i>	195
Hon. Joseph Allen Baker: <i>Salutations from English Co-workers</i>	200

FIFTH SESSION: <i>Some Legal Aspects of the Peace Movement</i>	203
Prof. W. I. Hull: <i>The Advance Registered by the Two Hague Conferences</i>	204
Prof. Charles C. Hyde: <i>Legal Problems Capable of Settlement by Arbitration</i>	221
Hon. James Brown Scott: <i>Subjects Likely To Be Considered at the Third Hague Conference</i>	234
Hon. W. I. Buchanan: <i>The Application of the Principle of Arbitration</i> ..	242
SIXTH SESSION: <i>Woman's Work for Peace</i>	248
Miss Jane Addams: <i>Woman's Special Training for Peacemaking</i>	252
Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead: <i>Some Common Fallacies</i>	254
Miss Mary McDowell: <i>Woman's Industrial and International Interests</i> ..	263
SEVENTH SESSION: <i>Interstate Intercollegiate Oratorical Contest</i>	271
Levi T. Pennington: <i>The Evolution of World Peace</i>	272
Albert H. Reynolds: <i>Justice and Peace</i>	278
William Clancy: <i>International Arbitration and Peace</i>	282
Harold P. Flint: <i>America the Exemplar of Peace</i>	287
Louis P. Lochner: <i>The Cosmopolitan Clubs</i>	292
EIGHTH SESSION: <i>Next Steps in Peacemaking</i>	298
Edwin D. Mead: <i>The Arrest of Armament</i>	299
Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones: <i>Armaments as Irritants</i>	307
Edwin Ginn: <i>The International School of Peace</i>	319
Hon. Richard Bartholdt: <i>Organizing the Peace Movement</i>	327
NINTH SESSION: <i>Universities and Colleges</i>	333
Hamilton Holt: <i>The Federation of the World</i>	333
President S. P. Brooks: <i>Civilization: a Cry for Peace</i>	336
TENTH SESSION: <i>Business Session and Conference of Peace Workers</i>	343
THE PLATFORM OF THE CONGRESS	344
Henry C. Niles: <i>State Peace Congresses—Pennsylvania's Experience</i> ...	359
William H. Short: <i>A Permanent Peace Office in New York</i>	361
Robert C. Root: <i>The Pacific Coast Peace Agency</i>	366
George Fulk: <i>The Intercollegiate Peace Association</i>	371
Rev. J. L. Tryon: <i>The London Peace Congress of 1908</i>	374
Mrs. Fannie Peru Andrews: <i>The American School Peace League</i>	378
Rev. Gilbert Bowles: <i>The Peace Society of Japan</i>	383
Miss Mary J. Pierson: <i>The Young People's International Federation League</i>	389
Hon. A. Zucca: <i>The Italian Peace Society of New York</i>	396
ELEVENTH SESSION: <i>International Greetings</i>	398
Count von Bernstorff: <i>Greetings from Germany</i>	399
Dr. Wu Ting-fang: <i>Greetings from China</i>	403
Hon. Alfred Mitchell Innes: <i>Greetings from Great Britain</i>	406
Hon. K. Matsubara: <i>Greetings from Japan</i>	410
Dr. Halvdan Koht: <i>Greetings from Norway</i>	413
Hon. Richard A. Ballinger: <i>America's Response</i>	416
THE BANQUET GIVEN BY THE ASSOCIATION OF COMMERCE.....	422
Count von Bernstorff: <i>Commerce and Peace</i>	425
Hon. Richard A. Ballinger: <i>Trade as a Bond of Peace</i>	427
Announcement of a Peace endowment.....	430
Hon. James A. Tawney, M. C.: <i>The Cost of Armed Peace</i>	431
Hon. K. Matsubara: <i>Japan's Desire for Peace</i>	438
Dr. Wu Ting-fang: <i>A Plea for International Hospitality</i>	440
Hon. Alfred Mitchell Innes: <i>Great Britain and America</i>	441
Dr. Halvdan Koht: <i>The People's Peace in Scandinavia</i>	443
Gen. Frederick D. Grant: <i>A Soldier's Plea for His Profession</i>	445
Hon. Richard Bartholdt, M. C.: <i>Campaigning for Peace</i>	449
Hon. Richard A. Ballinger: <i>America a Peace-loving Nation</i>	452
List of Committees of the Congress.....	454
Governors and Mayors who have co-operated.....	461
Delegates	463
Extracts from letters.....	483
Mr. John R. Lindgren's Deed of Gift.....	499
Index	501

HEAR, O YE NATIONS

(Written for the Second National Peace Congress by Rev. Frederick L. Hosmer.)

Hear, hear, O ye Nations, and, hearing, obey
The cry from the past and the call of today!
Earth wearies and wastes with her fresh life outpoured,
The glut of the cannon, the spoil of the sword.

A new era opens, transcending the old,
It calls for new leaders, for new ranks enrolled;
From war's grim tradition it maketh appeal
To service of man in a world's commonweal.

The workers afield, in the mill and the mart,
In commerce, in council, in science and art,
Shall bring of their gifts and together create
The manifold life of the firm-built State.

And more shall the triumph of right over wrong
Be shield to the weak and a curb to the strong,
When counsel prevails and, the battle-flags furled,
The High Court of Nations gives Law to the world.

And thou, O my Country, from many made one,
Last-born of the nations, at morning thy sun,
Arise to the place thou art given to fill,
And lead the world-triumph of peace and good will!

WAR

(Written for the Second National Peace Congress by Ridgely Torrence.)

I heard in the street the echoing trouble of multiple drums:
The driving fifes are near and clear, and now the army comes,
The soldiers, the sailors, the banners and the brave;
And we shall have a victory and they shall have a grave.

I heard the bitter trumpets cry out around the sun,
As, shadow by shadow, the fight was lost and won.
The clouds drew down and listened, hearing under them
The music mourning in the rain, and this the requiem:

*The house not made with hands is being overthrown,
The young men's vision fades, the old men's dream is flown.
They turned upon their brothers, how shall they atone?
Awake, behold the field, for they have slain their own.*

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

At the Arbitration and Peace Congress in New York, in 1907, an invitation was extended by a group of Chicago delegates, including Miss Jane Addams, Dr. Emil G. Hirsch and Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, to hold the next National Peace Congress in Chicago.

In November, 1908, the American Peace Society, which initiated the New York Congress, sent its Field Secretary, Charles E. Beals, to confer with the leading peace workers in Chicago. An informal lunch, attended by the above named persons and Judge Julian W. Mack, was held. A skeleton General Committee was formed and many names were suggested. When some sixty members had been secured a meeting was held, December 16, at the City Club. The advisability of holding a Congress in Chicago in the spring of 1909 was carefully considered, and, on motion of Rev. W. E. Barton, D. D., seconded by Judge Edward Osgood Brown, it was voted that a National Peace Congress be held in Chicago, under the auspices of the American Peace Society, the entire expense to be provided for by the Chicago workers.

Organization was effected by the election of Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones as Chairman of the Executive Committee, and Royal L. Melendy, Secretary. The American Peace Society detailed Mr. Beals to assist in the work of organizing the Congress. Hon. J. M. Dickinson, General Counsel for the Illinois Central Railroad, formerly Assistant Attorney General of the United States, ex-President of the American Bar Association, and Counsel for the United States before the Alaska Boundary Tribunal, was invited to act as President of the Peace Congress and accepted. Judge Dickinson was almost immediately appointed Secretary of War by President Taft and was unable to be present at the Peace Congress, being in Panama at the time of its session. Committees for various purposes were appointed. In due time organization was completed as set forth in the lists

of officers and committees. An office was opened at 174 Adams street. Probably seventy thousand pieces of mail matter, including letters, circulars and invitations, were sent out. Thanks to the efficient Finance Committee and the generous coöperation of the citizens of Chicago, the necessary funds—some \$12,000—were raised.

Without the splendid assistance of the Chicago Association of Commerce, the task of organizing and financing the Congress would have been difficult indeed. On December 16, 1908, Mr. Beals addressed the Ways and Means Committee of the Association of Commerce on "The Economic Aspect of Internationalism," and explained the object of the proposed Second National Peace Congress. In March, 1909, the same committee devoted one of its meetings to a consideration of the Congress, and was addressed by Miss Addams, Dr. Hirsch, and Mr. Alexander A. McCormick. Through its Convention Bureau Committee, the Association appropriated \$1,000 for the Congress. Its members, as individuals, also made liberal subscriptions. Moreover, in conjunction with the Industrial Club of Chicago, it sent a delegation to Washington to invite the foreign Ambassadors and other eminent men to be its guests during the Peace Congress. Automobile rides, receptions and luncheons were provided by both these societies for the distinguished guests. The great banquets, in which the Congress culminated on Wednesday evening, were given by the Association of Commerce and were brilliant social functions, with President Skinner and Vice-President Wheeler acting as toastmasters. The Association also issued a special National Peace Congress edition of its *Guide to Chicago* and copies were presented to the members of the Congress.

For two weeks before the Congress, Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead, of Boston, delivered addresses at the Chicago and Northwestern Universities, Lake Forest College, city high schools, private schools and other educational institutions, including the Congregational Theological Seminary. During the Congress, Mrs. Mead, Prof. W. I. Hull, Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, Mrs. G. F. Lowell and others addressed many schools. Mr. Robert C. Root, of Los Angeles, gave a lecture at Valparaiso University, Valparaiso, Ind. The requests for speakers from principals of schools were so numerous that not a quarter of them could be granted.

Mr. W. A. Mahony, of Columbus, addressed a body of school principals. There was everywhere an enthusiastic response to the message and much appreciation of the recitations given by a young New York school girl, Miss Ray Goller, who was a delegate from the Young People's League for International Federation. Literature was circulated at all these meetings and the observance of the 18th of May as Hague Day emphasized.

The Ministers' Meetings of the city devoted their sessions on Monday morning, May 3, to the subject of Peace, and visiting delegates delivered addresses.

To call the roll of those who rendered conspicuous service in helping to make the Congress a success would require generous space. Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Miss Addams, Dr. Hirsch, and Hon. George E. Roberts gave unstinted support to the undertaking. No more efficient Secretary could have been found than Professor Melendy, who seemed to be providentially raised up for the task of administrative detail. The work performed by Mrs. Charles Henrotin, President John S. Nollen, George C. Sikes, A. M. Simons, Judge Edward Osgood Brown, Joseph B. Burt, Rev. A. Eugene Bartlett and other chairmen of committees was signally efficient and worthy of special mention. It would be hard to over-value the service rendered by Alexander A. McCormick, Ezra Warner, Jr., Alfred L. Baker, and all the other members of the Finance Committee. To Messrs. Skinner, Wheeler, Hall, T. Edward Wilder, Moody, Harper, Gibson, Treat, Miller, and others of the Association of Commerce, and to Frederick Bode and Rudolph Ortmann, of the Industrial Club, lasting gratitude is due. For advice, encouragement and hearty support, the Congress is indebted to Doctor Trueblood and Mr. Edwin D. Mead, of Boston; Mr. Andrew Carnegie, Prof. Dutton, Prof. Richard and Mr. Hamilton Holt, of New York; to Hon. James Brown Scott, of the State Department, Washington, D. C.; to Hon. William Jennings Bryan, Senator Burton, Senator Root, Congressmen Bartholdt and Tawney; to Hon. John W. Foster, ex-Secretary of State; to Justice David J. Brewer, of the United States Supreme Court; to Secretary Ballinger, of the Department of the Interior; to Secretary Dickinson, of the War Department, and to President Taft.

One of the delightful surprises of the Congress was the

announcement of a gift of twenty-five thousand dollars to the Northwestern University for the promotion of International Peace and Interdenominational Harmony. The donor is Mr. John R. Lindgren, of Chicago, the Swedish Consul in this city, and Vice-President of the State Bank of Chicago. The Congress will thus have a permanent memorial in this endowment, which is probably the first of its kind in the world.

C. E. B.

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PROGRAM

PRELIMINARY MEETINGS

Saturday Morning, May 1

SPECIAL MEETING FOR TEACHERS.

MUSIC HALL, FINE ARTS BUILDING, 10 o'CLOCK.

Selection—Young People's Chorus.

Address—"Peace Work with New York School Children."

MISS MARY J. PIERSON, of New York.

Selection—The Sherwood School Boys' Glee Club.

Address—MRS. FANNIE FERN ANDREWS, of Boston, Secretary of the
American School Peace League.

Selection—The Sherwood School Boys' Glee Club.

Address—"Teaching Patriotism and History."

MR. EDWIN D. MEAD, of Boston.

Song and Chorus—"A Song of Peace." Written for Second National
Peace Congress by MISS ALTHEA A. OGDEN.

Sunday Morning and Afternoon, May 2

SPECIAL PEACE SERVICES IN CHURCHES AND HALLS, ARRANGED BY PASTORS,
LABOR LEADERS AND SOCIALIST ORGANIZATIONS.

Sunday Evening, May 2

MASS MEETING IN ORCHESTRA HALL, 8 o'CLOCK, UNDER THE AUSPICES OF
THE SUNDAY EVENING CLUB.

MR. CLIFFORD W. BARNES Presiding.

Organ Program:

Scherzo from Fifth Sonate.....*Guilmant*

Evening Song.....*Bairstow*

Tannhauser March.....*Wagner*

Anthem—Schmerhorn's "Song of Peace".....*Sullivan*

Doxology—The audience standing.

The Lord's Prayer—All uniting.

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Solo—"The Lord Is My Light".....*Allitsen*
 MR. MARION GREEN.
 Scripture Reading—MR. DAVID R. FORGAN.
 Prayer—RIGHT REV. CHARLES P. ANDERSON.
 Anthem—Kipling's "Recessional"*DeKoven*
 Announcements—The CHAIRMAN.
 Offertory Anthem.
 Hymn—"Hear, O Ye Nations." Written for the Second National Peace
 Congress, by FREDERICK L. HOSMER.
 Addresses—REV. JENKIN LLOYD JONES.
 REV. EMIL G. HIRSCH.
 PRESIDENT JACOB GOULD SCHURMAN, Cornell University.
 Hymn—"These Things Shall Be".....*John Addington Symonds*
 Benediction—RIGHT REV. EDWARD W. OSBORNE, Protestant Episcopal
 Bishop of Springfield, Ill.
 Organ Postlude—Finale in B flat.....*Wohlstenholme*

Monday Morning, May 3

REGISTRATION OF DELEGATES, ORCHESTRA HALL.

THE CONGRESS

First Session, Monday Afternoon, May 3

ORCHESTRA HALL, 2 o'CLOCK.

"RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT"

HON. ROBERT TREAT PAINE, of Boston, Presiding.

President's Opening Address.

Welcome to the State—HON. CHARLES S. DENEEN, Governor of Illinois.

Welcome to the City—HON. FRED A. BUSSE, Mayor of Chicago.

Address of Welcome—REV. A. EUGENE BARTLETT, Chairman Reception
 Committee.

Reading of Letters.

Announcement—"A World Petition to the Third Hague Conference."

MISS ANNA B. ECKSTEIN, Boston.

Address—"The Present Position of the Peace Movement."

DR. BENJAMIN F. TRUEBLOOD, Secretary of the
 American Peace Society.

Address—"The Dawn of Universal Peace."

DEAN W. P. ROGERS, of Cincinnati Law School.

Monday Afternoon, May 3

IN THE GRAND FOYER, ORCHESTRA HALL, 4:30 TO 5:30 o'CLOCK.

RECEPTION TO DELEGATES.

Second Session, Monday Evening, May 3

ORCHESTRA HALL, 8 o'CLOCK.

"THE DRAWING TOGETHER OF THE NATIONS."

REV. EMIL G. HIRSCH, of Chicago, Presiding.

Address—"Interdependence *versus* Independence of Nations."

PROF. PAUL S. REINSCH, of University of Wisconsin.

Address—"Racial Progress towards Universal Peace."

MR. H. T. KEALING, Nashville, Tenn.

Solo—"O Country Bright and Fair.....*Horatio Parker*

MRS. L. S. TEWKSBURY.

Address—"War and Manhood."

PRESIDENT DAVID STARR JORDAN, Leland Stanford, Jr.,
University.

Third Session, Monday Evening, May 3

MUSIC HALL, FINE ARTS BUILDING, 8 o'CLOCK.

"SOME PEACEMAKING FACTORS IN MODERN SOCIETY."

MISS JANE ADDAMS, of Chicago, Presiding.

Address—"Fraternal Orders and Peace."

MR. JOSEPH B. BURTT, of Chicago.

Address—"Industrial Basis for International Peace."

PROF. GRAHAM TAYLOR, Chicago Commons.

Solo—"Why Do the Nations so furiously Rage together?"
(from Handel's "Messiah")

MR. ARTHUR BERESFORD.

Address—"Organized Labor and Peace."

MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS, President American Federation
of Labor, Washington, D. C.

Address—"International Socialism as a Peace Force."

HON. CARL D. THOMPSON, Milwaukee, Wis.

Fourth Session, Tuesday Morning, May 4

ORCHESTRA HALL, 9:30 o'CLOCK.

"COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY."

HON. GEORGE E. ROBERTS, President Commercial National
Bank, of Chicago, Presiding.

Address—MR. BELTON GILREATH, Birmingham, Ala.

Address—MR. W. A. MAHONY, of the Chamber of Commerce, Columbus, O.

Address—"Civilizing Features of International Commerce."

HON. JAMES ARBUCKLE, Consul of Spain and Colombia,
St. Louis, Mo.

Address—"Business Men Want Peace."

MARCUS M. MARKS, President National Association
of Clothiers, New York.

Address—MR. T. H. MOLTON, Birmingham, Ala., President Alabama State
Association of Commerce.

Address—HON. HARLOW N. HIGINBOTHAM, of Chicago.

Tuesday Morning, May 4

IN THE COMMITTEE ROOM, ORCHESTRA HALL, 11 O'CLOCK.

OPEN SESSION OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Fifth Session, Tuesday Afternoon, May 4

ORCHESTRA HALL, 2 O'CLOCK.

"SOME LEGAL ASPECTS OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT."

HON. WILLIAM J. CALHOUN, of Chicago, Presiding.

Address—"The Advance Registered by the Two Hague Conferences."

PROF. WILLIAM I. HULL, of Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania.

Address—"Legal Problems Capable of Settlement by Arbitration."

PROF. CHARLES CHENEY HYDE, Chicago.

Address—"Some Questions Likely To Be Considered by the Third Hague
Conference."

HON. JAMES BROWN SCOTT, Solicitor of the State
Department, Washington, D. C.

Address—"The Application of Arbitration."

HON. W. I. BUCHANAN.

Sixth Session, Tuesday Afternoon, May 4

CHICAGO WOMAN'S CLUB, 1:30 O'CLOCK.

"WOMAN'S WORK FOR PEACE."

(Meeting Open to Men and Women.)

MRS. ELLEN M. HENROTIN, of Chicago, formerly President of the General
Federation of Women's Clubs, Presiding.

Prayer.

Address by the Chairman.

Greetings from Delegates:

MRS. PHILIP N. MOORE, President General Federation of Women's
Clubs.

MRS. FRANCIS D. EVERETT, President of Illinois Federation of
Women's Clubs.

MRS. CHARLES D. BANCROFT, Delegate from New Hampshire
Federation of Women's Clubs.

MRS. WILLIAM F. HARTMAN, Delegate from Colorado Federation
of Women's Clubs.

MRS. JOHN M. HESS, Delegate from Arizona Federation of Women's Clubs.

MRS. WILLIAM T. LEWIS, Delegate from the Ebell, Los Angeles, California.

MRS. GEORGE C. SIKES, Delegate from Association of Collegiate Alumnae.

MRS. HENRY SOLOMON, Delegate from National Council of Jewish Women.

MRS. ELIZABETH A. EAGLE, Delegate from League of Catholic Women.

MRS. O. W. STEWART, President of Illinois State Suffrage Association.

MRS. ORVILLE F. BRIGHT, Delegate from Congress of Mothers.

Address—MISS MARY MCDOWELL, Delegate from Women's Trade Union League.

Address—"Woman's Special Training for Peacemaking."

MISS JANE ADDAMS, Hull House, Chicago.

Address—"Five Dangerous Fallacies."

MRS. LUCIA AMES MEAD, Boston.

Outlines of Study for Peace Work.

Seventh Session, Tuesday Afternoon, May 4

MANDEL HALL, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, 2 o'CLOCK.

INTERCOLLEGIATE ORATORICAL CONTEST.

DEAN GEORGE E. VINCENT, of Chicago University, Presiding.

Interstate-Intercollegiate Oratorical Contest.

Address—"The Cosmopolitan Clubs."

MR. LOUIS P. LOCHNER, Madison, Wisconsin.

The Intercollegiate Peace Association will hold a meeting at the close of this session.

Eighth Session, Tuesday Evening, May 4

ORCHESTRA HALL, 8 o'CLOCK.

"NEXT STEPS IN PEACEMAKING."

PRESIDENT DAVID STARR JORDAN, of California, Presiding.

Address—"A Systematic Campaign of Education for Peace."

MR. EDWIN GINN, of Boston.

Address—"Armaments as Irritants."

REV. JENKIN LLOYD JONES, of Chicago.

Song—"Danny Deever".....*Walter Damrosch*

DR. W. W. HINSHAW.

Address—"The Arrest in Competitive Arming in Fidelity to The Hague Movement."

MR. EDWIN D. MEAD, of Boston.

Address—HON. RICHARD BARTHOLDT, M. C., President of American Group, Interparliamentary Union.

Ninth Session, Tuesday Evening, May 4

MUSIC HALL, FINE ARTS BUILDING, 8 O'CLOCK.

"UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES."

PRESIDENT JOHN S. NOLLEN, of Lake Forest College, Presiding.

Stereopticon Lecture—"The Federation of the World."

MR. HAMILTON HOLT, Managing Editor of *The Independent*.

Address—PRESIDENT S. P. BROOKS, Baylor University, Texas.

Music by Lake Forest University Glee Club.

Tenth Session, Wednesday Morning, May 5

ORCHESTRA HALL, 9:30 O'CLOCK.

BUSINESS SESSION AND CONFERENCE OF PEACE WORKERS.

HON. JOSEPH B. MOORE, Justice of Supreme Court of Michigan, Presiding.

Transaction of Business and Adoption of Platform.

Ten-Minute Addresses:

"The Mohonk Arbitration Conference."

MR. H. C. PHILLIPS, of Lake Mohonk, New York, Secretary.

"State Peace Congresses—Pennsylvania's Experience."

MR. HENRY C. NILES, of York, Pennsylvania.

"A Permanent Peace Office in New York."

MR. WILLIAM H. SHORT, Executive Secretary of the New York Peace Society.

"The Pacific Coast Agency."

MR. ROBERT C. ROOT, of Los Angeles, California, Pacific Coast Agent of the American Peace Society.

"The Intercollegiate Peace Association."

MR. GEORGE FULK, of Cerro Gordo, Illinois, Secretary.

"The London Peace Congress of 1908."

REV. J. L. TRYON, of Boston, Massachusetts, Assistant Secretary of the American Peace Society.

"The American School Peace League."

MRS. FANNIE FERN ANDREWS, of Boston, Secretary.

"The Universal Peace Union."

MR. ALFRED H. LOVE, of Philadelphia, President.

"The Peace Society of Japan."

REV. GILBERT BOWLES, of Tokio, Japan.

Eleventh Session, Wednesday Afternoon, May 5

ORCHESTRA HALL, 2 O'CLOCK.

INTERNATIONAL GREETINGS.

HON. RICHARD BARTHOLDT, M. C., Presiding.

The Foreign Consuls resident in Chicago will be present at this session as special guests of the Congress.

Address—COUNT JOHANN HEINRICH VON BERNSTORFF, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Germany.

Address—HON. HERMAN DE LAGERCRANTZ, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Sweden.

Address—DR. WU TING-FANG, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of China.

Address—MR. ALFRED MITCHELL INNES, Counselor of the British Embassy.

Address—MR. K. MATSUBARA, Japanese Consul in Chicago, representing the Imperial Japanese Embassy, Washington, D. C.

Address—DR. HALVDAN KOHT, Professor of Modern History in the University of Norway, Christiania; Ex-President of the National Peace Organization of Norway, and Adviser in Political History for the Nobel Committee of Norway.

Address—HON. RICHARD A. BALLINGER, Secretary of the Interior.

Wednesday Evening, May 5

AUDITORIUM AND AUDITORIUM ANNEX HOTELS.

BANQUET GIVEN BY THE CHICAGO ASSOCIATION OF COMMERCE.

Addresses—By some of the speakers of the Afternoon Session and

HON. RICHARD A. BALLINGER, Secretary of the Interior.

HON. RICHARD BARTHOLDT, M. C.

HON. JAMES A. TAWNEY, M. C.

GENERAL SURVEY OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT

New York Peace Society, organized 1815, first in the world.

Many state societies organized in quick succession.

A national organization, the American Peace Society, formed in 1828, in which the state societies merged themselves.

Peace movement spread rapidly until the time of the Crimean War, American Civil War, etc.

Great Peace Jubilees held throughout the country in 1871.

International Law Association organized, 1873.

Interparliamentary Union formed, 1889.

International Peace Bureau established at Berne, 1891.

First Lake Mohonk Arbitration Conference, 1895.

American Society of International Law organized, 1906.

Intercollegiate Peace Association, 1905.

Association for International Conciliation.

Now a score or more of Peace Societies in the United States.

Peace Day, 18th of May (Hague Day).

Peace Sunday, the Sunday before Christmas.

International Peace Congresses

First Series: 1. London, 1843; 2. Brussels, 1848; 3. Paris, 1849; 4. Frankfurt, 1850; 5. London, 1851; 6. Edinburgh, 1853.

Second Series: 1. Paris, 1889; 2. London, 1890; 3. Rome, 1891; 4. Berne, 1892; 5. Chicago, 1893; 6. Antwerp, 1894; 7. Budapest, 1896; 8. Hamburg, 1897; 9. Paris, 1900; 10. Glasgow, 1901; 11. Monaco, 1902; 12. Rouen, 1903; 13. Boston, 1904; 14. Lucerne, 1905; 15. Milan, 1906; 16. Munich, 1907; 17. London, 1908.

National Peace Congresses in the United States

First: New York, in 1907.

Second: Chicago, in 1909.

Some Intergovernmental Peacemaking

Joint disarmament by Great Britain and United States along Canadian Border, 1817 to present time.

Central American High Court of Nations established.

Pan-American Congress, 1889, led to establishment of International Bureau of American Republics, 1890.

Pacific settlement of over 600 international disputes.

The statue of The Christ of the Andes, commemorating joint disarmament of Chile and Argentina, erected, 1904.

Many international bureaux (e. g. the Universal Postal Union) already in actual operation.

Over eighty arbitration treaties now in effect.

FIRST HAGUE CONFERENCE, May 18, 1899, of twenty-six nations.

SECOND HAGUE CONFERENCE, June 15, 1907, of forty-four nations.

Third Hague Conference, to be held about 1915.

Some Honored Peace Workers

Forerunners: Erasmus, Henry IV of France, Hugo Grotius, George Fox, William Penn, St. Pierre.

Later Workers—European: Puffendorf, Vattel, Rousseau, Turgot, Victor Hugo, Locke, Leibnitz, Montesquieu, Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Adam Smith, Bentham, Cobden, Bright, Henry Richard, Jonathan Dymond, Frederick Passy, Charles Lemonnier, Hodgson Pratt, E. T. Moneta, the Baroness von Suttner, Frederick Bajer, J. Novicow, Jean de Bloch, Leo Tolstoy.

American: David L. Dodge, William Ladd, Noah Worcester, William E. Channing, Josiah Quincy, Thomas S. Grimke, William Jay, John G. Whittier, Charles Sumner, Elihu Burritt, Thomas C. Upham, Gerrit Smith, Ralph Waldo Emerson, David Dudley Field, William Lloyd Garrison, Adin Ballou, James B. Miles, Roland B. Howard, George C. Beckwith, Henry W. Longfellow, James Russell Lowell.

Noble Peace Prize Awards

1901—Henri Dunant, Swiss, and Frederic Passy, French.

1902—E. Ducommun and A. Gobat, both Swiss.

1903—W. R. Cremer, English.

1904—The Institution of International Law, the first award to an institution.

1905—Baroness von Suttner, Austrian.

1906—President Theodore Roosevelt, American.

1907—Ernesto Teodoro Moneta, Italian, and Louis Renault, French.

1908—K. P. Arnoldson, Swede, and M. F. Bajer, Dane.

PRELIMINARY MEETINGS

The Progress of Peace Principles

HON. J. M. DICKINSON, President of the Congress.*

The blessings of peace have always been exalted. Yet, as countless woes were inflicted upon Trojans and Greeks alike for a wrong that could never be righted, so mankind throughout the ages has suffered the horrors of senseless wars, always hoping for a fulfillment of the prophecy that strong nations "shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." That time is yet far distant, but there has been such development and strengthening of the forces that make for peace that its advocates are boldly aggressive, knowing that they have the potentiality that comes from the quickened universal consciences of an enlightened age.

"The sky at times is dark and threatening, but
Not wholly so to him who looks
In steadiness; who hath among least things
An under-sense of greatest; sees the parts
As parts, but with a feeling of the whole."

The present status in the progress of peace is a product of the centuries. It is the resultant of the progression of all ideas and efforts for the substitution of some other tribunal than that of war for the adjustment of international affairs.

*This speech was prepared by Judge Dickinson for the Peace Congress. As his duties as Secretary of War required his presence in Panama during the Peace Congress, the author delivered the address before the Hamilton Club of Chicago, April 9.

Every theory of the doctrinaires, however impracticable for the times, which contained a germ of truth, as well as every real achievement, no matter how small in comparison with the total of international depravity which prevailed, has become a common heritage of humanity, an inspiration transmitted from age to age, advancing the thoughts and ideals of men and preparing them for international arbitration, which, entering upon a new era about 1815, has so progressed in our time that no one can doubt that it is the most powerful force now working upon the nations for the temporal happiness of mankind.

International arbitration, as we know it, is no more a product of the last hundred years than was the federal constitution of 1789 a product of that year. It is a flower of our time, but the roots of the plant which matured it found their beginning in the soil of previous centuries.

The greatest peace contribution before our time was that of Hugo Grotius (1585-1645), the author of "*De Jure Belli ac Pacis*," published during the horrors of the Thirty Years' War, of which Andrew D. White said: "Of all works not claiming divine inspiration, that book, written by a man proscribed and hated both for his politics and his religion, has proved the greatest blessing to humanity. More than any other it has prevented unmerited suffering, misery and sorrow; more than any other it has ennobled the military profession; more than any other it has promoted the blessings of peace and diminished the horrors of war. . . . We may reverently insist that in the domain of international law Grotius said, 'Let there be light,' and there was light."

The thoughts and sentiments implanted from time to time in the mind of humanity, though, like all great things, slow of development, stirred the public conscience and subdued, having as a powerful auxiliary the economic conditions involved in the direct and indirect costs of modern warfare, the fierce tendencies of nations. But little practical progress was made during the periods of blood and carnage that prevailed until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The formation of our federal constitution, creating for the first time a court with full and final power to settle all controversies between sovereign states, was the greatest step ever

taken toward substituting judicial procedure for appeal to arms. The Jay Treaty of 1794 contained provisions for adjusting by arbitration three questions which threatened to involve us in war with Great Britain, and under it three separate boards of arbitration were created. Our treaty of 1795 with Spain likewise contained a provision for arbitration. By the Treaty of Ghent, in 1814, three boards of arbitration were created.

After the overthrow of Napoleon a general reaction began in all civilized countries against barbarous methods of settling disputes. Peace ideas were fostered and promoted in every way, peace societies and peace congresses constantly stirred the conscience of the world.

The Treaty of 1848, which concluded peace between the United States and Mexico, provided that the two nations would in future adjust their disagreements by pacific negotiations and by arbitration.

In 1851 the Committee on Foreign Relations reported to the United States Senate a resolution declaring that it was desirable to secure in treaties a provision for arbitration. Similar resolutions were introduced in Congress in 1854, 1872, 1874 and 1878.

The treaty which most profoundly influenced the ideas of the world was that of Washington in 1871, which provided for four arbitrations. In 1863, during the preliminary negotiations, Mr. Adams assured Lord Russell that there was "no fair and equitable form of conventional arbitrament" to which America would not be willing to submit. Lord Russell in the beginning said that England would be disgraced forever if a foreign government were left to arbitrate whether an English Secretary of State had been diligent or negligent in the discharge of his duties. The English Chief Justice said that the whole thing was dead. Mr. Adams arose again to a great height and saved the treaty by getting his colleagues to make an extrajudicial but effective declaration that certain claims ought to be excluded from consideration. He said: "I should be assuming a great responsibility, but I should do so not as an arbitrator representing my country, but as representing all nations."

These long, painful but successful negotiations, during which so many irritating questions arose, which resulted in the end in such a great achievement, fully attest the fixed purpose of both

nations to use every effort to avoid a conflict of arms. John Morley says: "The Treaty of Washington and the Geneva Arbitration stand out as the most notable victory in the nineteenth century of the noble art of preventive diplomacy and the most signal exhibition in their history of self-command in two of the three chief democratic powers of the western world."

The arbitration held in Paris in 1893, in the Fur Seal case, and the Arbitral Tribunal, which decided the Alaskan boundary dispute, were next in importance. A variety of questions such as those involving disputed boundaries, injuries to public and private property and persons, disputed sovereignty over islands, seizure of ships, and interferences with fisheries and commerce, have been peaceably and economically adjusted, which in former times would probably have led to war. Although it has been often said that questions of national honor cannot be submitted to arbitration, experience has shown that the term "national honor" is variable, and in some degree shadowy, and that many questions which under a former code would have been catalogued under "national honor" have been submitted and settled in this way, even though at the outset, as was said by Lord Russell in regard to the Alabama claims, such a submission was thought to be incompatible with national dignity.

By far the most notable event in the history of the world bearing upon international peace was the First Hague Conference. Upon the suggestion of Russia, the assent of the governments interested having been secured, Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands invited all governments having regular diplomatic representation at St. Petersburg, as well as Luxemburg, Montenegro, and Siam, to hold the conference at The Hague on May 18, 1899. The South African Republic, the Holy See and the republics of Central and South America were omitted. Notwithstanding the omission of the Holy See, the Pope, in a letter of May 20 to the Queen of the Netherlands, gave assurance of his warm sympathy.

The nations participating were Germany, United States of America, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, China, Denmark, Spain, France, Great Britain and Ireland, Greece, Italy, Japan, Luxemburg, Mexico, Montenegro, Netherlands, Persia, Portugal, Roumania, Russia, Servia, Siam, Sweden and Norway, Switzerland,

Turkey and Bulgaria—twenty-six in all, represented by one hundred members. Of the independent governments of the world, the Central and South American republics, the Sultanates of Morocco and Muscat, the Orange Free State, the Principality of Monaco, the Republic of San Marino, and the Kingdom of Abyssinia were the only ones not represented. They agreed to submission for signature by the plenipotentiaries up to December 31, 1899, on three conventions and three declarations, to form so many separate acts. The first convention was "for the peaceful adjustment of international differences."

The signatory powers agreed to use their best efforts to insure the pacific settlement of international differences, in cases of disagreement or conflict before an appeal to arms, to have, as far as circumstances allow, recourse to the good office or mediation of one or more friendly powers; to sanction, even during hostilities, the intervention of powers strangers to the dispute by offering their good offices as mediators in reconciling opposing claims and in appeasing feelings of resentment. They recommended, when circumstances will allow, a resort by the parties at variance to special mediation of powers selected by them and during the period allowed for the execution of such mandate the states in conflict shall cease from all direct communications. In differences involving neither honor nor vital interests, and only matters of fact, they recommended that the parties interested institute an International Commission of Inquiry, whose report shall be limited to a statement of the facts, and shall only be advisory.

Title LV. deals with International Arbitration. It defines as its object "The determination of controversies between states by judges of their own choice upon the basis of respect for law," and declares that the signatory powers recognize arbitration as the most efficacious and most equitable method of deducing questions regarding the interpretation of application of international treaties. Then follows the solemn declaration that "The agreement or arbitration implies the obligation to submit in good faith to the decision of the arbitral tribunal."

They undertook to organize a permanent Court of Arbitration, accessible at all times, which shall have jurisdiction of all

cases of arbitration unless the parties shall establish a special tribunal.

Sixteen powers signed the treaty on July 29th. It was ratified unanimously by the Senate of the United States on February 5, 1900. All of the powers represented at the conference signed it. They govern nine-tenths of the world, and their populations embraced fourteen hundred millions out of the total sixteen hundred millions of the earth's inhabitants.

Although not invited to become parties of the Hague Conference the South American republics, animated by a spirit that rose above all littleness and which commanded the admiration of the world, by a resolution passed at the Mexican International Conference in 1902, recognized the principles set forth in the three Hague Conventions as international law, and conferred upon the United States and Mexico the authority to negotiate with the other signatory powers for their becoming parties to these treaties. There had been other Peace Congresses, such as the Conference of Munster and Osnabruck in 1648, those of Utrecht in 1713, of Paris in 1763, the Congress of Vienna in 1815, and that of Berlin in 1878; but as Mr. Holls, one of the members of the Hague Conference from the United States, remarks, "The vital distinction between these gatherings and the Peace Conference at The Hague is that all of the former were held at the end of a period of warfare, and their first important object was to restore peace between actual belligerents; whereas the Peace Conference was the first diplomatic gathering called to discuss guarantees of peace without reference to any particular war—past, present, or prospective."

As Americans, whose government has always been in the advance guard contending for humanitarian principles, we take a laudable pride in the fact that the United States proposed to our sister republic of Mexico to submit to the Hague Tribunal the Pius Fund controversy, the first case brought under its authority.

The reference of the Venezuelan Case to The Hague was an event of vast import. The interested powers suggested that President Roosevelt should decide the controversy. He wisely declined this and recommended that the offices of the Hague Tribunal be invoked.

That Japan and Russia, two of the signatory powers, plunged

into war without reporting to the Hague Tribunal gives us ground for serious concern as to the future of arbitration. No one but a dreamer ever expected all war to be abolished. The world was not expected to be petrified into states in their present form without the possibility of a change of territory. It is manifest that there was no place for arbitration between Russia and Japan. The advancement of Russia, and its acquisition of new territory in a country foreign to Japan, presented no question of title as between these two nations. The belief of Japan that such encroachment jeopardized its future prosperity and the very life of the nation, presented no question which could be solved by any principles of international law. It was a case where a policy of expansion, deemed to be essential for national prosperity, was regarded by another power, though not the owner of the territory in question, as vitally inimical to its welfare. Such a question could only be settled by a voluntary abandonment of its position by one of the powers, or by war. No principle of international law applicable to the settlement of such a conflict has yet been accepted.

The same observations apply, generally, to the South African war of 1899-1901. Other nations were stimulated by this war to emphasize that they stood for peace. None of them, not even allies of the warring powers, became involved in the strife. They were prompt to declare their neutrality and to limit the zone of hostilities. More than ever they manifested their purpose to enlarge the field of arbitration.

The Hague Conference of 1907, upon the initiative of President Roosevelt, was called by the Czar of Russia. In addition to the nations formerly represented, the Central and South American governments, omitted from the former invitation, and the new Kingdom of Norway, were requested to send representatives. All but Costa Rica and Honduras, which refrained for domestic reasons, participated. The only other independent powers not participating were Liberia and Abyssinia, but they are of no international importance. Korea sent a delegation which was not recognized, it having previously authorized Japan to represent it, and having no autonomy. There were 244 representatives, including delegates, secretaries and attachés. Its most notable feature was that it was participated in by forty-four sovereigns and was the

first general conference of practically all the powers of the world. All sovereigns were on an equal footing, each having one vote in the proceedings, without regard to magnitude.

The Conference adopted thirteen conventions, four declarations and three wishes. The first convention, like that of the First Conference, is for the pacific settlement of international conflicts. Article III, providing for intervention by tender of good offices, recited that the powers consider it useful. Upon the suggestion of Mr. Choate it was amended to read "useful and desirable." In ordinary papers this would be an addition of small moment, but in an international convention it has great significance and immensely strengthens the document.

A new article, No. 48, provides that in case of controversy either nation may, without previous agreement, apply to the Bureau of the Court at The Hague and ask for arbitration. It is thought that this may operate as a powerful pacificator. Such an appeal to The Hague, under a provision sanctioned by all the powers, will put a tremendous pressure upon the other party.

The second convention relates to the recovery of contract debts. It will doubtless prove a great conservator of peace. It is one of the best achievements of the Conference. The exploitation of Central and South America by foreign governments and their citizens, and the inability as well as the indisposition of the Latin republics to meet pecuniary obligations arising therefrom, have at recurrent periods occasioned international irritation. The spectacle of the fleets of several of the great powers at the ports of Venezuela as bailiffs to collect debts, which led to the Venezuelan case before the Hague Court, where a premium was put upon diligence in forcible sequestration, emphasized the necessity for some international agreement which would obligate all the powers to pursue more peaceful methods.

The most notable features of the Conference were that it was a conference of all the nations, the first ever known in history in which, without regard to strength, they met, deliberated and voted as equals, their meetings covering a period of more than four months, and although the questions discussed were necessarily acute, general harmony prevailing; the adoption of provisions for a prize court; the prevention of debt collecting by arms; the foundation of a permanent court of international jus-

tice; the improvement of the method of creating international commissions of inquiries, improvements of the rules of land and sea warfare; the provisions for the greater security of neutrals, and that for the meeting of another conference.

The work of the two conferences will be for the healing of the nations. Before the Hague Court was established, nations drifted into war. A difference arose, a vista revealing an opportunity for party advantage opened up to the demagogue, who is nothing if not loudly and aggressively patriotic; issues were obscured and falsified, some of the public prints misled, and fired popular sentiment. All rational intercourse between the contending nations was made impossible; other powers failed to intervene; there was no tribunal whose offices had been previously sanctioned to appeal to, and war was the inevitable consequence.

While it may be conceded that some wars have been unavoidable, yet it is more apparent that many could have been averted if there had been open such a court as that of The Hague, established by the consensus of the world, to which nations could resort without a diminution of dignity, either upon their own initiative or upon the admonition of a friendly power. General Grant said: "Though I have been trained as a soldier, and have participated in many battles, there never was a time when, in my opinion, some way could not have been found of preventing the drawing of the sword. I look forward to an epoch when a court, recognized by all nations, will settle international differences instead of keeping large standing armies, as they do in Europe."

No event that has transpired in history has even approximated the profound and lasting effects that will flow from these conferences upon the peace of the world. International law had been evolved by jurists, and its principles had from time to time been sanctioned by occasional recognition of nations. It is merely a collection of moral teachings upon relations between governments. By these conventions practically all of the powers of the world give formal assent to some of the most important principles of international law, and establish a permanent court composed of competent jurists from all nations, open at all times, for its continuous development and sanction, a court to which it is made the duty of all signatory powers to admonish other signatory powers which have differences to report, it being expressly

provided that such reminder shall be regarded as an expression of good offices.

As was said in the First Conference by Baron d'Estournelles: "War has been solemnly characterized as a conflagration, and every responsible statesman has been appointed a fireman, with the first duty of putting it out or preventing its spread."

To the Hague Conference we are indebted more than any other causes that now the entire civilized world is enjoying the blessings of a general peace such as prevailed at the coming of the Prince of Peace, when the shepherds heard the proclamation, "On earth peace, good will to men."

Since the establishment of the Hague Permanent Court by the First Peace Conference at The Hague, there have been, up to January 1, 1909, ninety-five arbitration treaties negotiated by thirty-six governments. Of this number Secretary Root negotiated twenty-four. Most of these treaties reserve from arbitration questions which affect "national honor," "independence" and "vital interests." A few, however (notably those negotiated by Denmark and the Netherlands, February 12, 1904, and Denmark and Italy, December 16, 1905), agree to submit to arbitration all differences without reservation of any sort.

There have been decided by the Hague Tribunal the following cases: The United States of America versus the United Mexican States, known as "The Pius Fund of the Californias." Germany, Great Britain and Italy versus Venezuela, relating to the settlement of German claims against Venezuela. Great Britain, France and Germany versus Japan, with regard to exemption by the Japanese Government of leased lands from taxes. Great Britain versus France, involving the question of certain Muscat dhows to fly the French flag.

One of the most important events growing directly out of the provisions of the Hague Conference was the finding of the International Commission of Inquiry between Great Britain and Russia, arising out of the North Sea incident. This undoubtedly prevented war between two of the great powers.

In February, 1909, the delegates of ten of the principal maritime powers signed at London a convention for regulating warfare at sea by defining contraband, neutral rights, blockade, etc.

On November 25, 1903, France and Germany entered into a

special agreement to submit to the Permanent Court at The Hague the questions arising out of the Casablanca affair. The questions involved are of a character not usually submitted to an international court, since they involve more or less what is termed "national honor." The submission of this case, both as to the law and the fact, to the Hague Court, is a distinct triumph for the cause of international arbitration. It is evidence of the value of a court of so high a character for justice and impartiality as that at The Hague, for to no lesser tribunal would a nation be willing to leave for investigation and determination a subject that involves the treatment of its officials in foreign lands, which is so jealously guarded by every government.

On January 27, 1909, a special agreement was signed by the United States and Great Britain submitting to arbitration at The Hague the controversy as to the North Atlantic Coast (or Northeastern) Fisheries. In 1818 the United States and Great Britain made a treaty by which certain rights of fishery in common with British fishermen, which had been claimed by the United States for its people under the treaty of peace of 1783, were recognized by Great Britain, while others were renounced by the United States. By this renunciation American fishing vessels were not allowed to take, dry or cure fish "within three marine miles of the coasts, bays, harbors and creeks" of the British possessions except certain specified coasts and except in certain cases of emergency. Some twenty-five years after the treaty was signed the colonial governments declared that the word "bays" used in the treaty meant any bay so named on the maps, irrespective of its width, and some American vessels were seized at distances greater than three miles from land. The United States denied this interpretation of the treaty provisions, asserting that only inlets of the sea not over six miles wide were intended. From that time forward the interpretation has been in dispute. At a much later period the Newfoundland government adopted regulations as to the coast fisheries of that island which American fishermen have the right at certain places to participate in "in common" with British fishermen. Certain of these regulations were thought to be directed against Americans and also to discriminate in favor of the local fishermen. The United States protested against this action as being a limitation of the

rights of their people, which, being unqualified and perpetual, could not be so restricted, except by mutual agreement of the two governments. Other questions of a minor character, all growing out of the meaning placed upon the language of the treaty, are involved. It will be a matter for congratulation to both countries when this controversy, which has been the fruitful source of irritation and of voluminous diplomatic correspondence for over sixty years, is at last laid to rest, as it will be by the award of the tribunal of The Hague, which will meet about a year hence to hear and determine the true meaning and intent of the fisheries article of the treaty of 1818.

The increasing practice of mutual exchanges of views upon all classes of subjects through the agency of international congresses, conferences and conventions, and the sessions of international associations, tend toward an economic union of nations and a better understanding between them, and make for the peace of the world. During the six months from June 1 to December 1, 1908, there were thirty-five such meetings. The subjects which they considered were of a most varied character, relating to peace, law, legislation, science, and political institutions, morality, health, art, industries, etc.

When the military spirit is dominant, and war and its achievements are uppermost in the minds of the people, the disposition is to fly to arms upon the slightest provocation. The greatest factor for the maintenance of peace is the habit of thought about peace which now prevails throughout the civilized world. It fits the public mind like a garment. The world will achieve whatever it desires if the desire is constant and all-pervading.

He who would now provoke or advocate war must stand before the bar of the civilized world and answer its judgment. No man or nation will rashly incur the hazard of its condemnation. We may not be able to limit what would justify war, but we know that many of the causes that have brought on wars in the past would now meet with condemnation. This spirit will wax stronger and become so commanding that unjustifiable war will be so execrated by the world that those who perpetrate it offensively, or force others to it in vindication of rights which

can be asserted in no other way, will be condemned as universal malefactors.

That this will come through disarmament is hardly to be hoped for. It will not be retarded but accelerated by armament. Disarmament will be not its cause but one of its effects. Oppression through taxation is the chief vice of armament. The expense of modern warfare is one of the strongest guarantees of peace. When equipment consisted of a breech clout and a spear, and substance was gotten by the wayside, people were easily mobilized for war. Modern warfare is the most complicated and expensive of all human undertakings. No energy or outlay can create at once an offensive army or navy. The nation that has no army or navy, however populous, opulent or advanced in the arts of civilization, cannot be a potential factor for peace in the midst of armed nations. Its voice, though entreating, should be capable of command. No weak or defenseless nation can be an effective leader in any movement for peace. The duck was greeted with derision when he proposed to the horses that they should not tread on each others' feet.

There can be no disarmament until the greater powers agree upon a system of concurrent action. The tide of public sentiment all over the world is setting strongly in this direction. Nations act independently in their sovereign capacity, but greater humanitarian principles are advanced by the co-operation of individuals working independently of governments, and in this enlightened age they are universal in their progress. They will precede and dominate the action of nations. Looking to the progress in peace measures of the last hundred, and especially of the last twenty, years, the hope may well be entertained that disarmament will become a reality, and that the people may enjoy not only the blessings of peace but the blessings of peace without the crushing burden of preparedness for war.

SPECIAL MEETING FOR TEACHERS

Saturday Morning, May 1, at 10 o'clock

MUSIC HALL, FINE ARTS BUILDING

REV. CHARLES E. BEALS, Presiding.

MR. BEALS:

I have great pleasure in presenting Mr. Edwin D. Mead, of Boston, who will speak to us about the history of the peace movement, and about the relation of the peace movement to education. Mr. Mead is a noted litterateur, and the editor of the International Library of Peace. He was the vice-president representing the American delegates at the London Peace Congress last July, and no man is better qualified to speak to us upon this subject than Mr. Mead. (Applause.)

Peace and Education

MR. EDWIN D. MEAD.

Our friend Dr. Hale, of Boston, our grand old man whom we call the Nestor of the peace movement in America, often says that all great things are done by small meetings, and although I wish there were a thousand teachers here, I am very glad that there are a hundred. I think that if beginning with this meeting the work of this peace movement in the schools spreads through Chicago to the West, we shall have reason to rejoice that we have come together here this morning.

I am very glad that before our Peace Congress begins, as it is to begin next Monday afternoon, a few of these preliminary meetings are to take place, in which we may get little groups together representing different interests. I am personally grateful to the Chicago committee for having provided this little preliminary gathering this morning. The chief function perhaps

will be that of carrying the idea of the coming Congress to different sections of people in this city. I came to Chicago from Boston by way of Philadelphia, and that route suggested to me a very interesting parable and a very interesting course of history. I thought at Philadelphia of the great work which was done in organizing the different small states along the Atlantic Coast into the American Union; and I remembered that the work of independence had begun in Boston through the strong attitude of those Boston town meetings at the Old South Meeting House, which proved more than a match for the British Parliament and the British King. Those men of the Boston town meetings could have done very little if they had worked individually, but in union there was strength, and in those town meetings in Boston away back there in 1775, and in other similar town meetings and local gatherings all through the colonies, a strong organization was brought together which proved adequate to that great undertaking, first of independence, then of peace, and then of a constitution for the United States of America.

For by and by, as the thing went on, representatives of all those colonies gathered in Independence Hall in Philadelphia. I know of no more sacred spot in all the world. There is none, perhaps, so sacred to the American as Independence Hall in Philadelphia, where our independence was asserted, and where by and by these little states were welded into a union. It is inspiring, indeed, to stand in that little hall and look upon the portraits on the wall of Washington and Jefferson and Adams and Franklin and all those great men who gathered together into united strength through organization of their scattered forces. It was a parable and a prophecy and a preparation for what was going to come in your time and mine in uniting the separate nations of the world into a united world.

It was a troublous time; it was an anxious time. You remember how, when that Constitutional Convention in 1787 came to a close, Benjamin Franklin, the most venerable man in the gathering, rose and made that memorable speech telling how he had sat there through all those anxious days when he wondered whether that Constitutional Convention was to come to grief or come to success; and he said during those anxious days he had looked again and again at the little golden sun which was en-

graved upon the top of the back of the chair in which the President of the Convention, George Washington, sat; and many a time during these anxious days he had wondered whether that was a setting or a rising sun. "But happily today," he said, "there is no doubt about it—it is a rising sun; the sun of the American Union is rising as the result of the union of states here in this convention which has given us a national constitution."

I never stand in Independence Hall and look upon the faces of the founders of the Republic upon the walls without looking at last, as I turn through the door into the busy street, at that emblem of the rising sun upon the chair standing there as it stood in 1787.

That was a remarkable advance in the process of organization, the step beyond the organization of individual citizens into a town meeting; the step from the organization of the little states made up of the constituents of those hundreds of town meetings, the organization of the representatives of those states into a nation. But as I last stood in Independence Hall I thought how two years ago I stood in the gallery of the old Hall of Knights at The Hague, in Holland, and looked down upon—what? Something vastly larger and more pregnant for the world than a constitutional convention for the United States. I looked down upon the Parliament of Man. It is truly an inspiring thing, my friends, to live in a time when this world is being organized as the states of the United States were organized at Philadelphia in 1787. We have been dreaming of this Parliament of Man and the federation of the world so long, the poets have been singing about it so long, that it is hard for us to realize that at last that Parliament of Man is here in plain prose, that it has come; and blessed are our eyes that see the joyful sight, and blessed are our ears that hear the joyful sound. It was a wonderful thing in the summer of 1907 to sit in the gallery of that old Hall of Knights at The Hague, and look down upon the representatives of forty-six nations—by wonderful coincidence the same number of nations that there are states in the United States—and to realize that there the forty-six nations of the world were being welded into an international union, as our forty-six states are welded into a federal union. That means so much, that those of us who have witnessed it, those of us who have waited for it and

prophesied it and worked for it, can hardly realize how much it means for us and for human history. It is surely not too much to say, it is a very modest thing to say that that gathering there at The Hague was the most pregnant and significant gathering in human history, (Applause) the first Parliament of Man, because the First Hague Conference in 1899 was not that; it was a gathering of the representatives of but half the nations of the earth. It was a notable preliminary, a notable prophecy and preparation for the Parliament of Man, but it was in 1907, when the representatives of all nations gathered in official convention that the Parliament of Man appeared. More significant, I say, more significant by far it was than the gathering in Philadelphia in 1787 out of which came the Constitution of the United States.

I came from Philadelphia, which suggested to me these inspiring thoughts, to Chicago; and the coming to Chicago suggested another great thought. I rejoiced at Philadelphia that the Constitution of the United States, by the grace of God, by a wonderful and happy fatality, was framed and given to the world in a city which bore the auspicious and pregnant name of the City of Brotherly Love—Philadelphia, the City of Brotherly Love—and as I came from Philadelphia I looked back over the city and saw at the top of the great tower of its City Hall the figure of the founder of the city, the profoundest and most philosophic of all the founders of American commonwealths, William Penn, who was not only the founder of that holy experiment of Pennsylvania, but the first man in human history to elaborate a disinterested and comprehensive plan for the organization of the world. I observed that that statue of William Penn was not facing westward towards the center of the country, as it so fittingly might be, as if to watch the great growth which had come from the small beginning which he knew, but that its face was turned away across the ocean to old England and Europe, as if it were declaring that the great Republic of the West stood by the nations of the Old World in their effort to unite together in the Parliament of Man and the federation of the world. Truly an inspiring symbol and expression this!

From that inspiring suggestion I came to Chicago, and what was the suggestion, what was the inspiring thought, that coming to Chicago brought? It was associated with the great name of

Lincoln, whose centennial we have this year been celebrating. It was at Chicago that Lincoln was nominated for the presidency of the United States,—and presently so triumphantly elected. What did that mean? It meant that the anti-slavery movement away back there, which had been a moral movement, a John the Baptist crying in the wilderness for fifty years; had been Garrison with his newspaper, Wendell Phillips on the platform, and Harriet Beecher Stowe writing "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and Sumner in the Senate, and John Brown on the scaffold. When Lincoln was nominated and elected it meant that the anti-slavery movement had gone beyond being a "movement" and had passed into politics, and with the election of Abraham Lincoln that movement as a political movement found its pledge of success.

My friends, the movement which we represent here this week, the movement for the peace and the organization of the world, has in the last ten years passed through just the stage through which the anti-slavery movement passed in the decade between 1850 and 1860. The peace movement has been for almost a century a great moral movement. It has been a John the Baptist crying in the wilderness; it has been a movement whose gospel has been preached with moral fervor. And precisely as in the case of anti-slavery, because the evil which it confronts is so great, it was impossible that it should remain simply a moral movement, and it has passed into politics. The strongest instrumentality of the peace movement today is no longer the group of peace societies; it is the great Interparliamentary Union of the statesmen of the world. Twenty-five hundred of the leading statesmen of the world are leagued together for the promotion in their different parliaments and congresses of those measures which tend to supplant the war system of the world by the system of international law and justice. Twenty-five hundred of the hard-headed politicians of the world—not the men who "swing on rainbows," but twenty-five hundred of the hard-headed statesmen of the world: two hundred and forty members of our American Congress, three hundred members of the British Parliament, as many members of the French Assembly, and altogether twenty-five hundred of the leading statesmen of the world are in this movement, holding their annual conventions and working in their different congresses for all those things which

make for a world of organized justice instead of a world of war.

To come here to Chicago, where the anti-slavery movement passed beyond the realm of a mere moral movement into the realm of a strong political movement and a successful political movement, I feel is a new augury of success. It marks a mile-stone in the way of a great advance that we gather here where the nomination of Abraham Lincoln and the passing of anti-slavery into successful politics is so pregnant with parable and its assurance.

The mention of Lincoln makes me think of something else, and that is that by the happiest fatality in this notable centennial year we celebrated on the same day the centennial of the birth of Abraham Lincoln and of the birth of Charles Darwin. Abraham Lincoln and Charles Darwin were born on the same day, February 12, 1809. Why do I here note that conjunction? Because the name of Darwin is another name for the great doctrine of evolution, that commanding word in the vocabulary of modern science. Anti-slavery was an evolution; emancipation was an evolution. Emancipation was not completed by Abraham Lincoln; it was only just begun. A race is not emancipated when you simply strike the shackles from its ankles. It is only then first given a fair chance for emancipation; and the negro race in this country is not emancipated until it is emancipated in its mind, until every man in it has the opportunity for the fullest education, until every man in it has advanced to the position of equal opportunities and equal rights with other men. Therefore, it falls to you and to me to continue the evolution of the great work of emancipation which Abraham Lincoln began. And never was it truer than it is of the great peace movement that that movement is an evolution. It has been moving on and on through the centuries. It was only as men passed from the conditions of savagery and barbarism, only as men became moral beings and developed the talent and capacity for political organization, that the movement toward a world organization which is the only assurance of universal peace could have any opportunity. The movement of history has been a movement towards the decline of war. I do not know how familiar you are with Emerson's impressive essay on war. It is the most philosophic brief essay on war ever written by an American, and it is significant precisely for this, that it emphasizes the principle of evolution as applied

to this cause which we have at heart. Emerson there says that history is a record of the decline of war. You and I were a little startled perhaps when we read that. As we turn over the pages of most of our histories, even our school histories, we are inclined to think not that they are the record of the decline of war, but for the most part the record of war and of battles; the pages seem to be filled with battles and wars and commotions. But Emerson was right. War is steadily declining in this world; and the decline of war is the measure of civilization. Many of you may have traveled over the countries of Europe. If you have done so, you remember that you were never far from some great battlefield. You remember that in Scotland a very few centuries ago as history goes every Scottish tribe or clan was fighting its neighbor, and when they were not fighting each other they were leagued together to fight the advancing hosts of England; that when England was not fighting Scotland, and often when it was, it was fighting France over the Channel, and France was fighting the peoples further on. History was a record of seven years' wars and thirty years' wars and hundred years' wars. Peace was only an occasional respite in which men gathered their forces together for new wars. My friends, that is not true today. We deplore the fact that wars come as often as they do,—although there has not been a great war in Europe since 1870. We deplore the burdensome armaments of the world. But war, my friends, is not any longer the main business of the great states of this world. War is not the business of the United States, or France, or England, or Germany. We are getting over that sort of thing. There was not half so much war in Christendom in the nineteenth century as there was in the eighteenth century—do not forget that fact; and there will not be half so much war in the twentieth century as in the nineteenth century. There will not be a quarter so much if you and I in Chicago, Boston, New York and London and Berlin half do our duty. History, I repeat, quoting Emerson's word of sagacity and insight—history is the record of the decline of war.

Look at this thing always—that is what I am trying to enforce—in the light of evolution. A man said to me the other day (and I thought the more of it because I have the blood of a Lexington grandfather in my veins): "Why, I suppose you peace

people do not believe in those farmers out there at Lexington getting out their guns and fighting the British invaders?" A man who says that sort of thing shows that he has not any realizing sense of what the peace movement is. There have been stages in the evolution of this world when nothing else was possible for men who stood for liberty and justice but to get out their guns. The times of our ignorance and our savagery and our brutality God winked at, but he now commands men everywhere to repent, at least to do better, and to utilize the rational machinery that advancing evolution has created. We do not stand today where our fathers stood, and we may not invoke for ourselves as a protection the appeal to war which for them may have been valid and vital.

Again I repeat that history is the record of the decline of war, that evolution is on our side, and the triumphs of our cause in recent years have been something almost incalculable. The leaders of this movement for international justice and the organization of the world, have not been able in these last years to dream half daringly enough or half fast enough to keep up with the facts. If any one of us had been told ten years ago, on the eve of the meeting of the First Hague Conference, that we should see today established in this world an international tribunal of arbitration, that we should see an international parliament meeting as regularly as the Congress of the United States at Washington, or the British Parliament at Westminster, if we had been told that we should see the progress which we have seen, the most optimistic of us could not have believed it.

My friends, a great cause is never in so hopeful a condition as when it stands between great triumphs and great tasks. The triumphs of the last ten years, the triumphs of the last generation, have been something unprecedented in human history, but we face the future and it is for us today to face the problems which are ours, the problem of the burdensome armaments of the world, and solve them as the men of the last ten years have faced and have solved so many of their problems. We stand between great triumphs and great tasks, and I know of nothing which should appeal so strongly to the teachers of the young, to those who have in charge the schools of this country, as the inspiration of great achievements behind them and the opportunity and the obligations

which are theirs to train the young into righteous supremacy in the next generation, a supremacy which shall give the world the things which we demand and which we prophesy. If there is any body in the community which is called upon to exert itself and to work with all its might for this commanding cause for which we have come together here in Chicago this week, it is the body of the teachers of the country. If there is any body in the country that knows that the world's resources are misapplied, that they are going for the things that profit not when they are so sorely needed for the things which have in them the salvation of the world, it is the teachers of the country.

President Eliot went down to Tuskegee two or three years ago to help celebrate its twenty-fifth anniversary, and he reminded that great educational gathering that for the price of a single battleship such as is being built today in our navy-yards, a Tuskegee could be established in every southern state, and asked which they thought would do the most to make the country strong and safe, the building of the battleship, which in ten years will go to the junk heap, or the establishment of a Tuskegee in every southern state. The president of Harvard University might have drawn an illustration nearer home, nearer his own Harvard. He might have reminded that educational gathering in the South that if it added together the cost of all the hundred buildings and of the land of Harvard University (I do not now speak of endowments—understand clearly what I say and what I do not say) and added to that the cost of all the land and buildings of Yale and of Amherst and of Williams and of Dartmouth and of Bowdoin and Brown, all of the historical universities and colleges of New England, the total cost would have been less by two million dollars than the cost of one short-lived battleship. For you who are charged with the interest of education in this country that is a startling thing to take to heart; especially when you remember that the life of a battleship is really less today than ten years, and ask yourselves what it would mean if you tipped all of those universities and colleges in New England—I take New England alone, but you in Chicago can substitute such of your institutions nearer home as you please—if you tipped all of those institutions, their lands and buildings, into the sea every ten years, and set about the slow and painful work of their reconstruction,

that is what it means when you decree that the number of your battleships this year shall be one more than what you originally planned.

My friends, I ask you to think of this thing. The time has come in this world—men begin to feel it as never before—when the way in which we spend our money has become a great moral consideration. There is a tremendous discontent in this world among men who are not privileged, among men who see that the resources of this world so mightily needed for constructive purposes are going to waste. Germany is eloquent with the protest. France is eloquent with the protest and England and America are becoming so. I should myself say that if I were to add an eleventh commandment to the ten, it should be this, "Thou shalt not waste thy substance."

In a word, the sorely burdened and struggling people in this world are putting the solemn question everywhere to governments: "How are you spending our money?" "Is it being applied to the things that help or the things which wrong?" I say to you representatives of the schools of Chicago, you students in the schools, you teachers of the schools, you who represent that kind of expenditure of money which makes for upbuilding, it is for you to get these things before the people.

I rejoice that I have been asked to come here to this meeting before our Congress begins next week and add my voice to the endorsement of the splendid organization which has been started last year called the American School Peace League. I do not hesitate to say, teachers of Chicago, that during the last year there is no single piece of organizing which has been effected for our peace work which is so pregnant, or so splendid as the beginning of the organization of the teachers of this country into a School Peace League. I said to a friend of mine in New York the other day, who is perfectly able to give the money,—and he has given a great deal of money for the peace cause,—"If you want to know where to give \$20,000 for work next year, give it to the American School Peace League." If there happens to be any man or woman in this hall who is anxious to know of some good way to spend \$20,000 for our cause next year, go home and write a check for \$20,000 for the American School Peace League. It will be spent well. I rejoice to learn that a public spirited Boston

woman has just given it \$5,000. And to you teachers of Chicago, here where the anti-slavery cause was so organized that within three years it achieved success, I want to say I hope that you will band yourselves together to constitute a branch of this league, that here where Abraham Lincoln was nominated to lead anti-slavery to success, you will start a movement which shall help as nothing else has yet helped the peace movement to success among the teachers of the country.

I wish, finally, to remind you that this is the centennial year not only of Darwin and of Lincoln, but the centennial of the great singer of those verses which all these years have been the most inspiring formula of our cause, those verses which prophesied the time when "the war drum throbs no longer and the battle flags are furled in the parliament of man, the federation of the world." I cannot forget that Tennyson, who gave us those great lines, also in his noble sonnet on Milton, whose third centennial we have just been celebrating, gave us another great word. He gave to Milton his noblest title when he spoke of him as "the organ voice of England." What was it that "the organ voice of England" had to say? He told us that "war can only endless war still breed"; and he also reminded us that "peace has her victories no less renowned than war." That was the message of the organ voice of England. "The organ voice of England" and the "war drum throbs" are phrases stating like no other the alternative which the world faces, great phrases given us by one man. That, teachers of Chicago, is the issue. How quickly, how completely, shall the war drum's throb be drowned by the organ voice? It will be drowned the quicker, it will be drowned the surer if the teachers of the American public schools do their duty, and if those who are now coming upon the stage are inspired by such thoughts of their duty to their country and their world as shall make this country of ours the United States which, in Independence Hall, Washington and Franklin and Jefferson helped into being a true and efficient preparation for a united world. (Applause.)

(The Young People's Chorus, under the direction of Mr. William ApMadoc, then sang "A Song of Peace," written for the Second National Peace Congress by Miss Althea A. Ogden.)

MR. BEALS:

After the reference made by Mr. Mead to the work of the American School Peace League, I am sure all of you will have a special pleasure in listening to the organizer and secretary of that organization. Our second speaker is Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, the secretary of the American School Peace League. (Applause.)

The American School Peace League

MRS. FANNIE FERN ANDREWS.

I think of all the inspiration I have received in doing this work, this meeting is perhaps the best. It is beautiful and it shows what the children can do.

Mr. Mead has given us an idea of what the teachers can do. He has given us a very cogent outline of the political march of events in international peace movements. There is a great social and economic force that is unconsciously drawing the interests of the nations into one harmonious whole. The American School Peace League is interested not only in the forward march of events, but also in this great economic movement and this social movement. It is in the schools that we can get at it best.

The Peace League aims to acquaint all the teachers of this country with all these forces that are working towards world peace. Our first great burden, as you all know, is to acquaint the five hundred thousand teachers of the country with these great forces. In the big cities the teachers know more about it than they do perhaps in some of the smaller towns, and I was going to say in the scattered states of the nation. The literature seems to be sent to them. We have arranged to have a great deal of this work done voluntarily through committees and we have organized two committees for that purpose. The first is the Committee on Meetings and Discussions, the object of that committee being to induce educational gatherings, educational associations, to take some part of their program for the consideration of the subject of international peace; to consider what relation this movement bears to the teaching of children in the schools.

We have on that committee representatives from all the

great sections of the country, and although the League has been organized but five or six months, I think we can safely say that this subject has been considered by over one hundred large educational gatherings, state associations, county associations and teachers' institutes. The members of that committee are mostly superintendents of schools and directors of teachers' institutes.

Our second committee, which has in view the spreading of this movement and also the specific educational phase of this movement, is the Press Committee. It is composed of some dozen or more leading educational editors of the country, and the 1st of May they released an article on the celebration of the Hague Day, the 18th of May, in the schools.

That article has gone to more than two hundred magazines of the country, and we have the manuscript for articles that will be produced month after month. So in that way those two committees are working to get the subject presented, and I think all of you can realize what an important thing it is to reach everybody; not to reach merely those who have an opportunity to come to meetings and who have recourse to literature, but to reach the teachers who have never heard of it, and I know from the correspondence I have been receiving that many teachers never have heard of it.

Also, being practical teachers ourselves interested in this movement, we realize that we must do constructive work, and that in order to get the teachers to take it up we must give them practical helps which they can use directly in the school room, and we have therefore outlined three general lines of work which our committees should take up. The first is the Publications Committee, which aims to publish either directly or indirectly a series of publications that can be used in the school room in the literary class. We are thinking of compiling spellers which will contain a number of maxims which bring out the peace point of view. Our committee is also working now to get out a new song book consisting of the songs of the present time which illustrate this sentiment, and it is also stimulating the writing of new ones. We have on this committee several authors of children's books, several superintendents of schools and two or three directors of music in the public schools. The idea is to put practical helps directly into the teachers' hands just as they have them in moral

training, in hygiene, in temperance instruction, and in geography and all the other branches which are taught in the schools.

Then we have, besides the Publications Committee, the Committee on Teaching History. Mr. Mead told you that the present history text books would seem to indicate that history was not the decline of war. I am sorry to say that many of our histories do indicate that thought. We have for the chairman of our History Committee a writer of history text books, and several others on this committee are writers of history text books which are used in the elementary and secondary schools. The committee intend to make an investigation or study of the present history text books now used in the schools with reference to the relative space devoted to war and to peace. They also expect to stimulate the writing of a history that shall lay emphasis on the social, industrial and economic development of this country rather than on the war campaigns and battles. That committee is going to do a great service not only for the international peace movement, but for the teachers of the country who wish to teach the ideal of our country, which is the highest development; and the highest development of our country today is dependent upon its position in taking its part among the other nations of the world.

As Mr. Mead says, we have at last a Parliament of Man, an international congress, and in seven years more we shall meet again. The United States has a definite part to take in this parliament. The teachers of the country between now and the next Hague Conference have an opportunity to teach the children this ideal.

Then we have another committee, which we call the International Committee. On that committee are people who have taken prominent part in international educational activity. For instance, we have Mr. Clifford W. Barnes, who was so prominent in the International Moral Training Congress, and many others on the committee, every one of whom have identified themselves with some international educational activity. I think all teachers know that education is becoming more and more an international matter, as is shown by the international exchange of college professors and the international exchange of students. We are growing more and more to feel and to think in this international fashion. The Twentieth Century is an international century, and it is to

imbue the teachers with the idea of studying this movement so that they shall get into the spirit of this international conference that we are working so hard in the Peace League. The teachers of the United States have been very active in this movement. I think many of you know and perhaps many of you heard the address of Dr. Nathan C. Schaeffer at Los Angeles in 1907, his subject being, "What Can the Schools Do to Aid the Peace Movement?" It occurred just at the time when the Second Hague Conference was in session, that first Parliament of Man, and so it came at a very opportune time. It was his inaugural address. You also remember that the National Educational Association met there in Los Angeles and sent a resolution to The Hague Conference asking our delegates to do what they could to promote the cause of international justice and peace. Simultaneously with that cablegram there was sent from Montreal by the American Institute of Instruction a similar resolution, and Mr. Mead down in Knoxville, Tennessee, at the great Summer School of the South, was the initiator of a similar resolution, and those resolutions I know made our delegates feel that the great educational body of America was behind this movement.

United States Commissioner Elmer E. Brown in his annual report speaks of the advisability of observing the anniversary of the First Hague Congress, May 18. Most of the schools in the country are to observe this day, and I might add that on our list of councillors we have twenty state superintendents of schools, and every one of them has written me that the 18th of May will be observed in the schools of their respective states. I believe there will not be a state in this Union where the 18th of May will not be observed to some extent, because in the American School Peace League we have every state in the Union represented, and so it will be observed to some extent.

Our Committee on Meetings and Discussions have been very prominent and very active in getting suggestions for programs for the 18th of May, and having them sent out. Personally I have sent out some ten thousand all over the country, and I think the teachers at the different educational meetings will see those programs and therefore I believe we shall have a general recognition of the day.

I do not like to say it, but I believe we are a little behind the

teachers of Europe. The teachers of Great Britain and Germany and France and Italy are observing this day and observed it before we did, but I think we have plenty of opportunity to take this matter up. The American School Peace League is working for the present with the teachers in the United States, but we hope that this will be the nucleus of an International School Peace League. We hope that the teachers who assembled at the International Congress of Teachers where the resolution was passed that the teachers of those countries should observe the 18th of May and teach the principles of international justice and peace, will join in a general movement for an International School League of Peace, of which this will be the American branch. We want a Great Britain branch and a French branch and a Russian branch, and so on.

So I say to you teachers—and I always feel at home when I am talking to teachers because, although I am not in the school room at the present time, I was a teacher for a great many years—that I feel I am talking to people who are really and truly interested as much as I am in this movement, and people who want to carry it on. We hope that every teacher in the country will join the American School Peace League. There are no dues, and you will find as you go out a manual of this Peace League giving a list of officers, the members of the committees, the object of the League, the constitution, and a brief bibliography of the League. If you look through that, you will be able to pick out literature that will make you a thorough student of the peace movement, and I hope every teacher in Chicago will do that and I hope they will join this Peace League.

I hope every teacher here at this meeting will take one of those manuals as you go out, and an application blank. You will find indicated on the application blank where you may send it so that it can be recorded, and, as Mr. Mead suggested, I hope Chicago will be the place where the first branch of the American School Peace League is organized. (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN BEALS:

We have been favored by the young ladies, and now we are to have the pleasure of listening to the boys. (Applause.)

(The Sherwood School Boys' Glee Club then rendered a selection.)

CHAIRMAN BEALS:

We have one more speaker this morning and then the young ladies will lead us in the closing song. I have now the pleasure of introducing Miss Mary J. Pierson, of New York, who will speak to us on peace work in the schools of New York. (Applause.)

Peace Work in the Schools

MISS MARY J. PIERSON.

I want to pay my tribute to the Illinois song. I think it would be a great temptation to me to live in Illinois so that I might sing it as one of the Illinois people. I shall certainly carry that message home with me to the young people there.

In 1904 the Thirteenth Annual Peace Congress was held in Boston. In New York there was a woman whose name should always be mentioned wherever people meet in the cause of peace. She is no longer with us, but we who knew her and met her face to face can never forget her, and her name should be engraved and will be engraved when the time comes for people to extol the workers of peace, Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell. Her name will tell you her place in the history of the work. She was a responsive woman, and when the suggestion was made to her that there should be a meeting for young people, without asking any further questions she said, "Go ahead, I am sure it must be right." A committee of five was formed, and only one of the committee had any idea of what was wanted, and that one a very hazy idea. All she had had in mind to do was to give the idea out and let others carry it through, but it was thrown back upon her and it devolved upon her to convert the members of the Board of Education from the superintendent down, and you who have to deal with such men know that that is not an easy task. The outcome of it all was that in the hall of the Board of Education one thousand six hundred boys and girls met, appointed as delegates from the groups in the schools, each boy and girl representing on an aver-

age about thirty children in these schools and about five in their homes. Therefore, we prided ourselves in thinking that the message was sent out that day to fifty thousand as a conservative estimate.

Each child carried from that hall a program daintily printed with thoughts gathered from Mrs. Mead's invaluable Peace Primer. Each child carried and wore for a year afterwards, and some of them are still wearing it, a peace button. We who work with children know the value of the tangible thing. This great movement that we are entering upon with more vivid consciousness than ever before, we know that it seems far off and we know also that it seems to us teachers like one thing more, and we always dread that one thing more, not having yet learned how to adjust the one thing more to the things in hand. It is not one thing more, it is a unifying force. It is the greatest unifying force that has ever come to the schools, because the lessons in history and geography and arithmetic can be related with it, and living thoughts can be brought into the examples.

For instance, I thought of one the other afternoon. How many of our little ones go to work for a dollar and a half a week. It costs \$1,700 to fire one shot from a gun. How many children could be kept in school another year for that \$1,700? Surely that contains an economic study, that contains a moral thought, and certainly it is not very difficult to feel that it has religion in it.

Out of that Congress of 1904 there sprang a little organization of girls. These girls had been studying city history. Becoming interested in their local history they began to broaden out into the state and the national life, and it was not very difficult to extend that thought into the international thought. This little group learned peace songs. They learned these songs and then went from place to place singing them wherever they were invited. We took pains to have the words of these songs printed on our programs, and we found that there were a great many other people who thought along these lines while these children were singing, and they carried these programs to their homes. We saw then that one club was not sufficient to bring into consciousness this broader thought, and a group of clubs was organized. These groups were related one club with the others, and the children

were enlisted immediately into this broader international relationship of the nation.

In 1907 came the great opportunity to New York of holding the First National Peace Congress, and when we asked for a children's meeting, even those with whom we were working said, "Which hall will you have? Will you have the church, or will you have the Board of Education, or will you have some other small hall?" We wanted no small hall, but we wanted the largest we could get, because we knew that the scheme of organization devised in 1904 could easily fill any hall in New York. Carnegie Hall was filled, and there were five hundred children on the platform singing, gathered from the schools, and gathered inside of two or three weeks. There were about four thousand in the seats and in the boxes. The private schools occupied the boxes and paid for the privilege of coming. The public school children were elected by their classes and carried back to their classes reports. Think of the thousands of homes into which this message was carried.

The Young People's International Federation League was simply an expansion of that one little City History Club, and now those City History Clubs have developed into chapters of the Young People's International Federation League. The first chapter organized was named the Kathrina Trask Chapter, after Mrs. Trask, of New York, who has written one of the greatest appeals to the Anglo-Saxon race for dissemination. I am sorry the boys are not here so that I might tell them of a boys' chapter which is studying, beginning with Mrs. Mead's Peace Primer and reaching up to a history of the peace movement, which was Mrs. Mead's first speech at the First National Congress. There is so much that is strong and virile and inspiring that it seems almost a pity to write anything else on the peace movement. These things are not beyond the child's comprehension. It is just as easy for a child to understand the feasibility of the federation of the world as it is to understand the organization in his own home.

I believe that this is one of the most inclusive subjects before the human mind today. I believe that it begins in the home and I hope the time will come when it will culminate in The Hague. We have a little slogan, "From the home to The Hague," and the

child sees, through his relationship in his group work, that his everyday act colors the home life and the school life and the life of the city, the state and the nation, and he asks himself, why cannot it be that his life may in some way color the world? I believe that the text, "As a man thinks so is he," is a very vital one. It is our duty as teachers to take that into our hearts and to think strongly and definitely and clearly on these lines, and then I am confident that with very little effort the child will follow; and more than that, I believe the child will fulfill the prophecy, "A little child shall lead them."

I brought with me from New York one of our girls who has learned Mrs. Trask's poem. I would like to have you hear this poem and I would like to have you hear her speak it. One of our methods is to take these poems that has a message and have the child devote herself or himself to learning it, and to have the child feel that it is his or her privilege or duty to go wherever he or she is asked to go and render this service. At the time of the First National Congress there were thousands and thousands of letters sent out over this country by the committee of the Young People's Meeting. We tried to have that meeting a national one. We did not expect that many young people would come from afar, though we did have twenty centers outside of New York represented. We had letters from the Pacific and the Atlantic assuring us of their good will. Every letter was folded by a child, every letter was put into an envelope by one of these boys or one of these girls, and they put every stamp upon the envelope. They were brought to the postoffice by the children. Every service that could be rendered was rendered by the young people. It seemed to me that it was quite as glorious a thing to have the children work for the cause of peace, if it were only to fill envelopes, fold papers and put the stamps on, as it would be to scrape lint or roll bandages for the war times. They entered into the spirit of the occasion and they are proud and happy to recall the time when they worked until 10 or 11 o'clock at night to do this work.

We must get a new point of view as to service. We must reinterpret these words into language understandable by the child. He is not so far removed from us as we think; it is we teachers who have removed ourselves from the child. We have got to

go back and live in the child's world, throb with the child's world, and live outside the child's world, to get the ideas and bring them back and translate them to that child in order that the child too may begin his service early.

I remember when I was a little girl how I used to go to the garret of our country home and weep my eyes out nearly, because I thought all the heroes were dead and that there was no work left for anybody to do. That experience of mine as a child has perhaps brought me into closer sympathy with the young person, and there may be others who, as I did, have wept because there would be nothing to do when they arrived at womanhood. There is plenty to do and always will be plenty to do, but we must make the child realize it. The child cannot realize it unless the teacher does. We must live with our children and live with the world. We must reach out beyond all that the child can experience and bring back such messages to the child as will encourage him and fill him with hope and joy. We need joy in this world of ours, and there is joy in working for a great cause. I thank you. (Applause.)

After the recitation of the poem entitled "O, Mighty Anglo-Saxon," by Miss Ray Goller, of New York, the session adjourned.

MASS MEETING IN ORCHESTRA HALL

Sunday Evening, May 2, at 8 o'clock

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE SUNDAY EVENING CLUB.

MR. CLIFFORD W. BARNES, Presiding.

Reading of Scriptures, Mr. DAVID R. FORGAN, of Chicago.

INVOCATION, RT. REV. CHARLES P. ANDERSON :

Oh, Almighty God, King of kings, Lord of lords, Who ruleth over the nations of the world, Whose power and might none is able to withstand, guide, we beseech Thee, the deliberations of this Congress assembled to promote peace and righteousness throughout all the world; keep us from all error, ignorance, pride and prejudice; prosper every design consistent with Thy will for making Thy ways known upon the earth and Thy saving health among all nations.

Overrule the selfishness, the violence of man to the accomplishment of Thine own purposes and to the extension of Thy kingdom of righteousness and peace and joy. Hasten the time when nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. Make us a nation mindful of Thy favor and always ready to do Thy will. Bless our land with honorable industry, sound learning and pure religion. Gather into one united family the various peoples gathered here from all kindreds and from all lands. Give the spirit of wisdom to those who are entrusted with the responsibilities and authority of government, to the end that peace may prevail in this nation and that this nation may make for peace amongst all the nations of the world.

In times of our prosperity keep us humble; in times of adversity suffer not our faith in Thee to fail. Guide and bless the deliberations of this Congress. May the words of our mouth and the meditations of our heart be always acceptable in Thy sight, O Lord, our Strength and our Redeemer. We ask it in the name of Thy Son, the Prince of Peace. Amen.

MR. CLIFFORD W. BARNES:

It is my rare privilege tonight, speaking in behalf of the Sunday Evening Club, to welcome to this service the delegates attendant upon the Second National Peace Congress. We of Chicago, I am afraid, are an overbusy people, straining every nerve ceaselessly in the struggle for commercial supremacy. We are building doubtless great corporations; we are establishing vast transcontinental systems; we are even planning great deep water highways. But I think it is fair to say that amid all the din and tumult of our busy life we do sometimes catch a strain of that angel chorus singing "Peace On Earth, Good Will Towards Men."

I think it is fair to say that we do sometimes see a vision of the One who spake as never man spake; who came not to be ministered unto, but to minister; who went about doing good and whose life was a perfect revelation of infinite love towards God and towards men. And I think it is fair to say that we are struggling to attain higher and better things, with noble purposes and high aims; and for that reason we welcome most heartily to our city this National Peace Congress with its high purposes and its great objects.

If you and I and the others together can somehow or other make our lives and the lives of our nations fit into perfect harmony with the life of that Prince of Peace, then indeed may we beat our swords into plowshares and our spears into pruning hooks.

We wish this Congress Godspeed in their high purpose, and tonight I have the peculiar pleasure of welcoming to our platform one of the noted delegates at this Congress, who is among us unexpectedly, but he comes from the Pacific slope, where Sunday after Sunday, to an audience probably as large as this, in his own temple he tells the glad message of the One whose ambassador he glories himself to be. We will be delighted to have a few words from the Rev. Robert J. Burdette, more lovingly known as "Bob Burdette."

Man a Fighter

REV. ROBERT J. BURDETTE.

I am invited to the platform by the courtesy of my friend, and I shall show my appreciation by winning your gratitude by my brevity. I am like the outpost vidette; I simply come out to fire a single shot and let the army know the enemy is advancing and will soon be upon you and prepare you for the worst. (Laughter.) I want to tell you what is coming.

This movement to promote universal peace is the most stupendous undertaking in the history of the human race. I know of nothing that parallels it. It is an undertaking to change human nature, for we are the fightingest things in this world. (Renewed laughter.) When your angel Willie, whom you have taught so well and who you know is a child of peace and love and tenderness, comes home with the blackest eye that a Little Lord Fauntleroy face ever wore, you have no right to blame the boy; a thousand generations of his ancestors put that eye on him. (Laughter.) The instinct to fight has been in our lives ever since the race was created. If Adam had been a better fighting man the world would have had less trouble on his account. He allowed himself to be downed by a woman. (Laughter.)

Great peacemakers have always been splendid fighters; they have had the instinct in them. It is an amazing thing to me that Secretary Trueblood should be secretary of a peace society, a man big enough and strong enough and brave enough to lick a man every day for the joy of it. It is natural that I should be a peacemaker. (Laughter.)

The instinct for fighting runs all through the race. The baby in the cradle, your baby, your dimpled darling whom you left home with the nurse tonight, fought against having his face washed the first time. He does yet. He slapped his mother's cheek when dinner was not ready promptly on time. When he is a boy he fights his way through school. The fighting spirit is in him when he is a man; and man is the only being in this world that loves to fight and who goes out in the morning to hunt trouble, to look for a fight, and who does it with joy. It is not for the money that is in it, nor for his livelihood alone. The real fighting man will leave his dinner any time to get into a fight.

We are a fighting people. We love to fight, we delight in it; we enjoy it. This movement is to turn the shadows back on the dial thousands of years. It is to change human nature. Think of that!

And this fight habit is like the drink habit; it can only be cured by the co-operation of the patient. You have all got to work for this thing. There is no other way in which this fighting instinct can be overcome. It is a joy to see so many young men here. I expected to see old fellows like myself. I expected to see a congregation of gray beards; I looked for a great throng of men past the fighting age. Josh Billings used to say that what we call virtue many times is only vice tired out. The wolf was a member of the peace society when he had the bone in his throat. But to see young men here of fighting age tonight in such numbers is glorious and splendid, for we must remember that the fighting instinct has been kept up by the best of our young men.

A soldier is not a vagabond, a soldier is not a man who is in the army today because he cannot get into anything else. It is a hard thing to get into the United States Army. It is a harder thing to get into the United States Army than it is to get into college. The regulations are strict. The candidate must have splendid physique, he must have good character, and, more than that, he has to know something. (Laughter.) I do not know of anything more manly in any trade or occupation in the United States than a good, healthy, strong, well-disciplined, obedient, well set-up United States infantry man, a man in the regular army. They are fine fellows; they are not the common herd.

We have got to gather into this movement the best young men, the smartest and the cleverest young men, and those with the fighting instincts, and get them to turn the fighting instinct to a fight for peace. I would bid you go in peace, but it is early in the evening and you will go in pieces by and by, anyhow. (Laughter.)

CHAIRMAN BARNES:

To those of you who come from the outside I want to say if you desire your cities better, pleasanter to live in, more righteous, with a higher standing, get two such citizens in your midst as the Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones and Rabbi Hirsch. We will be glad to hear from them.

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You will find it in the tongue of the serpent; there lie the roots of this thing which when gilded, be-laced and be-buttoned, we call the defense of the nation. (Applause.) Heaven save the nation whose safety rests upon its battleships and its soldiers of war. If the past proves anything it proves that such nations have builded upon the sands and then have tottered and gone down into everlasting oblivion. Love and justice, truth and mercy alone survive the wreck of the centuries, alone endure.

Let us believe, then, that man is to leave behind him his inheritance from the brute kingdom and that he has in him ever and always the elements of perennial kinship with the benignant forces of the universe, and not the malignant, evil forces that love violence, advance destruction, and would fain champion the right with evil weapons.

And now, my friends, my neighbors and fellow citizens of Chicago, we leave in your hands the task of executing the program of this Conference in a manner worthy the great cause and one that will not humiliate the great city in which we delight and to which we belong. (Applause.)

The chairman introduced Rev. Emil G. Hirsch.

The Function of a Peace Congress

REV. EMIL G. HIRSCH.

Three days we ask you to take out of your busy life to give to this Congress; three days—a capital in time, for we are a busy people. Is it worth while? Many a one will ask that question, and perhaps he will be moved to answer it in the negative. A few speeches will be delivered, a few resolutions will be adopted, the papers will comment on the addresses and on the resolutions. Some will praise, others will damn with faint praise, and others will shrug, metaphorically speaking, their shoulders. It is worth while to give three days, busy as we are, to this Congress and to the proceedings thereof. What is the Congress aiming at? We are purposing to create a new mental atmosphere. In this age we have learned that thought is by no means a negligible quantity. Psychology has opened to us the truth that it is often not what men know, but what men feel and how they feel that determines

men's actions, men's physical conditions even; and we know that the nations are also under the influence of thought waves, and we wish to create a new mental atmosphere on this great question of war.

We have been brought up on the idea that war is necessary, is natural. We have been taught to believe that the present life has evolved out of a universal struggle. Look at a leaf under a microscope and we have a battlefield, so they tell us. Examine under the lens a drop of water and we have again a battlefield. And so they have told us from the lowest to the loftiest runs an evolution moved and impelled by struggle, and man is not an exception in the general sweep of universal warfare.

Then from our school days up to the present time we have been led to believe that the best that the world owns was laid at humanity's feet by the demon war. What have we learned in our schools of ancient civilization? Nothing except that so many generals went out to war, nothing except the names of battles and the heroes who came back crowned with laurel wreaths. This we learned, and nothing else. So we have come to think that all progress was brought about by the passion and the fury of war, and that without war civilization would not have come. This is what we want to counteract, for no blacker lie was ever invented than this. We have gone out and we have learned that even in Babylon and Assyria, those mighty warlike nations of ancient days, the soldiers after all were not the determining factor in the culture and civilization of ancient days, but that the men behind the loom, the poets and priests and sages made their world, and not the men that went out with swords to kill and to spill blood, or went to spread misery over another people whom they wished to subjugate and whose civilization they attempted to destroy. The new history controverts the doctrine which has stolen into our usual textbooks that war was the great controlling force in ancient times, and if in ancient times it was not, can it be in these modern days?

Let me grant that war accomplished something. It mixed the races of the world. It brought the different nations into contact with each other. This admission must be made. But is it necessary today that armies shall meet in order that the man from the West shall touch elbows with the man from the East?

Is it necessary in these days that fleets shall sail out and meet with hostile intent upon the high seas when the peaceful wonder-palaces that are afloat plow the ocean and bring the greeting of the rising sun to the lands lying under the sun's western good-night kiss? I ask, is it necessary that navies shall go and speak of the power and the might and the civilization of a nation in these days when the public prints have made it unnecessary, and when wireless telegraphy carries across the distance the news of the busy toil and the power and the strength of the nation? We do not need the navies as messengers for commerce. Commerce is independent of these excursions across the sea. It is a peculiar greeting of friendship which comes and says: "Friends we shall be, for look, here are the mighty engines of destruction! Should you refuse the hand proffered it will be turned into a fist, and iron will speak for us and powder will bring our message to you." Friendship has never yet been made upon the basis of fear. Friendship can only come on the basis of confidence in the justice and the equity and in the righteousness of a nation that asks for friendship and returns it. In these days war for the purpose of bringing men together is antiquated. We have discovered other means of building bridges across the sea and passages over the dividing mountains.

But we are told war is necessary in order that the world may not be asphyxiated in commercialism. We must have war from time to time to learn that our life is not the summum bonum, to show men that there are higher things than life, that men must lay down their lives occasionally for a principle and for a cause, and therefore we must have war. What about the small nations on that theory? Are they all asphyxiated, morally speaking? Is their moral fiber weaker than that of the giant nations that can go to war and have these periodical moral battles and warlike fever and warlike stress and warlike trial, and then, of course, warlike triumph? The smaller nations are morally as strong and pure as any nation; nations that never had a navy, nations that have not a single regiment. I was born in a small nation of that kind, and I say the nation on whose territory I was born, a small nation, not in population as large as Chicago, is as morally strong as the giant nation which fortunately I have come now to regard as my own, and whose prosperity and honor are as dear to me as they

ever may be to one native under this glorious flag of ours. (Applause.) No, that theory falls to pieces the moment we test it, the moment we abandon generalities and look at the facts as they are.

They tell us we need war to save us from being submerged in commercialism, and then they tell us we need the navies, for commerce follows the flag. On the one hand, war is to save us from commerce, and on the other hand we must have war in order to further commerce. Is that logical? Must we have war to save us from commercialism? Who profits by war? The men who control the money of the world; they profit by war and no one else. (Applause.) Today ten men in this world can tell any nation to go to war or to sheathe the sword. They have that power. No one has ever won except these ten men and their dependents. Commerce has always profited by war in that sense of the word in which is contained the proposition that we must have war from time to time in order to be saved from moral asphyxiation and moral stupor and moral decay.

The facts protest against this theory. Trade has not followed the flag, and commerce has increased its hold upon the soul of the people after every war. The evils that are connected with commerce and commercialism in the sense in which it is used have always increased the day after a victory. Look at our recent history and you will find corroborating evidence. We wanted the Philippines, but at 5 per cent. and at concessions for our investment therein.

So with Germany. What has come to Germany in consequence of the war that she waged against France? Nationalism has come, racial prejudice has run riot. Before that war Germany was a nation of thinkers, a nation of men with high ideals. Since that war the German has come to believe himself to be the God-chosen man of the world to whom all other men must pay respect; and he has come to consider Germans by the quality of their blood. My father and grandfather and great-grandfather were German by birth, they spoke the German language, and yet today they will tell me that I and they are not Germans. Because I am not of Teutonic stock, I am a Semite, I am a Jew; therefore I cannot be a German. Germany did not know anything of this pernicious doctrine before her victory was won.

So this new nationalism has always come upon the nations in the hour of victory, not indeed as a sign of moral strength, but as a symptom of moral degeneracy. War is an unmitigated curse, look at it from whatever point of view you may. (Applause.)

We have heard tonight that we have a false idea, that only the fighter is the great and strong man, all others are what they call "mollycoddles." If that is the case, then I misread the life of the best man that ever trod on earth. He may be for you more than he is for me. For me he is the Great Teacher. What is the lesson of his life? Did he draw the sword? His people did not greet him as they should, because he did not come with a sword as they expected their Messiah to come. Did he go forth with a lance? He received the thrust of a lance into His loving breast. He suffered, but did not strike, and the greater hero is he who may strike if he must, but who will forego striking, not because he is a coward or because he is weak, but because he is in the full consciousness of his strength, in the full possession of his noble courage. They who do not fight are, after all, the better and the stronger men. What glory is there to a nation of eighty millions to have defeated a weak and decaying nation of sixteen millions? You might as well say the bully who goes out to fight the little boy wins glory in that expedition. No, the greater glory is with him who forbears and forgives, who appeals to justice unto all, and we wish to create the impression that it is possible for the nations of this world to create a court where all dissensions, all disputes and all differences may be adjudicated by reason and by justice, not by an appeal to passion and by an appeal to the greater guns and the stronger navies. As far as navies are concerned, in five years our present battleships will have become antiquated and ready to be thrown on the scrap heap. Now they are building airships. Only yesterday I read a German article depicting a war of the future between America and Germany, and there we found the Americans, of course, defeated. It was a German who wrote that. If an American had written it the Germans would have been defeated. Defeated how? By a navy of airships. Our great Dreadnoughts were annihilated by a navy of airships. Out of the clouds, before they knew anything about it, came dynamite bombs and other bombs with fearful explo-

sions, and that was the end of the American navy. (Laughter.) And so we have to join in the mad race to build the latest inventions, lest we be found not fully equipped for the contest which is to come.

Now, if you have navies and airships you are just in the position of a boy that has a pistol. He wants to see it go off occasionally, for why should he have a pistol? If he carries that pistol with him he is very apt to draw the pistol and shoot it, and sometimes to forget that that pistol is charged. And so with the navy-armed nations; they must use that navy sometimes, for they are a fearful investment. They are sent out on missions of friendship, and suppose they land in Japan and some Japanese takes affront at the appearance of the navy, and he, in a moment of ill-considered wrath, proceeds from murmuring to blows. Then we will have international complications, and then, of course, we must use these navies, for why did we build them? We have the pistol like the boy has the pistol, and we must see the pistol go off. Sometimes we come out victoriously, but occasionally the game might be played the other way and we might have to pay for it. It is a very dangerous game in which we are engaged. It would be much better if we did not have the pistol; we would not get into all sorts of complications then, even at the risk of being called a nation of "mollycoddles." It is better to be a nation of mollycoddles.

What gives us our national strength? What gives us our greatest national strength? The sense of justice, the devotion to liberty, the recognition that we are rich enough in this country not to want possession of other people's land. We still have land enough and will have for many and many a decade. There may be rivalry in commerce, rivalry in industry, but the markets of the world will be open to us all the more readily the less the nations of the world will have to fear that we shall employ our resources to their undoing. How our taxes pile up in consequence of this passion for war! The nations are groaning under a load which they cannot carry much longer, and we have other things to do. We have to fight the white plague; we have to go into our slums and bring daylight to human beings that never had the opportunity to look up at the day star; we have to save little children that never knew the whole of life; we have to do a thousand and

one things, but these things cannot be done, for the navies have devoured our resources, the armies have received large and stupendous sums, and in the meantime men totter to their graves, children go without their mothers' care, and thousands and thousands are left to suffer, and the masses feel that the blood tax is, after all, on them. Rankling discontent strikes deep root in their hearts. They believe that they are treated as though they were merely destined by nature to be food for the cannon, and that the pomp and the glory of war are always tracked by the wrath and the fury of the worst form of social disorganization, anarchy in the truest sense of the word. For war is organized anarchy, and begets its own offspring in individual anarchists.

What is wrong for an individual is wrong for a nation. (Applause.) I cannot conceive that when God said, "Thou shalt not kill," He made a mental reservation in favor of organized men as nations, as regiments, as brigades or as army corps. We have paid enough for this worship at the altar of this Moloch, and we wish by this Congress to create a healthier mental atmosphere.

In one of the books which we of my religion sometimes read I find this story: It was the day after the defeat of the Egyptians, and Miriam and her companions had gone out to sing of the great victory accomplished and to rejoice in the extermination of the enemy; and the angels in heaven, so runs the legend, took up Miriam's song and began to intone the jubilant strains within sound of the very walls where God's own throne was reared. Then from that throne came a heavenly voice of reproof, saying: "The work of My hands, My children, have been drowned in the Red Sea and you would sing songs of joy before me!" That is in the old Hebrew book, a book written, you say, by men who did not know how to fight. It may be not, though they had their Judas Maccabeus; but these men who wrote that book and placed on the lips of God that reproof of the joy in victory won from battlefield knew what is more than to fight, they knew how to suffer. The world did them wrong. For fifty centuries the world lifted up the hand against them and smote them, but they were like the other Jew who said: "Offer the left cheek to the blow when the right cheek has been struck." To that they were true. They suffered courageously, heroically, and while they were not fighters

with the weapons of iron, they were champions of the right by their patience, by their persistence; and this is the highest glory, for righteousness' sake you may suffer, for righteousness will triumph and law and justice are not empty ideas. They are the pillars on which God's throne rests, and the nations may come to that throne, and God, through law and justice, will decide their disputes, and the day will come when swords will be turned into plowshares and lances into pruning hooks. (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN BARNES:

When the Cornell University desired a great president and when the leader of our nation in the time of a great peril desired wise counsel on one of the most important commissions ever formed, that of the Philippines; when the officers of the Second National Peace Congress wished for a wise statesman to express their views—the same man was chosen. The wisdom of the choice we all recognize. It gives us great pleasure to listen to words from President Jacob Gould Schurman of Cornell University. (Applause.)

Forces Which Make for Peace

PRESIDENT JACOB G. SCHURMAN.

Brother Burdette has already told you something about Cornell University. He says—and he is a clergyman—that it is easier to get into the army than into Cornell University, because to get into the army you need to have some physique, you need to know something, and you need to have some character. Well, if this were not a peace meeting—(laughter)—all I can say is I am sorry that Brother Burdette was never a member of the Cornell athletic team or worked in a Cornell class room, and had a chance to get “busted out,” as the boys say, or worked and prayed in the Cornell Christian Association. He perhaps under those circumstances would have had a different idea of the institution.

But my own experience, as suggested by his remark, convinces me of the truth of his saying that men are fighting animals. We are all fighting animals. He and Brother Hirsch are right; it is in the blood. We have inherited it from countless generations of ancestors.

Fifty years ago this spring there was published a book in which was written, I suppose, for all time the history of the animal world. It was proved from a wealth of knowledge drawn from many fields that animal life was a series of struggles and of slaughter; struggle for life and survival of the cunningest and the strongest. And for my own part I have no doubt that we human beings in our biological history have walked the way of the animals, as we have in common with them our appetites and our instincts. But if man be merely a higher animal, and human history, too, be merely a struggle for life and the survival of the strongest and the cunningest, human life is not worth living. Man has in him something which takes him beyond the life of the animals, and because he has in him that element of things nobler and diviner it is possible for men to say what Brother Hirsch and Brother Burdette have said, that we need to change man radically, that we need to alter his habits and modes of looking at history and of human life. It is possible, because while man on the physical side does share his life with the animals and partakes of their history, on the moral and mental side he is infinitely above them and has kinship with the divine. All our life, whether as individuals or as nations, is an effort to emerge from animality and progress toward divinity; to "let the ape and tiger die and rise on steps of our dead selves to higher things." (Applause.)

I therefore feel the utmost sympathy with the work of this Peace Congress. I feel that its claims have been adequately presented to this audience, their sympathies have been appealed to, their sense of reason challenged, but there is one aspect of the subject of which little has been said, and to that I shall confine my remarks.

Since our life is this progress from these lower to these higher things, I asked myself what progress we are actually making toward that state of things when war shall disappear and the nations be brothers all the world around.

I think at the outset there are many things most discouraging to contemplate. You see how, in certain emergencies, whole nations lose their heads, become creatures of passion and rush unnecessarily into war. In modern times the press reflects these sentiments, and we have the assurance of Bismarck, who said in

1877 or 1878, that the three last great wars of Europe had been caused by the press. Reference has been made tonight to our war with Spain. Does any sane man doubt that if we, the American people, had kept our heads cool and our consciences serene, and allowed President McKinley and his representative in Spain, General Woodford, and the Queen of Spain, those three, to have settled the trouble with Spain and Cuba, it could not have been settled to the satisfaction of the people of the United States and the entire civilized world? (Applause.)

And so when we talk of the glories of peace and the horrors of war, we may blame ourselves for our part in permitting or causing some wars. And so I turn to forces in the world which seem to me to be making for peace, sometimes in spite of the nations.

Look, for instance, ladies and gentlemen, at the tremendous strain which preparations for war are today putting upon all the greatest nations of the world. Senator Hale recently said in the United States Senate that two-thirds of all the revenues of the United States were used to pay for past wars or to prepare for future wars. In England the case is still more striking. In the last four or five years a British Liberal Government has paid off about one-tenth of the enormous national debt of three billion eight hundred million dollars; but within the last three days it has become necessary to change that healthful financiering. Additional supplies for naval purposes are called for, and the British Chancellor of the Exchequer said the other day in the House of Commons that not to vote these munitions for these supplies would be not liberalism but ruination.

And how is the money raised? The taxes on incomes are to be enormously increased; inheritance taxes and death duties are to be so raised that the British treasury will hereafter take one-fourth of the largest estates. If this thing goes on one, two, three years, the richest nations in the world will reel and stagger under the financial loads, and I think of the text of Scripture, "God makes the wrath of man to praise Him." The cost of war is becoming so terrible, falling so heavily on the propertied classes, that these people who have been in the past pre-eminently the jingoes are likely to become champions of the gospel of Peace. (Applause.)

Do you realize that in Europe as a whole you have six millions of men under arms withdrawn from industrial pursuits, and that the cost of the armies for Europe alone is between six and seven billions of dollars a year? How can nations stand this extravagance in their revenues? The limit of possibility is not only near, but it is at hand.

Then, secondly, the laboring classes are becoming the champions of peace. (Applause.) And they become apostles of peace more and more just in proportion as their intelligence and education grow, and they see that the burden of war falls pre-eminently on them. War disorganizes industry, it increases the number of the unemployed. Somehow or other the people who have property can pull through, but the horrors of war for the wage earner, the man who lives from hand to mouth, cannot be depicted or often imagined.

Therefore, ladies and gentlemen, it is to my mind no strange thing that that large portion of the wage-earning class, particularly in Germany, who have become socialists, are as socialists wedded to the doctrine of universal peace. They are ready to renounce nationalism in the interests of international peace and good will, at least so far as the laboring classes are concerned. (Applause.) I am no socialist. In the economic sphere I think socialism has crudities and impossibilities, but in this sphere I recognize it as a great international moral force and I thank God for it.

Thirdly, there is another reason. There is another force at work making for international peace and good will, and that is the growing intercourse between the nations. We, thanks to the immigrants who have come to us from nearly all the countries of Europe, and thanks also to the traveling habit of our people, are reasonably acquainted with European countries, and war with any of them becomes more and more impossible. Suppose, for instance, a trouble arose between our government and the German government. I do not see a cloud on the horizon, but imagine such a case. Why, the fact that we have millions of Germans under the Stars and Stripes would strongly move, if it did not morally compel, both governments to find a peaceful solution of the question. The more you know of other people and other nations the better you understand them, the keener your sympathy is with

them, the higher your appreciation of them, and the more impossible war becomes, and I apply that to our relations with the East.

I know something of race antagonism. It is out of the question to speak of any commingling of Asiatic races with Americans, and as China and Japan keep their territories for Chinese and Japanese, so the United States will keep its territory for the white man, and not only the United States, but all North America and South America, too. But, given those limitations, why cannot each nation respect the rights of the other, and treat with one another as individual gentlemen from the nations concerned would do? For my own part, I have no doubt that as travelers and missionaries and scholars and sages go from one country to the other, they will come to get a new insight into the foreign people and make the relations of the two governments more humane than they have ever been before. Intercourse at first makes us acquainted with the differences between other peoples and ourselves. That is the present stage of our relations with the Orient. The next stage will be, the growing intercourse will make us more thoroughly acquainted with them and we will come to appreciate what we have in common with them and what they have in common with us; underneath differently colored skins and behind different ideals and different practices we will come to recognize common members of the same great brotherhood of mankind. (Applause.)

And so, ladies and gentlemen, with these forces at work I feel the cause of peace is being advanced, being advanced not only by peace societies, but what I might call economic, physical and psychological laws and forces. But do not misunderstand me. I do not trust solely to them. The moral progress of mankind in every sphere is assured by man's forming high ideals and hugging them; never letting them go, warming them in his bosom, proclaiming them in season and out of season. Thus the ideals tend to realize themselves in the facts of the world; and they tend thus to realize themselves because these ideals of peace, of brotherliness, of justice, of gentlemanly conduct, are in harmony with the forces that hold the world together and bind it to the throne of God. (Applause.)

After the singing of hymns and the benediction, the meeting stood adjourned.

THE CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

“RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT”

Monday Afternoon, May 3, at 2 o'clock

ORCHESTRA HALL

HON. ROBERT TREAT PAINE, Presiding.

The opening session of the Second National Peace Congress was called to order by Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Chairman of the Executive Committee. The audience rose and joined in singing the opening hymn, after which Hon. Robert Treat Paine took the chair.

America Should Lead

HON. ROBERT TREAT PAINE.

Some power which the world will heed must take the initiative in proposing peace to the world. We meet here in Chicago in hopes that Chicago will move the United States to take this initiative, for which the whole world waits.

Action of this character has in it a little noble audacity. When the world was weary of the bloody fight between Japan and Russia, at last America made bold to intervene. Remember how cordially the world approved and how this intervention was sustained till at last it triumphed and Peace triumphed over War. President Roosevelt felt the sympathy of the whole civilized world rally behind him in its support.

Even so for a long time the world has condemned the mad policy of war. Rare outbreaks of actual war occur, yet all peoples are coming to condemn the folly of perpetually increasing preparation. The cost of this annual burden is bankrupting the nations. The wealth of the world refuses any longer to be wasted. Some nation, some power must take the initiative in proposing, in urging a scheme by which peace may banish war.

The Second Hague Conference with its glorious union of all the forty-four nations on earth could not quite agree on the details of the Supreme Court of Nations drafted by Hon. James Brown Scott, to whom was entrusted that great task by our American deputation under the lead of our own Joseph H. Choate. But this world scheme cannot long be delayed. With the concurrence and support of the powers of the world a scheme will soon be ready.

The next step should be to have America speak up and ask the concurrence of the world.

How can the men of peace induce America to lead? This is the task and privilege of Chicago. Now let Chicago speak. Let the power of Chicago be felt under a compelling influence starting from this great series of meetings. Well may we hope that Chicago will incite the power of our Nation to boldly *take the lead* in inducing the nations of the world to unite in a scheme of peace which shall banish war.

Welcome to the State

HON. CHARLES S. DENEEN, Governor of Illinois.

It is a pleasure to me to welcome, in behalf of the people of Illinois, the delegates to the Second National Peace Congress. I can assure you that the interest which is felt by enlightened citizenship all over the world in the progress of the movement which this Congress represents is fully shared by the citizens of our state, and that whatever may be accomplished here to realize the objects for which your organization is laboring will be regarded by them as a real contribution to the world's progress.

To the citizens of our state, as to Americans generally, the ideal for which you are laboring, the settlement of international difficulties by arbitration and the consequent doing away with war, is familiar. It is involved in the principle enunciated by Washington for the guidance of our intercourse with other nations, "Friendly relations with all, entangling alliances with none," and in that declaration of national policy known as the Monroe Doctrine, which have become perhaps the most firmly rooted of our national articles of faith and have passed into a tradition of the American people.

And our course as a nation has conformed to a marked degree to these principles. While our history has not been free from war, I think it may be justly said it has been free from wars of aggression. The great wars in which we have engaged have been wars to maintain some recognized principle of civil liberty, such as that for which our revolutionary fathers struggled; to maintain our national integrity, as in the Civil War, or to champion the cause of an oppressed people, as in the Spanish-American War.

War is abhorrent to the sense of civilized humanity. And yet war is one of the great facts of the world's history, and even while gatherings like this are striving for international peace there come to us from far-away Turkey echoes of war and revolution, of the breaking down of an old regime and the forcible imposition of a new order of things. It is doubtless true that the old order was one of force and that the order which seeks to displace it promises to be one of comparative enlightenment and of constitutional government. But the struggle which has had so happy an outcome in Turkey illustrates as well perhaps as any other the undeniable truth that the peace which is worth having may need to be fought for and must come after, not before, the just recognition of rights and responsibilities. It is to this truth that history has so often owed the anomaly that the greatest friends of peace have been obliged by the untoward course of events to wage some of the greatest wars. Young as we are as a nation, we have been taught that lesson, and our own history furnishes one of the most striking and one of the most deplorable examples of this anomaly. I speak, of course, of the Civil War and of the causes which led the benevolent and pacific Lincoln to declare the existence of war between the North and South. And yet Lincoln, a martyr to his country and to the cause of liberty, entered upon that conflict with the declaration, "We must not be enemies, but friends," waged it "with charity for all, with malice toward none," and almost with his latest breath prayed that "the mighty scourge of war might speedily pass away."

And so the great general, Grant, the leader of our armies, the soldier who, so long as war lasted, pursued the relentless policy of closing in upon the enemy and crushing him by his superior weight, gave expression, no doubt, to the deepest feeling of his heart in his famous utterance, "Let us have peace."

In our own day we still happily find the great leaders of American thought and statesmanship the friends and champions of peace. There is none of us but remembers the reluctance of President McKinley to open hostilities with Spain and the manifest pleasure with which he hailed the return of peace. And to no man in this generation, perhaps, is the cause of peace more indebted than to President Roosevelt, whose conspicuous services in the settlement of the Russo-Japanese War led to his recognition throughout the world as "The Great Peacemaker," an honor which is prized by his country as one of its noblest distinctions.

Undoubtedly our comparative isolation and freedom from entanglement in European and Asiatic affairs contributed much to the success of President Roosevelt's intervention, but so steadfast has been our adherence to a non-aggressive policy, so thoroughly alien is the idea of conquest or oppression to the American temperament and American statesmanship, that I cannot but believe that the entrance of the United States into world politics will wield a powerful influence in favor of the peace program. This, I think, must be the general effect of our freer participation in world affairs and of the expansion of our commerce, everywhere the precursor of friendly relations, quite aside from any effort we may put forth for peace promotion.

It is inspiring to think that while all the silent forces of progress are making for peace, the movement is given powerful momentum and definite direction, aim and purpose by great organizations like this which gather together the scattered forces and unite them in one mighty effort to put an end to war, to stamp out this great scourge of the world, and to recognize in the settlement of international difficulties the same equitable and righteous principles of justice which obtain in the adjudication of difficulties between man and man.

I trust that you will find your sojourn in Illinois a pleasant one, and that the labors of this Congress will contribute in a large measure to the advancement of the cause of peace here and elsewhere.

CHAIRMAN PAINE:

We had hoped this afternoon to have listened to his Honor, Fred A. Busse, mayor of Chicago, but in his absence I have the pleasure of presenting to you Mr. Edgar A. Bancroft.

Welcome to the City of Chicago

EDGAR A. BANCROFT.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND DELEGATES TO THE SECOND NATIONAL PEACE CONGRESS—LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: At the request of Mayor Busse, and in his name, I extend to you, on behalf of the City of Chicago, most cordial welcome. You have not chosen this city as your meeting place because of its quiet and peaceful air. I trust you have not selected it because of its need of pacification. The purpose of this Congress, I take it, is not to abolish conflict between either individuals or nations, but to lift all those conflicts from the brutish and physical level to the mental and moral plane. Chicago, in its brief life, typifies this upward progress of the race. Man's original struggle was to maintain life; first, by rude means and hard toil, to compass the bare necessities, and later, by skill and less toil, to gain more of comfort and joy. As mind came to play a larger part in the battle of existence, mental exercises and pleasures entered more and more into life. Slowly and by infinite pains the endeavor was not so much to protect the body and escape things feared—hunger and cold and death—as to develop the intellect and obtain things desired—knowledge, mental power and the joys of a finer and higher living. So Chicago has achieved all that industry and enterprise and persistence and courage have ever done for material enlargement. She has won the fierce battle for predominant commercial and industrial power in the heart of this continent; she has lifted herself out of this swamp corner of the lake and laid abiding foundations of material greatness in its sands. But her pride is not in these, because these have in them no self-preserving and self-perpetuating power. Her pride is in her schools of learning and art, in her public museums and parks and playgrounds, her intelligent and patriotic artisans and artists, and above all—because the creator of all—in the alert and generous public spirit and ambition of her citizens. For them, and to them, Chicago bids you welcome. It wishes the stimulus and encouragement, the larger hope, of a congress of men and women who give sympathetic ears to the still, sad music of humanity; who love

peace because war is brutal and inhumane, and lays burdens upon the souls of men as well as upon their lives and property.

We meet not with any notion that all contest and struggle are to end, and that we can soon bring in the age of the Golden Rule. Why should nations be less humane and intelligent and fair than are its citizens? Their contests, far more than between individuals, should be fought out with those fine and subtle weapons of mind and judgment and conscience, and with better and kindlier and more chivalrous motives than have yet inspired even the wars called glorious.

When wars between nations end, the cessation of blood and carnage is not the last phase; but the results of the struggle are definitely determined by unarmed men in the deliberations of the conference room. Why should not such deliberations precede the appeal to arms, and thus prevent it? You come as ambassadors of humanity, as students of the vital forces of civilization, to consider means for ending the wastefulness of war, the social, commercial and individual demoralization; and to give to the restless and aspiring energies of youth ideals of peace that challenge and reward, beyond all military conflicts, deeds of chivalry and high emprise. Therefore Chicago gives you hearty welcome and joins with you in seeking the humane and uplifting battles and victories of peace.

Welcome by the Reception Committee

REV. A. EUGENE BARTLETT, CHAIRMAN.

Comrades, journeying toward the land of eternal peace, I hail and greet you. Good travelers oft stop upon their journey to make inquiry as to the roads that lie before them. So we with the best of judgment are pausing here in this city of the Central West, to take counsel together concerning the way that lies before us ere we reach that fair land of brotherly love and abiding peace.

The reception committee of which I have the honor to be the chairman has done what it could to add to your comfort and convenience. I remember visiting the little church on the Island of Marken, that lies like an emerald on the Zuyder Zee, and finding the seats in that church of the fishermen numbered with such large figures that a man going to church could see, if the win-

dows happened to be open, his own number as soon as he glimpsed the church itself. We have taken a hint from those fishermen of Marken and have tagged with large letters all the things we thought you might desire, so that you may quickly find them.

We have equipped our Information Bureau not only to pilot you around this hall but also to assist you in finding your way about the city. We believe that wars grow out of misunderstandings and that strife here at home may be traced back to the same cause. We think that Chicago has been misunderstood. She has been thought of in some sections of our land as big in vice and crude in manners. If that is the impression of any delegate in this Congress, we feel that it is a part of our duty to aid in correcting it. We do not deny that vice still exists in our city, but we are big in virtues and big in determination to be better than we are. You will find that we are growing not only big but beautiful, and that here there is a vigorous campaign to bring in righteousness and peace.

Our welcome extends not simply to the use of conveniences here installed and to means of easy access about the city, but we welcome you also to the serious work of the Congress. Large have been the expenditures; but we expect you to do your work so faithfully that the achievements of this gathering will be immeasurably greater than its expenditures. We want this meeting to be one of splendid enthusiasm. Again and again we want this hall to echo with your applause. Sublime sentiments will be voiced here and they are worthy of your heartiest manifestations of approval. We are gathered in the Central West, where it is not a breach of etiquette to express one's feelings. There is a tendency throughout our country to applaud epaulets and brass bands and to treat in cold, inhospitable fashion the great movements that make for the redemption of mankind. We are far more likely to get excited over a ball game than a good sermon. (I am a minister, so I may make the comparison.) We prepare brilliant receptions for our returning armies and turn over the freedom of our cities to the returning fleet, but sadly neglect the men and women of America who are fighting the long, hard battles of peace. Let the welkin ring with your shouts of encouragement to these workers who are striving to bring to the world's

remembrance that command that God gave to Moses long ago and which never yet has been abrogated, "Thou shalt not kill."

Enthusiasm is needed in this movement, but it should be more than the expression of appreciation. Enthusiasm is the power of God working in the lives of men. It not only talks; it works. It descends from head to hands and feet. The Fourth of July which ends when the last rocket goes off is not an entire success. Independence Day should mean more patriotism as well as more noise. We welcome you to a serious work. Resolutions are easily written and promptly passed; but they are not sufficient unto themselves. They help in the formulation of public opinion, but they need to be followed up with systematic work. This Congress must be more than a spasmodic expression of protest against war and a resolution that disarmament would be desirable. It should inaugurate a still more effective campaign of education of the people in the interests of permanent and world-wide peace. The American Peace Society has long arms for service, but it is asking a good deal of her to reach across the continent from Boston to San Francisco. There ought to be here in Chicago, the great radiating center of the West, a branch office of the Society, with its superintendent and clerical force. The western superintendent would go out to the cities and towns and carry this message of peace to those not here—would carry the inspiration of this Congress to the scattered communities of the West. If this Congress would assure the American Peace Society of its support of such an office it would be practically expressing its faith in this work, and the cause would be advanced not only in Chicago but throughout America.

The informal reception which we have arranged for this afternoon is part of our welcome for you, and we hope that it may be the means of beginning some real friendships among the lovers of peace. Friendship has sometimes been dragged in the dust of commercialism; let us resurrect it. Make yourself friends among the workers for the kingdom; and through the thought of universal peace come nearer to each other, for peace is first of all to men of good will.

Roosevelt was once speaking down on Long Island, when he spied a forlorn little crippled girl away on the outskirts of the crowd. Around him were multitudes of men and boys, jostling

each other for a chance to see and hear him. He saw the disappointed expression on her face. What chance had she to reach him through that struggling crowd! Then without a word to any one, Roosevelt left the platform and pushed his way through the crowd to the little girl, and took her hand in both his own and gave her a warm-hearted greeting. I want this afternoon to emulate his example and let the welcome of this committee extend to all who have gathered here. Welcome to the diplomats and statesmen, to the foreign envoys and ambassadors. You greatly honor the cause as well as ourselves by your presence. Lend always the weight of your influence to this new and better way of settling disputes. But our welcome reaches to the very last row of seats; it extends to every plain man and woman come here to this Congress. The burdens of war are borne mostly by the common people, and in the end the verdict of war or peace must rest with the rank and file of the people. No one is left out of our welcome this afternoon.

There was a minister down in Iowa who began by preaching a five-minute sermon to the children before his regular sermon, and the people liked them so well that they asked him if he wouldn't preach them five-minute sermons, too. I take a hint from the parson out in Iowa and close my address of welcome with a hearty Godspeed to you all.

At the conclusion of Mr. Bartlett's address, the following occurred:

MR. MELENDY:

I have many and very interesting letters, some of which I may take occasion to read to you during the congress, but just now I shall read one letter, which I have the honor to present, namely, the message of greeting from the President of the United States. (Applause.)

Letter from the President of the United States

THE WHITE HOUSE,

WASHINGTON, April 28, 1909.

MY DEAR SIR:

I greatly regret that I am unable to attend the coming National Peace Congress at Chicago and there to express my

earnest sympathy with the object of the assembling of so many distinguished men in the interest of world peace. That progress has been made in the matter of peace everywhere by international action and by the moral pressure of the peoples of the earth, anyone who has examined the record must admit. It is true that armaments go on increasing in cost, but it is also true that the burdens presented by this competition in armament are growing heavier and heavier, and the problems for solution consistent with their increase become more and more difficult. The possibilities of war now arising come chiefly from irresponsibilities of government, and in those countries where stability of internal control is lacking. The United States has contributed much to the cause of peace by assisting countries weak in respect to their internal government so as to strengthen in them the cause of law and order. This relationship of guardian and ward as between nations and countries, in my judgment, helps along the cause of international peace and indicates progress in civilization. The policy of the United States in avoiding war under all circumstances except those plainly inconsistent with honor or its highest welfare has been made so clear to the world as hardly to need statement at my hands. I can only say that so far as my legitimate influence extends while at the head of this government, it will always be exerted to the full in favor of peace, not only as between this country and other countries, but as between our sister nations.

WILLIAM H. TAFT.

Letter from South American Association of Universal Peace

BUENOS AIRES, March 30, 1909.

I have had the satisfaction of receiving your letter, in which you were kind enough to invite me to the Second Congress which is to be held in Chicago on the 26th to the 28th of April next.

I am very much impressed by the honor which you are bestowing upon me by this invitation, which will strengthen our sympathies with the center of opinion over there.

I consider the resolutions which will be adopted at this coming congress, composed of persons who are inspired by the fruitful results of peace, of the highest importance for the ends which we pursue. The association which I have the honor to

preside over complies with a duty by expressing its adherence to said principles and by seconding your action.

As it is not possible for me to be present in your assembly, I take the liberty to offer you a few lines which will express my thoughts in its bosom or in the minutes of its sessions.

In my character as president and founder of the South American Association of Universal Peace, as well as initiator of the first international monument erected to the peace of the world—the Christ of the Andes—I desire to express in the annexed pages my sentiments, which are those which animate all the members of this association and in general all the inhabitants of South America who build their hopes on the maintenance of the undisturbed peace of the nations.

I give my best greetings to you, Mr. Secretary.

ANGELA DE OLIVEIRA CEZAR DE COSTA,

President South American Association of Universal Peace.

To the Secretary of the Congress in Chicago, Mr. Royal Loren Melendy.

LETTER SENT TO THE SECOND ANNUAL PEACE CONGRESS IN CHICAGO, BY THE PRESIDENT AND FOUNDER OF THE SOUTH AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSAL PEACE, SENORA ANGELA DE OLIVEIRA CEZAR DE COSTA.

BUENOS AIRES, March 13, 1909.

TO THE HONORABLE CONGRESS:

Gentlemen—"The utopia of today will be the reality of tomorrow, because the human ideal is the truth seen from afar," was said by a French thinker when alluding to the republican aspirations of his country, which now for over forty years has been an immovable reality in the country of Thiers and Victor Hugo.

The idea of universal peace is the work of these generous Utopians who for nearly half a century have been smiled at with scorn by practical men, and has only been the subject of epigram and caricature, but at the bottom of this poetical ideal there was an eternal truth: Human solidarity and fraternity, which condemn in principle the employment of force and violence as a

means for consecrating the right and realizing justice in the world.

The civilizing progress in its incessant march towards absolute truth in the infinity of time shows that the utopia of yesterday is realized in a near future.

While the people were isolating themselves within their political and commercial frontiers, the national sentiment was an egotistical individualism which allowed them to look on as spectators at the international duels.

The rapidity of communication by land and sea, while suppressing time and distance, has produced the solidarity of the economical interests and brings nearer the ideal of human solidarity.

The nations, brought together and bound together by the interchange of their work, live from each others' products, so that the ruin or prosperity of any nation influences the interests and the fates of the others.

War destroys lives and wealth and disturbs the regular movement of commercial circulation; it is a human calamity wherever it appears, and this being true, it is the moral duty of all nations to intercede in international conflicts of a warlike character, for the purpose of preventing war and its disastrous evils.

The principle of arbitration, which is the practical formula of universal peace, has already been incorporated in international law, but it has only a voluntary character, and all that is necessary to make universal peace a complete reality is that said arbitration be made obligatory and effective by the tribunal of nations in the concert of civilization.

The idea of universal peace, if it is not a perpetual reality, has at least ceased to be a fantastic utopia; it occupies and pre-occupies all thinking people in the world as the highest *desideratum* of the present time.

The telegraph has recently communicated to us the articles published in France by the ex-President, Mr. Loubet, and the opinions pronounced in the United States by the Secretary of State, Mr. Root, stimulating the zeal of all men of good will in favor of a prompt realization of the "universal peace," of which they declare the advent to be inevitable. To suppress war with

all its horrors—could a greater and more transcendental benefit be conferred on humanity?

Also in South America the thought of peace makes rapid progress in public opinion, and the voluntary arbitration has been made a fact and been consummated between the Republics of Argentine and Chile, the glorious result being that we see placed on the dividing line of these two countries the first international monument erected for the peace of the world.

"The Christ of the Andes" is the best sentinel for guarding the frontiers, and is an example of fraternity and a perpetual remembrance of the peace sworn.

This monument, standing there amongst the high summits, solitary amongst the snows, surrounded by the torches of the volcanoes, is an altar on which the human caravan will deposit its offerings of hope, love and peace.

I also have gone thither, surrounded by pilgrims, to join in the hymn of hope, bearing the standard ensign of the "South American Association of Universal Peace," to plant the same at its feet and consecrate it as a symbol of peace.

From these far-away regions we therefore join your honorable congress and in the name of all the members we greet and applaud all the peacemakers which will be united over there for such humanitarian and great ideas and lifting up on high our white standard of peace, we greet with an immense hurrah, which will reach North America and reverberate with its echoes to the mountains of the Andes, bringing us glad tidings of the triumphs and conquests which have been acquired for the good of humanity.

ANGELA DE OLIVEIRA CEZAR DE COSTA.

SEAL:

SOUTH AMERICAN ASSOCIATION
OF UNIVERSAL PEACE.

FOUNDED IN BUENOS AIRES,
1908.

CHAIRMAN PAINE:

At the Second Hague Conference a petition was presented by Miss Eckstein, of Boston, with some two million names upon it. Miss Eckstein has prepared another petition, which we hope will be very largely signed and circulated, ready for the Third Hague Conference. I have the pleasure of presenting Miss Eckstein. (Applause.)

A World Petition to the Third Hague Conference

MISS ANNA B. ECKSTEIN

The world-petition is the outcome of a pressing need, a democratic duty, a practical experiment and an idea concerning national integrity and honor. The pressing need is the abolition of war and substitution of pacific means for the settlement of international difficulties. It is the most pressing of all needs of today for two reasons: First, because preparation for war has grown so expensive that it is driving the nations with alarming rapidity toward the abyss of bankruptcy; and, second, because war itself has become ineffective as a means of deciding international controversies, since a war between two of the leading Powers today would mean mutual economic ruin before a decisive victory and defeat could be reached.

The democratic duty is the duty evolving from the democratic right now enjoyed by most peoples, to have a voice in the shaping of their national and international affairs. It is the duty to exercise this right.

The practical experiment is the arbitration petition presented to His Excellency President Nélidow of the Second Hague Conference by the president of the American Peace Society, Hon. Robert T. Paine, and myself on the Fourth of July year before last. In the short time of hardly five months that petition had two million signatures from the United States, and in about five weeks it had several hundred thousand from Great Britain and Germany, thanks to the ready and unselfish co-operation of peace friends here and abroad. Collecting these signatures proved that even the indifferent and skeptics will see that the

wish for the abolition of war is no longer futile, and once seeing, they will do their duty, which is to manifest that wish. In other words, collecting these signatures proved that almost everybody wishes the abolition of war, and that to obtain an expression of this universal wish is a thing which can be done.

But after all it is not the people alone who shape their national and international laws, and therefore another question is: Are the responsible leaders of the governments in earnest about the abolition of war, when everywhere every year new millions upon millions of dollars are demanded for continued preparation for war? Will a petition, even if it represents a majority world vote, do any good?

When I was at The Hague to present the arbitration petition of which I spoke, Dr. Hill, now our United States Ambassador at Berlin, said to me: "Your petition is in the right direction." Mr. Nélidow, during the generous audience he granted Mr. Paine and me, said the same thing, and further, among many other interesting things, he said this: "We are not for one moment losing sight of the original and ultimate object—the reduction of armament—for which my sovereign, His Majesty the Czar of Russia, first invited the governments to meet in joint consultation. But, as in any disease it is of little use to treat the symptoms, so the attempts have shown that it is futile to spend our energies on plans for a simultaneous reduction of armaments, because armaments are only the symptoms of the disease of civilization. We must go deeper. We must concentrate forces on the removal of the cause of the disease, which is war. This is what we are doing now. And I wish to say to you, and wish to say it with the strongest emphasis, that every new day of the Conference I see more proofs of the deep and devoted earnestness and sincerity with which all the plenipotentiaries of the nations gathered here are working on the solution of this great and difficult problem."

All of us here, I am sure, also remember the magnificent address in which Baron Marschall von Bieberstein announced that the German government will promote, by all possible means, international arbitration. And we all remember that the plenipotentiaries of the forty-four governments of the world signed, before leaving The Hague a year ago last October, the article in favor of the principle of arbitration.

So we see the responsible leaders of the world's governments are with us.

And yet, as the result of their ardent and arduous work during the four months of the Second Hague Conference, only very few points were considered suitable and safe for settlement by arbitration, but unsafe all points of "vital interest and honor." And were these statesmen not right? Did they not prove their wisdom and sense of responsibility? Indeed, we need not make a profound study of the international situation of today to perceive that the life of every nation, weak or strong, civilized or uncivilized, would be far from being securely protected by international arbitration in its present state of development; and we must concede that the life and honor of a nation are as sacred as the life and honor of the individual. Law allows the individual to kill in self-defense. This applied to nations means the keeping up of armies and navies for the emergency of national self-defense. But does this mean that armies and navies must be kept up and increased indefinitely? Does it mean that the abolition of war is an impossibility? No, surely not!

For, while it is not as yet within human power to prevent attack upon the life of every individual, it is a simple matter today to provide absolute immunity from danger by external forces for the life of the forty-four nations. All that is required is that the plenipotentiaries of the forty-four nations, when meeting at The Hague for the Third Conference, sign a convention establishing a universal law by which no verdict by arbitration in the settlement of any international difficulty shall endanger the self-preservation and just development—in other words, the vital interests—of any nation, nor its honor; the honor of a nation being distinctly defined as the protection by a nation of its own self-preservation and development without infringing upon the conditions necessary for the self-preservation of other nations.

This single international law, which will be as reasonable and easy to make as the laws concerning the international arrangements for postal and telegraph service, this single law will, with one stroke, shift the responsibility for national life and honor from the shoulders of armies and navies and war to the shoulders of fair-play statesmanship and jurisdiction. And with the responsibility must and will go what belongs to it: the

financial and brain support which will strengthen and perfect the pacific institutions for the settlement of international controversies; and the causes of such controversies must be minimized by treaties with an arbitration clause, so that the declaration of the abolition of war will be a safe thing to do, and that each nation can safely begin, as it sees fit in its own peculiar case, to reduce armies and navies.

This is the sense and purport of the world-petition. It asks the governments of the Third Hague Conference to sign conventions pledging:

1. The establishment of a universal law by which a decision by pacific means of any international difficulty shall in no case endanger the self-preservation and just development—*i. e.*, the vital interests and honor—of any nation.

2. Removal of the causes of war by regulating in speedy succession all international interests by conventions and treaties, each with clause insuring pacific settlement of any difficulty that may arise from said arrangements.

3. Settlement by pacific means of all difficulties arising from any international interest not yet covered by convention or treaty with pacific clause.

And now I ask you, friends, will you not vote for the resolution, which will be presented to you in due time during our Congress, requesting the signatory powers to the Hague Conventions to place on the program of the Third Hague Conference these three points for consideration? And will you not do your part to make the world-petition, which already has between four and five million signatures, represent a majority world vote when it is submitted to the Third Hague Conference by, as I trust it will be, a large delegation of the noblest peace workers from all the lands of our earth.

You will find the world-petition blanks, and "letters to the signers" giving directions, in the reception room. Don't merely sign the petition, but take home with you as many blanks as you can place among your individual friends, in your church, clubs or any organizations where each petition blank will form the nucleus of new circles of signers and distributors.

Just give your imagination full rein for a minute or two and see what it will mean when these three points shall have been

placed upon the program of the Third Hague Conference, and when conventions pledging agreement to these three points shall have been signed by the plenipotentiaries of the forty-four nations.

It will mean the solution and disappearance of that whole line of subtle questions as to which kinds of wholesale murder, cruelty and piracy shall be allowed during war and which shall be forbidden. For what sense would there be in any longer trying to regulate and mitigate war after war is abolished? It will put an end to all the moral mischief done by duping people into the belief that a war is imminent every time a bill for building more warships or for increase in armies is before a parliament, because then all people, not only some, will know better; it will mean that these bills will gradually grow fewer and smaller, and that in proportion with the reduction of the nameless waste involved by standing armies and navies, sums upon sums of money and the physical and mental power of thousands and eventually millions of the finest specimens of men will be turned from destructive channels to help solve the new political and legal problems and the problems of hygiene, education and unemployment; it will mean the positive decrease of the sum total of suffering and hideousness inflicted upon man by man, and the steadfast increase of the sum total of happiness and beauty. Did ever tournament of old, did ever struggle for national independence hold out the peer of such a prize?

But no prize of tournament or struggle for national liberty was ever won without noble and heroic effort and sacrifice. These are needed today. Nothing dies without making a last desperate fight for existence. The War-Moloch, the mighty ruler of the past, is making this last desperate fight for existence now, and every man's and woman's sacrifice of time, strength and money is needed; every man and woman must make a noble and heroic effort if we would win the larger liberty of all mankind from the tyranny of war, if we would win the prize of the victory of the Prince of Peace.

At the conclusion of Miss Eckstein's paper, Chairman Paine introduced Dr. Benjamin F. Trueblood, Secretary of the American Peace Society.

The Present Position of the International Peace Movement

DR. BENJAMIN F. TRUEBLOOD

We have met in this Second National Peace Congress in the interests not of an unrealizable dream but of a great already triumphing reform. In a recent magazine article ex-President Loubet of France wrote: "International pacification is not a dream, not an ideal from cloudland, but a progressive fact observable in every civilized country."

"A progressive fact, observable in every civilized country." No words could more fittingly summarize in a single phrase the present position of the reform which has brought us together. The Peace Movement has passed its theoretical period. It is far along toward the completion of its practical stage. It needs no more a Henry the Fourth with his Great Design, nor a William Penn with his finely wrought judicial plan for the peace of Europe. The Abbé de St. Pierre with his scheme for perpetual peace is no longer our instructor. We have passed Bentham, and Kant with his lofty vision of a world-state; we have even left behind Ladd and Burritt and Sumner and Jay with their splendid dream of a Congress and Court of Nations. The world was asleep when these great pioneers were dreaming their dreams of arbitration, of an international court of arbitral justice, of a congress of nations, of perpetual peace and the true grandeur of nations. It is now awake—a part of it at least—and with swift blows is carving into reality what they saw in the rough stone of humanity.

Let me sketch in the barest outlines what has already been accomplished. The interpretation will take care of itself.

1. The men and women, now a great host, who believe that the day is past when blind brute force should direct the policies of nations and preside at the settlement of their differences are now thoroughly organized. A hundred years ago there was not a society in existence organized to promote appeal to the forum of reason and right in the adjustment of international controversies. Today there are more than five hundred, nearly every

important nation having its group of peace organizations. Their constituents are numbered by tens of thousands, from every rank and class in society—philanthropists, men of trade and commerce, educators and jurists, workingmen, statesmen, rulers even. The organized peace party has its International Peace Bureau at Berne, Switzerland, binding all its sections into one world body. It has its International Peace Congress which has held seventeen meetings in twenty years—congresses over which statesmen now feel it an honor to preside and which are welcomed by kings and presidents with a warmth of interest and a generousness of hospitality scarcely accorded to any other organizations. It has its great national congresses in many countries, like this present one and that in Carnegie Hall, New York, two years ago; and its special conferences like that at Mohonk Lake. It has its unsurpassed banquets and festivals, like that given to the Seventeenth International Peace Congress by the British government in London last July and those recently given by the Peace Society of the City of New York. It has its score and more of special organs of propaganda published in no less than nine different languages. It has its literature, abundant in quantity and high grade in quality, which is now much sought after by intelligent men and women of many callings. In another direction it has its Interparliamentary Peace Union, an organization of statesmen, of legislators, two thousand five hundred of them, many of them among the foremost public men of the time, banded together not for any political purpose but purely to promote international understanding, good feeling and the pacific settlement of international controversies.

It is this far-flung pacific public sentiment of the world, growing constantly, crossing all boundary lines, disregarding all language barriers, organized and having its definite, well digested program, that constitutes the real strength and the promise of the peace movement. Out of this has come all the rest—the limitation and restriction of war, the splendid triumphs of arbitration, the Hague Conferences, the International Court of Arbitration, the beginnings of a World Parliament and of a Supreme Court of the Nations. It is on this intelligent organized public sentiment, to which governments are compelled to listen, that we must still rely absolutely for the accomplishment of what yet remains to be

done to bring the nations to sane and rational relations to each other and to relieve them from the torturing nightmare of militarism, with which they are still obsessed.

2. The position which the peace movement has reached is no less distinctly determined by the practical attainments of arbitration. We are this year celebrating what is really the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of our movement, for it was in 1809 that David L. Dodge, a Christian merchant of New York City, wrote the pamphlet which brought the movement into being, and led six years later to the organization in his parlor in New York of the first Peace Society in the world. There had then been no arbitrations between nations in our modern sense of the word "nations." In the hundred years since 1809 more than two hundred and fifty important controversies have been settled by this means, not to mention an even greater number of less important cases, the settlement of which involved the principle of arbitration. Within the past twenty years so rapid has been the triumph of arbitration that more than one hundred international differences have been disposed of by this means, or between five and six a year for the whole twenty years. Arbitration is no longer an experiment; it is the settled practice of the nations. A score of disputes today go naturally to arbitration where one gives rise even to talk of war.

The First Hague Conference, ten years ago, gave us the Permanent International Court of Arbitration, which has now been in successful operation for about eight years, and disposed of several important controversies. This Court was strengthened and improved by the Second Hague Conference two years ago, and by the admission of the South and Central American states to it has become the arbitration court not of the twenty-six powers that gathered at The Hague in 1899 but of the entire world. This tribunal is now taking practically all the international differences not adjustable by diplomacy. Within a year there have been referred to it the Casa-Blanca dispute between France and Germany, the fisheries controversy between this country and Great Britain, certain questions in controversy between our government and Venezuela, and a dispute between Norway and Sweden. It is not likely that temporary courts of arbitration, which have been so successful during the past century, will ever

be much used again in disposing of differences between nations. The Hague Court has superseded them and made them unnecessary.

Within less than six years more than eighty treaties of obligatory arbitration, stipulating reference to The Hague Court of all questions of a judicial order and those arising in the interpretation of treaties, have been concluded between nations in pairs, twenty-four of which were negotiated the past year by our distinguished ex-Secretary of State Root and ratified by both the President and the Senate. These three-score treaties, with two or three exceptions, are limited, it is true, both in scope and in time. But that they have been made at all, more than eighty of them within the brief period of a little over five years, is the wonder. Arbitration has won its case. No one can doubt this who takes the trouble to acquaint himself with the facts. There remains, in fact, but one further step in its development, and that is the conclusion of a general treaty of obligatory arbitration to be signed by all the nations together, stipulating the reference to the Hague Court of all international differences not capable of solution by diplomacy. A treaty of this order, limited somewhat in scope, came much nearer adoption at the Second Hague Conference than is usually known. Thirty-five of the forty-four delegations voted for it and only five against it, a vote of seven to one, or, by the populations of the nations represented, of more than seven to one, leaving out of account the four powers that abstained from voting and tacitly gave their consent to the proposed convention.

This record made by arbitration is unsurpassed, probably unparalleled, by any other chapter of the history of the progress of civilization during the last hundred years, and before long the wise and learned historians, who have heretofore so largely estimated history by its feuds and battles and slaughters, will find it out.

3. In order to determine further the advanced position which the peace movement has attained on its practical side, the two Hague Conferences and what they have accomplished must be taken into account. It is still the habit of some persons to speak disparagingly of these great gatherings and their results. Some do it because they are satisfied with nothing short of immediate

perfection; others because they wish the whole movement for the abolition of war to fail. Others do it purely from ignorance.

What have the two Hague Conferences really done toward bringing about that state of world organization and co-operation, the result of which will, as is universally conceded, bring the general peace of the world and final relief from the ruinous burdens of "bloated armaments," because it will establish the reign of law among the nations as it now prevails among individuals throughout the civilized world?

I must, for lack of time, forego the task of attempting to interpret the immense significance of some of the special conventions adopted by the Second Hague Conference which exclude warlike operations entirely from certain fields and make war in general much more difficult and less likely to occur at all. In this list fall the convention forbidding the bombardment of unfortified coast cities, towns and ports; that prohibiting the collection of contract debts from a debtor nation by force until arbitration has first been tried or refused; that rendering the international mail service inviolable, fishing vessels and vessels charged with religious, scientific and philanthropic missions exempt from capture; that prescribing a declaration of war before hostilities are begun; those concerning the rights and duties of neutrals in land war and naval war; that placing severe restrictions on the laying of submarine mines; that providing for the creation of an international prize court; and the declaration prohibiting the discharge of projectiles and explosives from balloons. Most of these conventions, while recognizing war as still, under international law, a legitimate means of attempting to maintain or secure justice in certain emergencies, nevertheless deal it a heavy blow of condemnation as a wild, lawless, cruel institution; and they have extended the reign of law in a very marked way into fields where heretofore brutal lawlessness has reigned. The world will never again fall below the level to which these conventions have lifted it. It is fast rising to a very much higher level.

Now to the real point of the important work of the Conferences.

The First Hague Conference gave us the Permanent International Court of Arbitration, to which twenty-five powers finally became parties by ratification of the convention. This court has

now for eight years been in successful operation, and not less than four controversies have been referred to it during the past year. The Second Hague Conference enlarged and strengthened the convention under which this court was set up, and made the court the tribunal not of twenty-five powers but of all the nations of the world. Though reference of disputes to this tribunal is still in general voluntary, a majority of the important nations have already, by special treaties with each other in pairs, pledged themselves to refer to its jurisdiction all disputes of a judicial order and those arising in the interpretation of treaties. It is reasonable to believe, therefore, that we have arrived at a stage in the development of our movement when there already exists among the nations a substitute for war practically, if not theoretically, adequate for the adjustment of all their disputes, without resort to force, in a way to conserve the honor and vital interests of the separate governments.

Another step of still greater moment was taken by the Second Hague Conference in the direction of providing an adequate substitute for force in the settlement of international differences. It voted without a dissenting delegation for the principle of an International Court of Arbitral Justice, with judges always in service, and holding regular sessions. It failed to agree upon a method of selecting the judges for this high court of the nations, but it laid its plans for the court before the governments and recommended to them the study of the question with a view to arriving at a solution satisfactory alike to the small and the great powers. It is safe to assume that having agreed so thoroughly upon the principle of a world court of justice, the governments will speedily solve the difficulty in regard to the selection of the judges, and that we shall have in a comparatively short time the august tribunal which will render war between the powers of the world scarcely thinkable.

I have already alluded to the manner in which the subject of a general treaty of obligatory arbitration, to be concluded by all the nations jointly, was treated in the Second Hague Conference, and that such a treaty failed by the votes of only five of the powers there represented. To understand the full significance of what was done in this matter, it must be remembered that the Conference voted without a dissenting voice for the principle of obliga-

tory arbitration, and declared that certain disputes—those, for instance, arising in the interpretation of treaties—may be submitted to obligatory arbitration without restriction. The only cause of disagreement on this subject was the unwillingness of one or two powers, notably Germany, to agree to sign a treaty of obligatory arbitration with all the powers, the less advanced as well as the more advanced nations. In this matter, therefore, the Conference can hardly be said to have failed. The solution of the problem was so nearly completely successful that one wonders how there was any failure at all. It seems perfectly certain, therefore, that the day is only a little way off when the nations will carry out completely in practice what they have most cordially and unanimously agreed to in principle, and that a general treaty of obligatory arbitration, pledging the reference to the Hague Court of all disputes except those involving the national life, will speedily be placed on the statute books of the world.

The high-water mark of the work of the Second Hague Conference was reached in its action in regard to future meetings of the Conference. The principle of periodic meetings of the Conference hereafter was approved without a dissenting voice. The date even of the Third Conference was fixed and the governments urged to appoint at least two years in advance an international commission to prepare the program of the meeting. This action means, if approved by the several powers, as it undoubtedly will be, that we are to have hereafter regular meetings of a World Conference. The powers of the Conference will at first be only advisory, but in the very nature of the case its conclusions and recommendations will be very largely adopted, and in this way it will, from the very start, be substantially a legislative world assembly. Its powers will naturally grow and be extended. Here we reach the real position which the peace movement has attained. The promise, therefore, is very large for the years just before us; for when the nations meet representatively at regular periods, and men of the highest ability and experience discuss in a friendly and frank way all of the common problems of the world, the days of war will be numbered, the great armaments which now burden and distract humanity will tumble to pieces, and the era of universal and perpetual peace will have begun. It takes no large vision to see this great consummation realized at no distant time.

Following the address of Dr. Trueblood, Chairman Paine introduced Dean W. P. Rogers, of the Cincinnati Law School.

The Dawn of Universal Peace

DEAN WILLIAM P. ROGERS

We are to be congratulated upon the fact that the distinguished Secretary of War pays to us the signal honor of acting as president of this Congress, even though he is not able to preside at these meetings for peace. There is thus suggested to our minds the fact that in the absence of war his appropriate title is the Secretary of Peace, a title which for unbroken numbers of years would be found suited to his great office.

The fact that this meeting of the National Peace Congress occurs at a time when the United States Congress is in special session struggling to make such a revision of the tariff laws as will produce funds large enough to prevent the continued deficits which have been shown in the recent reports of the Treasurer of the United States is a coincidence of much importance.

We are thus permitted to receive information direct and fresh from sources which at other times would be difficult to acquire, and when secured would seem less pertinent than now. We may also with some confidence hope that a discussion of such questions as the cost and economic waste of war and war equipment will at this time meet an already awakened public sentiment and will more readily find a response than at any other time.

When the daily press is filled with reports from important congressional committees showing the enormous appropriations made for naval and military affairs in times when we are at peace with all the world and when large headlines attract our attention to the criticisms from the leading United States Senators on the spending of more than \$100,000,000 annually for our army and nearly one-half more on the navy; when "our increased battle-ship policy" is seen to impoverish our treasury to such an extent that a popular uprising against it is apparent, delegates to a congress of this kind may indeed take courage and hope for the progress of the cause which they represent.

The past year has been pregnant with important events tend-

ing to the establishment of universal peace. The administration of national affairs which has just closed has to its credit more important results looking to international friendships than any preceding administration.

Those which stand out most prominently are the successful effort of President Roosevelt in terminating the war between Russia and Japan; the return to China of more than one-half of the twenty-four million dollars adjudged in our favor against that nation on account of the Boxer uprising; the initiation for the call of the Second Hague Conference, and the consummation of at least twenty-three treaties of obligatory arbitration with other powers. Numerous other acts tending to international amity have made the administration of Mr. Roosevelt distinctively favorable to the great peace movement, notwithstanding his urgent effort for four battleships and a greatly enlarged navy.

Yet in the face of these things the chief criticism made upon that administration is that it has fostered and encouraged militarism. And, however sanguine our hopes for the future, however strong our belief that we are growing out of the war habit, we must not overlook the fact that the passion for battle, the fascination for things military, is yet deeply fixed in the nature of man and cannot be uprooted or shaken off in a day. Nothing short of a long period of education, and continued agitation of questions such as we here discuss, will tend to lessen the hold which the god of war has upon mankind.

While civilization has conquered many of the evils which obstructed its progress, it still strangely permits the spirit of militarism to run riot in its midst. The passion for war has so possessed the souls of men that the nations have throughout all ages sacrificed on its altars their richest treasures and their proudest sons.

Wealth which by diligent effort and burdensome toil of men and women has been carefully accumulated is by the power of government wrung from its owners to feed the battle's flame. Property and investments on which its owners relied for the happiness and comfort of old age are forced into those channels which produce indescribable suffering in the horrors of war.

Money and men alike are fed to the insatiate god of battle, only to increase his clamorous demand for more.

Of those slain in battle throughout the world's history the number is so vast that its meaning is incomprehensible to the mind of man. Fifteen billions of men, it is estimated, have thus perished since the world began. This is a greater number of people than all those who have occupied the world within the past six centuries. The number is so large that it staggers the mind, and the period covered is so long that we brush the statement aside as relating to past ages unconnected with our own.

Yet in the last century, in the midst of Christian civilization's most benign influence, the lives of fourteen millions of men were sacrificed in war.

The Napoleonic wars of nineteen years' duration are responsible for about eight millions, while, including those who died from wounds and disease incurred in service, something like one million may be attributed to our Civil War.

Here were not only fourteen millions of men, but they were those who were the most nearly physically perfect. They were the flower of the nations and the pride of their families. If battles only consumed the criminals, if only the weak and the worthless were fed to their fires, the nation's loss in one important sense would not be so great; but so long as war claims the best blood of the nations, the very choice of the world's best manhood, leaving the weaker to survive and propagate their kind, there must necessarily come national degeneracy.

"The final effect of each strife for empire," says David Starr Jordan, "has been the degradation or extinction of the nation which led in the struggle. Greece died because the men who made her glory had all passed away and left none of their kin and therefore none of their kind." In his address "The Blood of Nations" he quotes many authors and historians to establish the proposition that nations degenerate or become extinct because of disastrous wars which destroy the nation's best men. "Send forth the best ye breed," he says is the call on either side. And this call continues until one or both have grown so weak that further resistance is useless; until the battle has swallowed up so many of these best men that few remain to propagate the race. Greece, Rome, Carthage, Spain, Egypt and the Moors are given as illustrations of those nations which thus fell from their high stations, never again to take their rank among the nations of the world.

Napoleon so exhausted France that his army during the Saxon campaign was largely made up of boys, and the French soldiers today are said to be shorter by two inches than those of former ages.

If it were possible in any way to portray the sufferings of a single battlefield to an audience like this, it would cause your hearts to break and your reason to be almost shaken on its throne, so horrible would its scenes appear. All who have looked upon the strife of battle declare with General Sherman that war indeed is hell.

Pierre Frittel in his famous painting "The Conquerors" sought not to paint a battlefield but a picture representing war and its products. The Conquerors are the great war generals of the ages. They appear with magnificent forms and attractive features, mounted on splendid steeds or driving their chariots of war. Their resplendent equipments, with swords and shields and armor and all the paraphernalia of war, make them appear attractive indeed.

"Cæsar, the type of the conquering hero, occupies the immediate center of the picture; Napoleon rides close in his shadow; while on either side are Sesostris and Alexander." Then there are Charlemagne and Tamerlane and so many others that their arms and standards stretch away in long perspective into the black night.

And now the observer, who has permitted his eye to follow this long line of irresistible masters of nations back till it fades away in the shadows, is startled at the appearance of that which before had escaped his vision. It is the picture's background, consisting on the right and on the left of long, unending rows of dead men. The Conquerors have marched up through this avenue of uncounted myriads of lifeless forms flanking them on either side and stretching back and out into limitless perspective through the "valley of the shadow of death."

The whole presentation possesses a subtle power, causing you to see at a glance the cruel history of war's triumphal progress down the centuries.

And though we may regret the record for which this picture stands, we cannot deny that it fairly portrays what the painter intended. For from the beginning of time the story of mankind

has been told in the story of battles and wars. As the race grew strong in numbers the conflicts were proportionately more fierce. As the nations became enriched more wealth was lavished upon armies and squandered upon navies.

As they came to be more and more civilized and Christianized their weapons of warfare were made to be more destructive of life and property. Their men of genius were called upon to devote their powers of invention to instruments and vessels of death. The modern battleship and the modern equipment make battles brief because so many men can so quickly be made to bite the dust.

The fighting instinct in man has prevailed in his development through clan, tribe, community, state and nation. His rights and privileges have been won and maintained through force rather than reason. At first the physical combat between individuals settled their personal rights and fixed their relations with each other.

Personal liberty, personal rights and especially property rights stand for those principles for which men feel justified in making their fiercest contests, and hence not infrequently are the strongholds for which most vicious customs retreat for protection.

Because of the respect which public opinion had for the man who claimed the right personally to protect the good name of himself or his family the duel was for centuries unmolested. From the duel it is only a step to that other degrading contest known as wager of battle.

Wager of battle with its legal formalities was an outgrowth of a more brutal form of combat, when, without any regulation whatever, the strong overpowered the weak and took from him whatever the whim of the victor dictated. Crude and barbaric as was this custom of former ages, it was yet more refined and less objectionable than that which went before.

The demands of enlightened civilization in the course of centuries placed a ban upon the wager of battle and substituted therefor more peaceful methods of determining the rights of contending claimants, yet this law remained upon the statute books of England until the beginning of the last century. It had long been a dead letter, and at that time few even of the legal profession in that country knew that it was still part of their jurisprudence.

Other and better customs and laws had gradually developed, and without repealing practically obliterated this ancient curiosity in legal procedure. Should two or more persons now agree to thus test the title to land or the guilt or innocence of one of them charged with crime, on the first attempt to execute this agreement the law would appear, personified in a peace officer, who would forcibly end hostilities and point to the methods of reason and common sense for the determination of such affairs.

There is no objection presented to the forcible and bloody settlement between citizens in their private disputes which does not apply equally to the adoption of such methods by nations in determining their differences with each other.

If we condemn Smith for striking Jones on the head with a club because he did not promptly pay him a doubtful debt, what shall we say of the display of armed cruisers of the big nation threatening destruction at the port of the little nation for the same reason?

If we impose upon A the death penalty because in his anger he suddenly took the life of B, why shall the nation which deliberately planned and coolly accomplished her neighbor's destruction go unpunished? Or if one nation may, by reason of her superior force, take from another a choice stretch of territory without the disapproval of the world, why shall we comment unfavorably upon the land frauds of the West, where unoccupied territory passes into the hands of those who are not entitled to it?

It is indeed difficult to see why the individual and the nation, in matters of principle, in matters of right and wrong, should not rest their conduct on the same general basis.

Yet every one knows that throughout modern history the rules of conduct for the individual have not only been widely different but often in direct conflict with those governing the state or the nation. The ethics which apply to the citizen are supposed to be unsuited to the state, which, after all, is only a combination of citizens.

The code of morals which the state or nation enacts for its subjects, and to which willingly or unwillingly they are compelled to submit, has no binding force upon the nation itself in its relation with equals, inferiors or superiors.

Now what logic leads any nation, which so carefully guards

the life and property of the individual citizens, which fixes about him and fastens upon him all this network of laws, to be so lavishly reckless with his rights, his property and his life when the contest comes with another nation? Why is life then not as sweet and as valuable—aye, as priceless—as at any other period? Why should not those peaceful means and methods of settlement which we are accustomed to apply to individuals be here invoked? Wager of battle involved only two lives, but the battles of contending nations involve the lives of millions. The first we abolished because it was senseless and abhorrent; the other we still uphold, and foster with our richest treasures.

The mountainous debts of the civilized nations trace their foundations to past wars which those nations have carried on between each other. The shameful burden of current expenses has for excuse the danger of future wars with these same friendly and peaceful neighboring nations. Between the burden for the follies of the past, and that which is imposed for the purpose of conducting future indiscretions, the humble citizen, in some countries at least, finds the protecting hand of government a mere travesty upon his rights.

It is impossible to secure any accurate estimate of the cost of all the wars in which the world has engaged. The figures representing the cost for the past century are so great that we cannot fully grasp their meaning. Dr. Benjamin Trueblood says, "Forty thousand millions of dollars is a sum so vast that the mention of it leaves only a confused impression on the mind; but that is about what the nations have paid in solid cash in a single century for the folly and wickedness of their quarrels and fightings, their mutual injustices and slaughters."

It is said that Russia spends more than one-third of all her public revenue for military purposes.

Germany, with a debt of more than two billion marks, spends annually more than five hundred million marks on her army and navy.

France has a debt of about thirty-two billion francs, largely the cost of past wars. Great Britain has a debt of six hundred and twenty-one million pounds and spends annually more than forty million pounds on her army and navy.

At the close of the War of the Rebellion the indebtedness of

the United States was \$2,773,236,173. This was gradually reduced till in 1890 it amounted to \$1,552,140,205, but on account of the Spanish War and an increased pension list it again passed the \$2,000,000,000 mark, and in 1904 it was \$2,264,003,585.

The expense growing out of the War of the Rebellion from July 1, 1861, to June 30, 1879, was \$6,844,571,431, or more than enough to have purchased, at \$2,000 each, every slave liberated by reason of the war.

Could such a settlement of the slave question have been made in 1860, the nation would have poured this vast sum into the lap of the South, and thus have made of that section the most attractive garden spot of the continent. It would now be preparing to celebrate a half century of unparalleled prosperity, with praise for the nation on the lips of every inhabitant, including the aged and young. There would be no national scar of battle; no black memory of the past; no Chickamauga, no Gettysburg, no Andersonville, with their unparalleled, indescribable panorama of suffering. There would have been no forty years of disheartened and disheartening effort to again bring to this desolated section the appearance of prosperity before enjoyed.

Just as human language is inadequate to describe the awfulness of what actually occurred during a four years' war, so does language fail to portray what happiness and joy would have flowed from a peaceable settlement of the questions involved, based on a money indemnity even much less than the amount wasted in war.

From 1898 to 1905 we spent in military affairs \$1,200,000,000, almost enough to have canceled our national debt. We pay out in times of peace for military and naval purposes annually more than \$217,000,000; while for all other purposes of civil government, including the judicial, legislative and executive branches, we spend less than \$187,000,000.

That is, while we in the United States boast of our government by law and our freedom from the oppression of militarism we are spending annually for naval and military purposes in times of peace \$30,000,000 more than it costs to run the three great departments of our civil government.

As a result our taxes are more burdensome, our debts are increased and our disbursements are greater than our receipts.

The financial statement currently relied upon indicates a deficit of about \$89,000,000,000 for the year ending in July, 1909.

For the last fifteen years the world has spent annually one thousand millions of dollars in sustaining war equipments. Suppose this were spent for uplifting humanity and bettering the conditions of the world. It would build and operate all the great waterways and canals which have heretofore been projected but which have failed for lack of financial support. It would tunnel our mountains for their hidden gems; it would build in the mountain gorges immense reservoirs from which the parched plains and deserts might be irrigated and transformed into vast rich fields, doubling the nation's agricultural products. It would build all the needed highways for private and public commerce; it would endow hospitals, churches, schools and colleges, and place their blessings within the reach of every individual.

"Give me the money which has been spent in war," said a recent speaker, "and I will purchase every foot of land upon the globe; I will clothe every man, woman and child in attire of which kings and queens might be proud; I will build a school-house on every hillside and in every valley over the whole earth; I will build an academy in every town and endow it; a college in every state and fill it with able professors; I will crown every hill with a place of worship consecrated to the promulgation of the gospel of peace."

The cost of war runs into figures so large that the mind cannot comprehend them. England's recent Boer war, which seems only an incident when compared with the great wars recorded in history, was nevertheless an expensive affair. It cost her more than \$1,100,000,000 in money, not to mention the loss otherwise sustained. The value of the nation of this money has been pointedly illustrated by a writer who says: "It would have furnished England's needy with the following things:

- 100 old people's homes, at \$100,000 each.
- 1,000 public playgrounds, at \$50,000 each.
- 1,000 public libraries, at \$50,000 each.
- 1,000 trade schools, at \$200,000 each.
- 500 hospitals, at \$200,000 each.
- 3,000 public schools, at \$100,000 each.
- 150,000 workingmen's homes, at \$2,000 each."

If this estimate is correct, can any one even attempt to measure the blessings which might be purchased with the money which has been spent in even a few of the world's greatest wars?

"It is startling to think," says Dr. Trueblood, "what the world might have been economically at the opening of the present century if the war system could have been done away with a hundred years ago, a system of pacific settlement of disputes and of general international co-operation adopted and the 14,000,000 young men slain in the wars of the century saved to their different countries. Their earning power, at \$300 each per year, would have been \$5,000,000,000, a sum equal to nearly twice the entire estimated wealth of the United States, and fully equal to the combined wealth of Great Britain (colonies excluded), France, Germany, Russia and Austria-Hungary."

In the past half century the world has doubled in population, but the expenditures for war purposes and its indebtedness attributable to wars have quadrupled. The various nations of the world have now by far the greatest and most expensive naval and military organizations in the history of the world.

Shall civilization, which dared to grapple to the death all these other evils, shrink from her duty here and now? Shall war at last prove conqueror and the god of battle ever rule the hearts of men? However fierce war is, can we not find a greater power wherewith to conquer? Every established evil which has been suppressed has been compelled to yield to a more powerful influence.

The influence which is destined to undermine militarism and the spirit of war is that of arbitration. That war is unnecessary is becoming a universal sentiment. That it may be obviated by arbitration has been repeatedly illustrated. Today as never before the world is not only thinking and talking arbitration, but is exercising it in settling national disputes. Arbitration in international matters has within the past few years moved forward with rapid strides.

A recent issue of *The Advocate of Peace* makes the following important statement concerning arbitration:

"Since the time of the Treaty of Ghent, 1814, about two hundred and thirty-eight international controversies have been settled, or an average of three a year for the whole period of

ninety years. More than sixty of these were in the decade from 1890 to 1900, and twenty-one of them have occurred since the twentieth century opened. So common has the practice of arbitration become in recent years that cases are nowadays constantly pending between some of the nations, there being several at the present time.

"The United States has been a party to nearly sixty of these settlements, Great Britain to more than seventy, while fourteen of the cases have been between these two English-speaking nations alone.

"France, Spain, Germany, Portugal, Italy, Holland, Denmark, Belgium, Greece, Turkey, Russia, Switzerland, Japan, Afghanistan, Persia, China, Morocco, Mexico and Liberia have each been parties to one or more of these settlements, France with over thirty cases coming next to the United States and Great Britain. Nearly all the South and Central American States have had arbitrations."

Again in a later issue it is said: "The treaties of obligatory arbitration signed by ex-Secretary Root during 1908-1909 were with France, Switzerland, Italy, Mexico, Great Britain, Norway, Portugal, Spain, The Netherlands, Sweden, Japan, China, Peru, Salvador, the Argentine Republic, Bolivia, Ecuador, Haiti, Uruguay, Chile, Costa Rica, Austria-Hungary and Brazil, twenty-three in all, and signed in the order given above. Two of them were signed in February, 1908, two in March, four in April, three in May, one in October, three in December and eight in January this year. Of these treaties, the first eleven have been ratified by both the Senate and the President, and ratifications exchanged with the foreign powers and the treaties proclaimed. The remaining twelve have been ratified by the President and the Senate, but ratifications have not yet been exchanged. These twelve treaties were ratified by President Roosevelt on March 1, three days before his term of office expired.

"It is expected that the ratifications will be exchanged and the treaties proclaimed by President Taft at an early date. It will be noticed that as yet no treaties have been concluded with Russia and Germany, though it is expected that a treaty with Germany will be announced at an early date."

These numerous arbitrations and peaceful settlements, embody-

ing as they did such questions as had so often involved nations in war, prepared the civilized world for the great Hague Conference on the 18th of May, 1899. In this peace conference twenty-six nations were represented. For more than three months the delegates of these countries were in session considering the questions of disarmament, arbitration and peaceful settlements of international disputes.

It began the establishment of an International Court of Arbitration which was finally concluded in 1901 as a permanent tribunal. Splendid quarters have already been provided, to be occupied until the Temple of Peace, for which Mr. Carnegie has so liberally provided, shall be erected and equipped. It will then occupy a home unsurpassed by any judicial temple in the world, with appointments suited to a court sitting to try the disputes of the world.

This court is now ready to take up all questions submitted to it. In May, 1902, the United States and Mexico submitted to a tribunal of five members of this court a controversy concerning what is known as the Pius funds, which had for many years been in dispute. The court took evidence and heard argument in this matter and finally decided it in favor of the United States. This decision was readily accepted, the money paid and the matter ended. A number of other international controversies have been submitted to this court.

The tribunal's decisions have always been regarded as final, forever settling the questions in dispute.

It needs only that which is sure to follow, treaties between the various nations, binding themselves to submit for settlement questions which arise between them. Such treaties have already been made between a number of nations. Treaties pledging arbitration of all disputes have been signed by Holland and Denmark, Italy and Denmark, and all the Central American states with each other. More than sixty treaties of arbitration have recently been made between various nations. Our own country has signed such treaties with twelve other nations. The friendly relations thus encouraged and cemented, it is reasonably believed, will finally attract all the civilized nations of the earth to enter into compacts of this nature, which will ultimately result in practical disarmament of the world.

If any one hesitates to believe that international arbitration is growing in popularity and is even now one of the most vital questions of the day, his attention need only be directed to the fact that the great political parties in their platforms are giving it important space and prominence. At the recent National Republican Convention in Chicago the following plank was adopted in their platform of principles:

"The conspicuous contributions of American statesmanship to the great cause of international peace, so signally advanced in The Hague Conference, are an occasion for just pride and gratification.

"At the last session of the Senate of the United States eleven Hague conventions were ratified, establishing the rights of neutrals, laws of war on land, restrictions of submarine mines, limiting the use of force for the collection of contractual debts, governing the opening of hostilities, extending the application of Geneva principles, and in many ways lessening the evils of war and promoting the peaceful settlement of international controversies.

"At the same session twelve arbitration conventions with great nations were confirmed, and extradition, boundary and neutralization treaties of supreme importance were ratified.

"We endorse such achievements as the highest duty a people can perform, and proclaim the obligation of further strengthening the bonds of friendship, and believe that already the realization of the hopes of centuries has come within the vision of the near future."

President Taft in his inaugural address sounded what we hope is the keynote of his administration on this subject, when he said "that our international policy is always to promote peace. We shall make every effort consistent with national honor and the highest national interest to avoid a resort to arms. We favor every instrumentality, like that of the Hague tribunal and arbitration treaties made with a view to its use in all international controversies, in order to maintain peace and to avoid war."

And thus indeed do we see a successful advance being made upon the world's most monstrous evil. Even those intelligent statesmen who advocate increased armaments, and who are willing to expend hundreds of millions of dollars in armies and navies, insist that it is only for the purpose of maintaining peace.

He is a rash man who will now contend for a battleship or an appropriation for the purpose of making war on another nation. Such a proposition would find no support in times of peace.

Why will men not learn that our strength lies more in educated conscience, in the world's great moral and intellectual forces, than in physical forces represented in battleships and in armies and navies?

If our Congress would within the next year expend the cost of one battleship in teaching our people the value of peace and arbitration it would thereby more nearly establish permanent peace than by the erection of four or even twenty battleships. If the civilized governments of the world would expend a portion of their military and naval funds thus till the minds of the youth are filled with a love of peace instead of being inflamed with a passion for war, the world's security against this monstrous evil would soon be established.

Can our statesmen not see the hand upon the wall? Do they not know that a conference of forty-six nations for the purpose of in some way finally establishing peace, and an adjournment to again meet to further advance this end, must result in such friendly relations and acquaintanceship that war equipments are less important and the cultivation of international friendships of much more value?

The Second Hague Conference, which was suggested by President Roosevelt, called by the Czar of all the Russias and actually convened by the Queen of the Netherlands on June 15, 1907, was the most important world meeting ever held in human history. First of all it was a meeting, and the first meeting, of all the civilized nations of the earth, assembled to discuss the great subject of universal peace. They were in session for four months. If nothing else had been accomplished, this fact in itself would still have been one of the most momentous in history. But it did more than meet and discuss questions touching international peace. It confirmed and strengthened all which the conference of 1899 had established. It took no backward step.

In this conference it was agreed that no nation shall have recourse to armed force against another nation for the purpose of collecting contract debts without first offering to submit the matter for arbitration to The Hague tribunal. If the debtor na-

tion is willing to arbitrate, then all such matters everywhere in the world must be arbitrated. They can no longer anywhere be the basis of war. Here is a step accomplished worthy of the world's applause.

Again, it was agreed that no unfortified city shall be bombarded. So now in time of war if a city does not wish to be bombarded by the enemies' guns, she only needs to save herself the cost of expensive fortifications.

But by far the most important convention adopted by the conference was that of establishing a permanent court of arbitral justice. While this court was not actually formed, all the assembled nations agreed that it should be established; and there is no doubt in the minds of those most thoroughly posted on the subject that it will be established before another meeting of The Hague Conference.

Such a court differs materially from the court of arbitration which the former conference inaugurated. The former court has no permanency and consists in fact of only a list of eminent gentlemen from whom arbitrators may be selected. But the latter when established will be fixed upon a basis as complete and permanent as any of our state or federal courts. Judges will be selected for the purpose of trying international disputes and their time will be devoted wholly to these matters. They will establish a code of procedure not unlike that to which litigants in other courts must conform. It will be in fact a great international court dealing exclusively with international disputes, an appeal to which will take the place of the former appeal to arms.

The fact is, my friends, you are today standing much nearer the period of universal peace than most of you had dreamed would be reached by your children's children. When you and all other good citizens take a stand against war and determine that international disputes shall and must be submitted to arbitration for settlement; when there is a united resolve that the yellow journals, the jingo statesmen, the money lenders and all those whose voices are first in war but whose persons are always at a safe distance from it, shall not govern in national crises, then will the great movement for permanent peace and world disarmament go forward toward final success.

Let each citizen who believes in this movement freely express

his sentiments on all proper occasions. Let the governments take five percent—yes, one percent—of what is now spent in naval and military affairs and with this aid in the promulgation of the doctrine of arbitration and peace till this sentiment everywhere predominates, and the necessity for forts, arsenals and battleships will fade away.

Education along this line will establish a system of international ethics not unlike that which prevails between individuals. It will finally produce a conscience among nations which will make unpopular, if not impossible, a great international war.

Let us each here and now resolve to cast our influence for peace and arbitration of disputes, and to frown upon and if possible prevent the recurrence of war. When all the men and women of the civilized nations who believe in these principles thus resolve, there will indeed be no more wars. Then there shall be "peace on earth, good will among men."

At the conclusion of Dr. Rogers's address the session stood adjourned.

RECEPTION

At the close of the afternoon session of the Congress, a reception was tendered the delegates in the Grand Foyer of Orchestra Hall.

SECOND SESSION

THE DRAWING TOGETHER OF THE NATIONS

Monday Evening, May 3, at 8 o'clock

ORCHESTRA HALL

DR. EMIL G. HIRSCH, Presiding

DR. HIRSCH:

The subject for tonight's discussion is "The Drawing Together of the Nations." "Interdependence versus Independence of Nations" is the first chapter in this book, and that chapter will be presented to us by Professor Paul S. Reinsch, of the University of Wisconsin. (Applause.)

Interdependence versus Independence of National States

PROFESSOR PAUL S. REINSCH.

It is one of the laws of human being that, scarce achieving what we have striven for with might and main, we are again beckoned farther by new goals and more distant aims. For the past six centuries humanity has been working to establish nationalism—to found nations, to cement their elements into a potent unity, to concentrate their forces, to build up in all their majesty the powerful societies of today, which are the protectors of all we hold dear in civilization. It is not surprising that achievements demanding such efforts and sacrifices should be looked upon as the ultimate form of society. They render life rich and colored through the variety of customs and ideas which they maintain. They prevent dull uniformity; they give the human spirit a chance to manifest all its inherent possibilities of expression and life and art. Small wonder that conservative spirits look upon national life and independence as the last word of civilization. And yet we are on all hands surrounded by the unmistakable evidences that this too is a transitory stage—that civilization cannot

content itself with a partial organization, but is tending irresistibly towards universalism.

The generous ideal of world unity and peace is still looked upon by many practical men as a golden dream. Even the president of the Second Hague Peace Conference spoke of it as "the bright star of universal peace which we shall never reach, but which will always guide us." The cosmopolitan ideal has indeed in the past been often displayed in a form that had little connection with living men and institutions. It has set up an abstract concept of humanity by which men were supposed to be directly impelled and actuated towards world unity. The national state was looked upon as an obstacle. War was personified into an evil entity that must be combated directly and subdued by inhibition as demons and monsters were exorcised in ages past. Such abstractions may indeed have a prophetic force; they may forecast the future of our race. Yet by men of affairs they are looked upon as fanciful, until the detailed forces can be pointed out by which we may approach ourselves to the ideal conditions thus foreshadowed. Our age is realistic and practical; so our cosmopolitanism has become concrete. It rests upon the idea of co-operation in constantly widening circles. Universal co-operation is the watchword which stands for positive action, for the development of concrete facts in human life which correspond to the actual needs in our economic and social order. For this purpose adequate institutions are to be created so as to take international action out of the field of resolutions and to make it a part of the realities of human life. The void which the old cosmopolitan ideal left between the individual and humanity is being filled up by the creation of institutions through which the individual may gradually be raised, by almost imperceptible degrees, from the narrow limits of personality to the broad aims of civilization.

The most important fact which we have become conscious of in our generation is that the unity of the world is real. The most remote parts of the earth are being made accessible. The great economic and financial system by which the resources of the earth are being developed is centralized. Our destiny is a common one; whatever happens to the nations of Africa and Asia affects our life. Should great material disaster devastate or wars disorganize these distant societies, we ourselves must bear a part of

the burden. Nor is there any development or advance in the perfected arts of civilization, the conditions and processes which make industry profitable and life agreeable, but that we ourselves shall share in the benefits. Science knows no national boundaries. What is achieved in Berlin, Paris or Rome today is tomorrow a part of the scientific capital of all the world. The positive ideal of the world today is undoubtedly that the whole earth shall become a field of action open to every man and that all the advantages which may be secured by the efforts of humanity throughout the world must accrue to the citizens of each individual nation. In this new grouping of social and economic life the national state will indeed continue to hold a prominent place, but public and associative action will dominate by forces and considerations which are broader than national life. Co-operation is the key to life and society. Neither the individual nor the nation is self-sufficing. There is a broader life; there are broader interests and more far-reaching activities surrounding national life in which it must participate in order to develop to the full its own nature and satisfy completely its many needs. Even as the individual receives from society both protection and stimulus, so the nation would suffer intolerable disadvantages were it to exclude itself from world intercourse.

Numerous public unions and associations have recently been created for the purpose of organizing interests which transcended the boundaries of national states. The absolute necessity of mutual intercourse and communication has led to the founding of unions for postal, telegraphic and railway communication, and for the protection of the means and methods employed by these. No state can completely protect itself against the inroads of epidemic disease nor against the plottings of criminals without the co-operation of other governments. Unions have thus been established for mutual police assistance and for the development of international sanitation. In order that industrial competition may be raised to a plane where the individual laborer or manufacturer is protected against intolerable conditions, nations unite and follow a common plan of economic and labor legislation. For the common development of such interests there have been founded the International Institute of Agriculture, the International Association of Labor Legislation and many semi-public associations

designed to realize the idea of a world unity in the great field of economic life. But we must not proceed to an enumeration. It is only our purpose to point out the significance of these great positive movements. When we once appreciate the sweep of the forces involved, we are impelled to the conclusion that world organization is no longer an ideal but is an accomplished fact. The foundations in international life have been laid by the slow working of economic and social causes; not guided by the conscious will of man, but responding and logically expressing the deepest needs of human life.

The international organization of today respects ethnic entities as essential forms of social organization within their proper limits, just as the modern state respects the autonomy of towns, provinces and member states. We are not able to dispense with the psychic unities which at the present time lie back of sovereignty and give it force. While the internationalism of today looks far beyond the narrow ideal of exclusive and independent national sovereignty, it is no less hostile to an artificial world state, the fruit of military conquest, forcing upon the world a rigid uniformity, a dull and deadening monotony. Instead of this, it would develop international life through the fostering of actual forces that manifest themselves and secure an expression broader than national life. Where men are impelled to co-operate, organizations will be constructed to make their co-operation easy and regular. Upon this foundation the great meetings of the Hague Conference will most readily be successful in building legislation and adjudicature of world-wide application. Let us abandon theoretical construction. We shall not have far to seek for positive interests, in all the many occupations of human life, which feel the inherent need of a strong international organization. Building up from the ground, we shall thus erect a structure upon whose unshaken support the general ideal of internationalism may be reposed.

The development we are considering will exercise a profound influence upon the attitude of mankind toward war. The warlike spirit presupposes a misunderstanding of the aims of other nations. How can we key up ourselves to the dread purpose of taking the life of fellow beings, unless our feelings are worked upon by the idea that they are anti-religious, despotic, immoral,

cruel—in a word, enemies of civilization? But will such designs be conceived by a merchant against those with whom he has met in an international body discussing the interests of commerce and industry? Will a physician desire to kill the sanitary official of another nation who is protecting us from the inroads of epidemic and plague? Will the man of science conceive a murderous desire to take the life of those who are searching for the truth in the laboratories of Germany or of France? War becomes criminal, a perversion of humanity, in such cases. No higher ideal can be appealed to for the killing of those with whom we co-operate for the ideals of humanity.

The older pacifism was purely negative in character. It looked upon war as an evil being to be combated directly. Yet war is only the symptom of a general condition in which too great emphasis is still laid upon local interests. It is evident that the only effective manner to remove the conditions to which the occurrence of war is due lies in the building up of an international consciousness; but such a consciousness cannot be arrived at out of nothing—there must be back of it a development of a real unity of interest and feeling. We must realize our interdependence in practical affairs. It is through the creation of international organizations for all the interests of human life that a positive content of the feeling of a common humanity is being provided. The incentive to war will become weaker and weaker as the bonds of community between nations increase, such as are provided by communication agencies, by economic and industrial ties or by scientific co-operation. How intolerably painful will be the ruthless interruption of all such relations and activities! There are only two alternatives. Either the ties which are thus being created will in time become so strong that no nation will think of interrupting them by war, or, should war continue, these relations will have to be exempted from its operations. Such an exemption would tend to confine the sufferings and dangers of war more and more, and would thus be in accord with the dictates of humanity.

Universal co-operation is a future ideal. The world is full of conditions and activities in which nations are not self-sufficing—in which we instinctively look beyond the boundaries of the national state. The nation that would be independent in isolation will condemn itself to be a Venezuela—will cut itself and its citi-

zens off from the advantages of civilization to which all human beings are entitled. By realizing its interdependence with the other civilized nations of the world it will only strengthen itself as does the individual who plunges with full energy into the life of his society, being stimulated thereby and having all his faculties developed. The great fact that the world is a unit rests upon the underlying conditions of modern invention and science which the dictum of no national government can destroy. International co-operation points the only way in which humanity may continue to develop without wasting its energy and ultimately falling prey to triumphant militarism. Between such alternatives it is not difficult to choose, but it is difficult to believe that humanity should be so perverse and misguided as to prefer the waste and suffering of military competition to the joy of normal activity—the development of all that is great and strong through international co-operation. On the one hand lies barbarism, on the other the hope of continued progress.

DR. HIRSCH :

We have learned just now that our internationalism is not meant to obliterate nationalism. The nation is regarded as a means to an end. The old question was whether men as individuals shall develop themselves or shall obliterate themselves. There was a time when a system of ethics was proclaimed insisting upon his effacement. The modern world has learned to know that he who effaces himself renders very little service to humanity, and that the very first step to the utility of many is to develop one's self in order that one may be a servant, strong and capable in the work of the community when occasions shall develop themselves, but in their development shall remember that they should be factors in the large world of the universe. Now the modern nationalism of this positive kind has to learn one other lesson: nationalism generally operates with the idea that nations must be of one racial texture. They have invented a theory of race for which science has offered no proof, and they have told us that the destiny of the world depends upon the purity of certain races. The Germans speak of the Teutonic racial quality and they believe the German nationality is involved in Teutonic racial distinction. And the others speak of Slavonic racial affinities, and philosophize

about the civilization that is inherent in the Slavonic racial fiber.

Of course, in America we cannot well speak of an American racial fiber, for the present American nation is really a nation of foreigners. If we were Americans simply, all of us here of white color would have to acknowledge that we are intruders here in this land.

Still others even in America now have set up the cry that the foreigner must be kept out, though we are all foreigners, and it all depends only upon the degree in which we are removed from the original foreigner from whose loins we have sprung. But still we speak of an American race and look askance at others whose type of Americanism is perhaps just as good as our own, simply because in some cases the nose has a certain curvature and in the other cases the skin has a certain tinge. (Laughter and applause.)

And then we have developed the theory of the white man's burden, and generally the white man's burden is not to lift up; it is but to put a very heavy load on the others (laughter and applause), and the others have to carry the white man's burden.

We must get out of narrow nationalism which does not obliterate the destinies of the nation, which does not interfere with the independence of the nation, but leaves the independence to the high potency of interdependence; and then we must get up out of our racialism, and while we must acknowledge that there are certain distinctions, distinctions which are perhaps essential and not accidental, still we must get out of this one-sided racial presumption of the endowing one race with all the virtues and charging one race with all the vices; and we must leave out our racial unities to the potencies of inter-racial co-operation. (Applause.)

And it affords me great pleasure to present to you, ladies and gentlemen, Mr. H. T. Kealing, Nashville, Tennessee. He is not colored, but he was born that way. (Laughter and applause.)

Racial Progress Towards Universal Peace

H. T. KEALING.

No government today is homogeneous as to race varieties that owe it allegiance. Name and nation no longer have a single ethnic meaning.

An American may never have seen America; an English subject may never have seen an Englishman; a French subject may not understand a word of French; a German subject know no German; yet in each case all are one in government. As in race, so in religion; within each nation are many diverse faiths.

England extends sway over Hindoo, Arabian, Negro, Egyptian; Russia has Cossack, Lap, Finn and Mongol in her family; France, Negro and Malagasy; Germany, the Ethiopian; while America extends its aegis over Filipino, Hawaiian, Indian, and, with true Yankee originality, imports its African bodily to the United States and then puts a prohibitive tariff on wool. It must be evident, therefore, that since a national entity is often a racial congeries of varying advancement, a psychic constitution, religion and custom, internal harmony, understanding and good will are no less necessary to the strength, happiness and peace of a nation than harmonious adjustment of its international relations.

I am well aware that the direct work and purpose of this great organization is to promote peace by arbitration between nations and not within nations; but while the latter is without the province of formal consideration, international morals must look with sympathy upon the coming of peace and good will between the race elements within the nation also, because the larger aim of all altruism is for righteousness everywhere, within as well as without.

What will it profit civilization if Russia and Japan arbitrate while Slav slays Russian Jew? or to stay the sword of Ottoman against Servian, if the Armenian is butchered in thousands by maddened Turks? or England to adjust her interests peacefully with Germany, while India breaks forth in another Sepoy rebellion? Futile achievement indeed would it be to bring peace between thrones and let anarchy work unhindered in the homes of the land.

Such internecine strife (and who understands it better than we?) resembles nothing so much as the old duels that used to be fought by deadly enemies in a dark room.

The two adversaries are placed on opposite sides of the room, bowie knives in hand; the light is withdrawn, the door is locked and they are left alone. There they stand, half crouching, with every sense abnormally alert; then they stealthily begin to

creep about in search of each other. A slight sound is heard; both lunge forward with blind but murderous stroke. They elude each other perhaps for hours, but they must meet at last, and then—loud imprecations, a scuffling, two heavy falls, and all is still. Admonished by the silence, friends throw open the door, and the bloodless, lifeless bodies of two brothers who had been producers and constructive forces in the community lie prostrate on the floor; or perhaps one crawls forth slashed, maimed and conscience-stricken for life, to apologize for the brutal thing his friends tell him is a victory. How long shall such gruesome tragedies be enacted beneath the same government roof, between brothers whose *casus belli* is an esthetic dispute over the dye in a pigment cell?

No greater wonder has happened on earth than the conquests of the peace sentiment during the last century. It has ridden over jousting war-lords till, extricating themselves from their Don Quixotic misfortunes, they have come ambling in on war-horses turned to palfreys; it has sent battleships, like merchantmen, to carry grain to the famished of sister nations; it has set sanguinary soldiers to pitching hospital tents for the plague-stricken; it has lifted the red cross above the red field and made litters of crossed muskets; it has made conquering generals refuse a Cæsarian triumph, and cry from highest civic seat, "Let us have peace!" But no glory has been greater than the reflex influence this international movement has exerted in abating race and class hatred among the factions and sections of a common country.

There never were so many men pleading for fraternalism among compatriots as now; most of them led to their mood by the paths of international peace.

If any one is surprised at this domestic effect of international peace movements, it is because he has not realized the unity of moral improvement. Peace between any two helps peace between every two; peace abroad spreads peace at home. Righteousness can neither be kept abroad nor confined at home. It is the true citizen of the world, and is as elusive of localization and decanting as gravity or ether. It knows no lines of distinction such as national and international; it is simply for men.

International arbitration for international differences is a certainty in the near future. It is being surely brought about by

the growing altruism and the more and more refined ethical perceptions and sensibilities of the world.

This is altogether a triumph of morals and religion. There has been no other achieving power save conscience. This alone is leading the people to seek redress through the open doors of the temple of Justice rather than through those of Janus. But when the consummation shall be attained, will that alone bring peace to our homes and prosperity to our hearths? No. Shall we have banished that equally brutal but more subtle specter from our land—race conflict and race hatred? No. When Latin state and Teuton nation shall no longer strive, shall Latin or Teuton nation be at peace with itself? No. What then? This is the next work—intranational peace. We must learn to love, respect, help and encourage every class, clan and color of men; to believe in the equal rights of all men, without physical qualification as to races any more than as to men of the same race.

Men are more alike than they look. Most race problems are things of surface, convention or cultivation. Hate is no more innate than love; neither exists till it has been given beginning. Radical religious differences intensify race problems. With these, as well as race variations, England, Russia, Turkey and other European governments have to deal. We in America are largely spared that element of discord and that simplifies our problem mightily.

We find our situation as to the Negro race element caused by the initial inconsistency of engrafting slavery upon free institutions, and of framing a constitution recognizing human servitude in the face of a declaration that all men are entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

The way out is by retracing our steps, and this we have begun; indeed, we have gone a long way on the backward track already and are now ready to start right once more. By general education and the doctrine of human brotherhood we shall arrive. Laggards there may be and reluctant travelers in the way, but our guides are true and the lettering is plain: "This way out." Our Indian problems are the heritage of our early violence with the native American. The moral development of those early days made any means seem right in attaining what was plainly a desirable end; but that this reasoning was at fault, and that all

we have might have been gained without injustice, is shown by the present greatness of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, secured by the just and peaceful negotiations of William Penn with the Indians. With our moral growth have come juster methods with the Indians and, in consequence, friendlier feeling. This nation, now in flux, must become confluent in the common patriotism, common interests, common aims, common ideals and interdependence of all its units, racial and sectional.

Americans all, we must learn to give as well as take; concede as well as claim; delimit boundaries as well as extend them; nor should it be in the heart of any to see any man fixed in an inferiority that is removable.

I see increasing evidence of this desirable change in the American mind every day, and I believe much of it comes as a plain corollary to the proposition that justice, with peace, should rule out strife and bloodshed among nations. Righteousness is the basis of the international Peace Movement; it is no less the basis of the inter-racial peace movement. Under this beneficent principle there are no weak and no strong; only the right and the wrong. Righteousness is fundamental, ultimate and knows no moods. It is as indivisible as an atom. No nation can consistently take a righteous attitude towards another without also taking it towards all parts of its own. The common sense of the American people sees this and their conscience approves it; hence it is that this international movement has been the mightiest moral force of the century for domestic peace also. It has come by induction, and it appeals to men by easy suggestion.

Is there any evidence, you ask, that an awakened conscience is making for racial peace within the nations? I think so. It was the sense of our inconsistency in founding a land of liberty and then binding millions to slavery in it that brought emancipation; it was the standing rebuke of our Declaration of Independence to the prevailing thought that some men had no rights that others were bound to respect, that enacted laws respecting those rights. In our own day we see the workings of the world's conscience in many ways. The Congo Free State atrocities are everywhere denounced; there is a growing boldness in denouncing internal lawlessness in any country; a greater willingness to educate the under man;

a stronger disposition to administer laws in their true spirit of impartiality.

It is to be seen in our gratuitous chaperoning of Cuba; our friendly guidance of San Dominican finances; the review of the black soldiers' case in equity; the increased appropriations for both primary and secondary schools for Negroes; the acceptance by a representative Southern educator of the management of the Jeanes Fund; the co-operation of patriotic Southern men with the Southern Education Board; and in a score of other instances. Tennessee has just appropriated \$20,000 for a Negro normal and industrial school; Kansas has given \$67,000 to a college under Negro management; Alabama appropriates public funds to three Negro normal schools. Everywhere are to be found men in the South to stand against the reactionaries. Mississippi has its Galloway; Louisiana, its Quincy Ewing; Georgia, its Chancellor Hill; Alabama, its Hobson; Virginia, its Mitchell. Almost faster than we can realize, a respectable, rising, progressive, property-holding class of Negroes is being met with friendly hand-shakes from fair-minded and clear-speaking men of the other race who want to stand out of a struggling people's sunshine. I believe these men are rising in response to that growing national spirit which is a legitimate by-product of the world movement for which you stand. Almost every one of them is an advocate of international peace by arbitration.

What if there are thousands not yet reached by these better influences? Is it wise to stop the revival because there are sinners present? It takes time to do things. Progress is the thing we praise; let it continue. It need not reach complete entelechy in my day or yours; it is certain it will not; but why should it? Every day and any day is God's day. Time is simply His accountant whose computations do not create the business He books. It is well to get a good day's work from the accountant, but the firm will not fail if he should oversleep himself. I speak here a little more at length of the relations of the races in America than elsewhere, not because our internal peace is more important than others, but because our questions are typical of all, and because a larger body of diverse races is affected, perhaps. I find that the remarkable business growth of the Negro, leading to increased business contact with the white man, is bringing about closer and

friendlier feelings. Not long ago, in my town, I went down to the Negro bank in which I deposit, and found this notice on the door: "*Holiday: Closed by Clearing House Agreement.*" When before this day did the Negro ever do anything by clearing house agreement? It is significant of the new relation.

We do not all know what a change is coming over the spirit of the land. There is a clearer and more philosophical appreciation of the true grounds for universal education. There is a growing tendency towards larger appropriations for public schools. The old idea, recently exploited so loudly, that Negro education is a burden upon the white people, is not so often heard now. Indeed, it has remained for a southern superintendent of education, in a state where some of the most serious race riots have occurred, to advance the argument, backed by figures, that the Negro is no burden at all, but is paying for his own education. Taking into account the property and poll tax paid by the Negro, his share of the railroad and corporation taxes, and of the permanent school fund, he finds that the Negro pays in more than he gets.

The South is spending \$32,068,851 on her public schools; \$4,736,375 of this is for Negro education. This is only 14.8 per cent, while the Negro constitutes 40 per cent of the total population of the states considered—Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas and Tennessee.

In the three states of Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia, where complete separate statistics are kept, the following taxes paid by the Negro and the educational appropriations made to him shows that he receives less than he pays:

Virginia

Negro taxes	\$507,305
Negro appropriation	489,228
Tax excess	\$ 18,077

North Carolina

Negro taxes	\$429,197
Negro appropriation	402,658
Tax excess	\$ 26,539

Georgia

Negro taxes	\$647,852
Negro appropriation	506,170
Tax excess	\$141,682

Such figures as these will go a long way to prevent the separation of taxes on race lines, as has been proposed.

The individual instances of the increasing friendliness between races are numerous. Just two weeks ago the agent of the Carnegie Hero Fund was called to a Southern town by its white citizens to investigate the claims of a Negro to a medal for heroic action. In Nashville last week a Negro was followed to the grave by a company of Confederate Veterans who fired a military salute over his body as it was lowered to its last resting place.

What think you of these words: "Mr. Speaker, I saw black men on San Juan Hill. I have seen them before Manila. A black man took my father, wounded, from the field of Chancellorsville. Black men remained on my father's plantation after the proclamation of emancipation and took care of my mother and grandmother. The white man is supreme in this country; he will remain supreme. That makes it only the more imperative that he should give absolute justice to the black man, and we ought not to make a party measure of this."

This is the deliverance of a southern congressman on the floor of Congress amid the applause of his fellows. But why multiply instances? In the midst of much that is to be deprecated, the significant fact is that the good is growing and the bad is waning. But best of all, this race peace is a universal tendency.

Sir Henry Johnson, English governor of a colony in West Africa, and Lord Selborne, commissioner in South Africa, are

reported as speaking out bravely for the native and expressing faith in his future.

Nor is this tendency confined to the case of the black man; no such pent-up Utica should contract our vision in this matter. China was protected from partition and spoliation by Caucasian people; Japan receives full honor for its progressiveness from white nations; Filipinos are sustained in their efforts to attain self-government and given participation in local affairs; restricted suffrage is given to some of the natives of South Africa. Do not these things mean better race conditions? If not, what do they mean?

I know, as regards our own country and our own problems, there are some of both races who lose sight of the good to rail at the bad. But is this wise? Is it helpful? Is it in the spirit of love? It is never wise to make it hard for a man to do one right thing because he does not agree to do all things right. Nations must have time to grow in grace.

There will always be pessimists who gaze gloomily at the hole in the doughnut; but there will be also optimists to fix their gratified eyes on the doughnut itself. It is well so. As with us, so with others. Every nation has its ethnic problems, but the extirpation of war between nations will hasten the time, by quickening the desire, for brotherhood among races.

In the days to come, when the old man of Russia, now garbed as a peasant and sitting by the bank waiting for the last boat, shall be crowned with laurel and olive for teaching that men should not fight; and when, of all that money has ever wrought, the Temple of Peace raised in Holland by the munificence of one who has caught the long-sought secret of transmuting iron to gold and gold to true glory, shall tower above every other fane on earth, because men love each other and worship peace; then shall sons stir uneasily as they hear the war-like deeds of their sires recited, and shall say, "They wrought in the twilight, but we in the full day."

Then shall the American nation, forgetting the apostasy of barnyard struggles for prey, like a mighty Dantean eagle on lofty wings, hover above all the weak and defenseless of earth and drop the white plumes of peace among them and their foes.

War and Manhood

PRESIDENT DAVID STARR JORDAN.

Schiller a hundred years ago gave the text for my discourse, "Ja, der Krieg verschlingt immer die Besten." ("Ever the war devours the best.") It is through selection that all race progress comes. War means always the reversal of selection.

It is recognized that the blood of a nation in a large degree determines its history. Knowing the nature of a race we can forecast its achievements. The Saxon will make Saxon history wherever he goes, the Jew will make Jewish history, and the Negro wherever he goes will do deeds after his kind.

I wish to show that in similar fashion the history of a nation determines its blood. The word "blood" in this sense is a figure of speech, meaning heredity, for we know that the basis of heredity is in germ plasm and not in literal blood. But the old word will serve our purposes. The blood which is thicker than water is the expression for race unity. The nature of a race is determined by the qualities of those of its members who leave offspring. If any class of men is destroyed by the action of social or political forces, these leave no offspring, and their kind in time fails to appear.

In a herd of cattle, to destroy the strongest bulls, the fairest cows, the most promising calves, is to leave the others to become the parents of the coming herd. This we call degeneration, and it is the only kind of race degeneration we know, yet the scrawny, lean, infertile herd which results is of the same type as its actual parents. If on the other hand we sell or destroy the rough calves, the lean, poor, or ineffective, we shall have a herd descended from the best. These facts are the basis of selective breeding, "the magician's wand" which summons up any form of animal or plant useful to man or pleasing to his fancy.

The same facts are fundamental in human history. Viewed in the large sense, a race of men is essentially like a herd of animals. If similar processes are followed its nature is changed in the same way and the same degree.

The only way in which any race as a whole has improved has been through its preservation of its best and the loss of its worst

examples. The condition which favors this is democracy, equality before the law, the condition which equalizes opportunity and gives each man the right to stand or fall on the powers God has given him.

The only race decline ever known is that produced by those forces which destroy the best, leaving for the fathers of the future those who could not be used in the business of war or in that of colonization.

Degeneracy of the individual is quite another thing, and has its own series of causes. But such degeneracy is not inherited. Unless entangled in the meshes of disease, every child is free born, the son of what his father and mother *ought to have been*. Neither education, indolence, nor oppression can be inherited. They affect the individual life, but they cannot tarnish the blood.

In the early days, when Romans were men, when Rome was small, without glory, without riches, without colonies and without slaves, these were the days of Roman greatness.

Then the spirit of freedom little by little gave way to the spirit of domination. Conscious of power, men sought to exercise it, not on themselves but on one another. Little by little, this meant banding together, aggression, suppression, plunder, struggle, glory and all that goes with the pomp and circumstance of war. The individuality of men was lost in the aggrandizement of the few. Independence was swallowed up in ambition, patriotism came to have a new meaning. It was transferred from the hearth and home to the trail of the army.

It does not matter to us now what were the details of the subsequent history of Rome. We have now to consider only a single factor. In science this factor is known as "reversal of selection." "Send forth the best ye breed!" That was the word of the Roman war-call. And the spirit of domination took these words literally, and the best were sent forth. In the conquests of Rome, *Vir*, the real man, went forth to battle and to the work of foreign invasion; *Homo*, the human being, remained in the farm and the workshop and begat the new generations. Thus "*Vir* gave place to *Homo*." The sons of real men gave place to the sons of scullions, stable boys, slaves, camp followers, and the riff-raff of those the great victorious army does not want.

The fall of Rome was not due to luxury, effeminacy, corrup-

tion, the wickedness of Nero and Caligula, the weakness of the train of Constantine's worthless descendants. It was fixed at Philippi, when the spirit of domination was victorious over the spirit of freedom. It was fixed still earlier, in the rise of consuls and triumvirates and the fall of the simple, sturdy, self-sufficient race who would brook no arbitrary ruler. When the real men fell in war, or were left in far-away colonies, the life of Rome still went on. But it was a different type of Roman which continued, and this new type repeated in Roman history its weakling parentage.

Thus we read in Roman history the rise of the mob and of the emperor who is the mob's exponent. It is not the presence of the emperor which makes imperialism. It is the absence of the people, the want of men. Babies in their day have been emperors. A wooden image would serve the same purpose. More than once it has served it. The decline of a people can have but one cause: the decline in the type from which it draws its sires. A herd of cattle can deteriorate in no other way than this, and a race of men is under the same laws. By the rise in absolute power, as a sort of historical barometer, we may mark the decline in the breed of the people. We see this in the history of Rome. The conditional power of Julius Cæsar, resting on his own tremendous personality, showed that the days were past of Cincinnatus and of Junius Brutus. The power of Augustus showed the same. But the decline went on. It is written that "the little finger of Constantine was thicker than the loins of Augustus." The emperor in the time of Claudius and Caligula was not the strong man who held in check all lesser men and organizations. He was the creature of the mob, and the mob, intoxicated with its own work, worshiped him as divine. Doubtless the last emperor, Augustulus Romulus, before he was thrown into the scrap-heap of history, was regarded in the mob's eyes and his own as the most godlike of them all.

What have the historians to say of these matters? Very few have grasped the full significance of their own words, for very few have looked on men as organisms, and on nations as dependent on the specific character of the organisms destined for their reproduction.

So far as I know, Benjamin Franklin was the first to think

of man thus as an inhabitant, a species in nature among other species, and dependent on nature's forces as other animals and other inhabitants must be.

Franklin said:

"If one power singly were to reduce its standing army it would be instantly overrun by other nations. Yet I think there is one effect of a standing army which must in time be felt so as to bring about the abolition of the system. A standing army not only diminishes the population of a country, but even the size and breed of the human species. For an army is the flower of the nation. All the most vigorous, stout and well-made men in a kingdom are to be found in the army, and these men in general cannot marry."

What is true of standing armies is far more true of armies that fight and fall, for, as Franklin said again, "Wars are not paid for in war times; the bill comes later."

In Otto Seeck's great history of "The Downfall of the Ancient World" ("Der Untergang der Antiken Welt"), he finds this downfall due solely to the rotting out of the best ("Die Ausrottung der Besten"). The historian of the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" or any other empire is engaged solely with the details of the process by which the best men are exterminated. Speaking of Greece, Dr. Seeck says, "A wealth of force of spirit went down in the suicidal wars." "In Rome, Marius and Cinna slew the aristocrats by hundreds and thousands. Sulla destroyed the democrats, and not less thoroughly. Whatever of strong blood survived, fell as an offering to the proscription of the Triumvirate." "The Romans had less of spontaneous force to lose than the Greeks. Thus desolation came to them sooner. Whoever was bold enough to rise politically in Rome was almost without exception thrown to the ground. Only cowards remained, and from their brood came forward the new generations. Cowardice showed itself in lack of originality and in slavish following of masters and traditions."

The Romans of the Republic could not have made the history of the Roman Empire. In their hands it would have been still a republic. Could they have held aloof from world-conquering schemes, Rome might have remained a republic, enduring

even to our own day. The seeds of destruction lie not in the race nor in the form of government, but in the influences by which the best men are cut off from the work of parenthood.

"The Roman Empire," says Seeley, "perished for want of men." The dire scarcity of men is noted even by Julius Cæsar. And at the same time it is noted that there are men enough. Rome was filling up like an overflowing marsh. Men of a certain type were plenty, "people with guano in their composition," to use Emerson's striking phrase, but the self-reliant farmers, the hardy dwellers on the flanks of the Apennines, the Roman men of the early Roman days, these were fast going, and with the change in the breed came the change in Roman history.

"The mainspring of the Roman army for centuries had been the patient strength and courage, capacity for enduring hardships, instinctive submission to military discipline of the population that lined the Apennines."

With the Antonines came "a period of sterility and barrenness in human beings." "The human harvest was bad." Bounties were offered for marriage. Penalties were devised against race suicide. "Marriage," says Metellus, "is a duty which, however painful, every citizen ought manfully to discharge." Wars were conducted in the face of a declining birth rate, and this decline in quality and quantity of the human harvest engaged very early the attention of the wise men of Rome.

"The effect of the wars was that the ranks of the small farmers were decimated, while the number of slaves who did not serve in the army multiplied."

Thus "*Vir* gave place to *Homo*," real men to mere human beings. There were always men enough such as they were. "A hencoop will be filled, whatever the (original) number of hens," said Benjamin Franklin. And thus the mob filled Rome. No wonder the mob leader, the mob hero, rose in relative importance. No wonder "the little finger of Constantine was thicker than the loins of Augustus." No wonder that "if Tiberius chastised his subjects with whips, Valentinian chastised them with scorpions."

"Government having assumed godhead, took at the same time the appurtenances of it. Officials multiplied. Subjects lost their rights. Abject fear paralyzed the people and those that ruled were intoxicated with insolence and cruelty." "The worst gov-

ernment is that which is most worshiped as divine." "The emperor possessed in the army an overwhelming force over which citizens had no influence, which was totally deaf to reason or eloquence, which had no patriotism because it had no country, which had no humanity because it had no domestic ties." "There runs through Roman literature a brigand's and a barbarian's contempt for honest industry." "Roman civilization was not a creative kind; it was military—that is, destructive." What was the end of it all? The nation bred real men no more. To cultivate the Roman fields "whole tribes were borrowed." The man of the quick eye and the strong arm gave place to the slave, the scullion, the pariah, the man with the hoe, the man whose lot does not change because in him there lies no power to change it. "Slaves have wrongs, but freemen alone have rights." So at the end the Roman world yielded to the barbaric, because it was weaker in force. "The barbarians settled and peopled the barbaric rather than conquered it." And the process is recorded in history as the fall of Rome.

"Out of every hundred thousand strong men eighty thousand were slain. Out of every hundred thousand weaklings ninety to ninety-five thousand were left to survive." This is Dr. Seeck's calculation, and the biological significance of such mathematics must be evident at once. Dr. Seeck speaks with scorn of the idea that Rome fell from the decay of old age, from the corruption of luxury, from neglect of military tactics, or from the overdiffusion of culture.

"It is inconceivable that the mass of Romans suffered from overculture." "In condemning the sinful luxury of wealthy Romans, we forget that the trade lords of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were scarcely inferior in this regard to Lucullus and Apicius, their waste and luxury not constituting the slightest check to the advance of the nations to which these men belonged. The people who lived in luxury in Rome were scattered more thinly than in any modern state of Europe. The masses lived at all times more poorly and frugally because they could do nothing else. Can we conceive that a war force of untold millions of people is rendered effeminate by the luxury of a few hundreds?"

"Too long have historians looked on the rich and noble as marking the fate of the world. Half the Roman Empire was

made up of rough barbarians untouched by Greek or Roman culture."

"Whatever the remote and ultimate cause may have been, the immediate cause to which the fall of the empire can be traced is a physical, not a moral, decay. In valor, discipline and science the Roman armies remained what they had always been and the peasant emperors of Illyricum were worthy successors of Cincinnatus and Caius Marius. But the problem was, how to replenish those armies. Men were wanting. The empire perished for want of men."

Does history ever repeat itself? It always does if it is true history. If it does not, we are dealing not with history but with mere succession of incidents. Like causes produce like effects, just as often as we may choose to test them. Whenever men use a nation for the test, poor seed yields a poor fruition. Where the weakling and the coward survives in human history, there "the human harvest is bad," and it can never be otherwise.

Noblest of Roman provinces was Gallia, the favored land, in which the best of the Romans, the Franks and the Northmen have mingled their blood to produce a nation of men hopefully leaders in the arts of peace, fatally leaders also in the arts of war.

Not long ago I visited the city of Novara, in northern Italy. There, just to the south of the town, in a wheat field, the farmers have plowed up skulls of men till they have piled up a pyramid ten or twelve feet high. Over this pyramid some one has built a canopy to keep off the rain. These were the skulls of young men of Savoy, Sardinia and Austria—men of eighteen to thirty-five years of age, without physical blemish so far as may be—peasants from the farms and workmen from the shops, who met at Novara to kill each other over a matter in which they had very little concern. Should Charles Albert, the Prince of Savoy, sit on his unstable throne or must he yield it to some one else? This was the question, and this question the battle of Novara tried to decide. It matters not what this decision was. History records it, as she does many matters of less moment. But this fact concerns us—here in thousands they died. Farther on, Frenchmen, Austrians and Italians fell together at Magenta in the same cause. You know the color that we call Magenta, the hue of the blood that flowed out under the olive trees. Solferino—once that battlefield

gave its name to scarlet ribbons, the hue of the blood that stained her orange groves. It was at Solferino that the Red Cross Society had its origin, in the sympathy for the sufferings of wounded men left for five days unaided on the field when they fell. Lodi, Marengo—all these names call up memories of idle carnage, of wasted life. Go over Italy as you will, there is scarcely a spot not crimsoned by the blood of France, scarcely a railway station without its pile of French skulls. You can trace them across to Egypt, to the foot of the pyramids. You will find them in Germany—at Ulm and Wagram, at Jena and Leipzig, at Lützen and Bautzen, at Hohenlinden and at Austerlitz. You will find them in Russia, at Moscow; in Belgium, at Waterloo. “A boy can stop a bullet as well as a man,” said Napoleon. And with the rest are the skulls and bones of boys, “ere evening to be trodden like the grass.” “Born to be food for powder” was the grim epigram of the day, summing up the life of the French peasant. Read the dreary record of the glory of France, the slaughter at Waterloo, the wretched failure of Moscow, the miserable deeds of Sedan, the waste of Algiers, the poison of Madagascar, the crimes of Indo-China, the hideous results of barrack vice and its entail of disease and sterility, and you will understand the “Man of the Hoe.” The man who is left, the man whom glory cannot use, becomes the father of the future men of France. As the long-horn aboriginal type reappears in a neglected or abused herd of high-bred cattle, so comes forth the aboriginal man, the “Man of the Hoe,” in a wasted race of men.

In the loss of war we count not alone the man who falls or whose life is tainted with disease. There is more than one in the man’s life. The bullet that pierces his heart goes to the heart of at least one other. For each soldier has a sweetheart; and if she remain single for his sake, so far as the race is concerned, the one is lost as well as the other.

Today we are told by Frenchmen that France is a decadent nation. This is a confession of judgment, not an accusation of hostile rivals. It does not mean that the slums of Paris are destructive of human life. That we know elsewhere. Each great city has its great burdens, and these fall hard on those at the bottom of the layers of society. There is degradation in all great cities, but the great cities are not the whole of France. It does not mean

that the intellectual lights of France are less bright, or the glory of French civilization extinguished. If it is true, it means only that the nation is crippled. If we cut the roots of a growing tree, we do not impair its fruits or its flowers. We strike at its future. It is claimed that the change, whatever it may be, is deep-seated, not individual. It is said that the birth rate is steadily falling, that the average stature of men is lower by two inches at least than it was a century ago, that the physical force is less among the peasants at their homes. Legoyt tells us that "it will take long periods of peace and plenty before France can recover the tall statures mowed down in the wars of the Republic and the First Empire." What is the cause of all this? Intemperance, vice, misdirected education, bureaucracy and the rush toward ready-made careers? These may be symptoms. They are not causes. Demolins asks in that clever volume of his: "In what constitutes the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon?" Before we answer this let us inquire in what constitutes the inferiority of the Latin races? If we admit this inferiority exists in any degree, and if we answer it in any degree we find in the background the causes of the fall of Greece, the fall of Rome, the fall of Spain. It is not an inferiority of race, but the severity of race experience. We find the spirit of domination, the spirit of glory, the spirit of war, the final survival of subserviency, of cowardice and of sterility. The man who is left holds in his grasp the history of the future. The evolution of a race is always selective, never collective. Collective evolution among men or beasts, the movements upward or downward of the whole as a whole, irrespective of training or selection, does not exist. As Lepouge has said, "It exists in rhetoric, not in truth nor in history."

The survival of the fittest in the struggle for existence is the primal moving cause of race progress and of race changes. In the red stress of human history, this natural process of selection is sometimes reversed. A reversal of selection is the beginning of failure. Can we see this in the fall of Rome or the downfall of France? Let us look again at the history. A single short part of it will be enough. It will give us the clue to the rest.

In the Wiertz gallery in Brussels is a wonderful painting, dating from the time of Waterloo, called "Napoleon in Hell." It represents the great marshal with folded arms and face

unmoved descending slowly to the land of the shades. Before him, filling all the background of the picture, with every expression of countenance, are the men sent before him by the unbridled ambition of Napoleon. Three millions and seventy thousand there were in all, so history tells us, more than half of them Frenchmen. They are not all shown in one picture. They are only hinted at. And behind the millions shown or hinted at are the millions on millions of men who might have been and are not—the huge widening human wedge of the possible descendants of the men who fell in battle. These men of Napoleon's armies were the youth without blemish, "the best that the nation could bring," chosen as "food for powder," "ere evening to be trampled like the grass" in the rush of Napoleon's great battles. These men came from the plow, from the workshop, from the school, the best there were—those from eighteen to thirty-five years of age at first, but afterwards the older and the younger. "The more vigorous and well born a young man is," says Novicow, "the more normally constituted, the greater his chance to be slain by musket or magazine, the rifled cannon and other similar engines of civilization." Among those destroyed by Napoleon were "the élite of Europe." "Napoleon," says Otto Seeck, "in a series of years seized all the youth of high stature and left them scattered over many battlefields, so that the French people who followed them are mostly men of smaller stature. More than once in France since Napoleon's time has the military limit been lowered."

I need not tell again the story of Napoleon's campaigns. It began with the First Consulate, the justice and helpfulness of the Code Napoleon, the prowess of the brave lieutenant whose military skill and intrepidity had caused him to deserve well of his nation.

The spirit of freedom gave way to the spirit of domination. The path of glory is one which descends easily. Campaign followed campaign, against enemies, against neutrals, against friends. The trail of glory crossed the Alps to Italy and to Egypt, crossed Switzerland to Austria, crossed Germany to Russia. Conscription followed victory, and victory and conscription debased the human species. "The human harvest was bad." The First Consul became the Emperor. The servant of the people became the founder of the dynasty. Again conscription after conscription.

"Let them die with their arms in their hands. Their death is glorious, and it will be avenged. You can always fill the places of soldiers." These were Napoleon's words when Dupont surrendered his army in Spain to save the lives of a doomed battalion.

More conscription. After the battle of Wagram, we are told, the French began to feel their weakness; the Grand Army was not the army which fought at Ulm and Jena. "Raw conscripts raised before their time and hurriedly drafted into the line had impaired its steadiness."

On to Moscow, "amidst ever-deepening misery they struggled . . . until of the six hundred thousand men who had proudly crossed the Niemen for the conquest of Russia, only twenty thousand famished, frost-bitten, unarmed specters staggered across the bridge of Lorno in the middle of December."

Despite the loss of the most splendid army marshaled by man, Napoleon abated no whit of his resolve to dominate Germany and discipline Russia. "He strained every effort to call the youth of the empire to arms . . . and three hundred and fifty thousand conscripts were promised by the Senate. The mighty swirl of the Moscow campaign sucked in one hundred and fifty thousand lads of under twenty years of age into the devouring vortex." "The peasantry gave up their sons as food for cannon." But "many were appalled at the frightful drain on the nation's strength." "In less than half a year after the loss of half a million men a new army nearly as numerous was marshaled under the imperial eagles. But the majority were young, untrained troops, and it was remarked that the conscripts born in the year of Terror had not the stamina of the earlier levies. Brave they were, superbly brave, and the emperor sought by every means to breathe into them his indomitable spirit." "Truly the emperor could make boys heroes, but he could never repair the losses of 1812." "Soldiers were wanting, youths were dragged forth." The human harvest was at its very worst.

The effects of emigration run parallel with the effects of war, but with this enormous difference: the strong men who emigrate are not lost to the world. The loss of one region is the gain of another. But the losses in war can yield no corresponding gain.

The effects of emigration can be well studied in England. From Devon and Somerset arose the colony of Massachusetts

Bay. From the loins of Old England arose our New England, and from the germ of self-governing New England arose the United States. The counties of Devon and Somerset have no importance in the England of today comparable with the part they played in the days of Queen Elizabeth. Their influence is over the seas, with the young men who carried with them the names of Plymouth and Dartmouth, of Exeter and Taunton, of Bristol and Bath and Barnstable.

If we could imagine this New England stock in all its ramifications restored to its hold home in Devon and Somerset, what a wonderful storehouse of active life these sleepy old counties would become! From every county of England strong men have gone out to conquer and populate the world. The influence of this greater England on the movement of civilization in our day far exceeds that of the England at home. "What does he know of England who only England knows?"

No stronger line than this was ever written in definition of England's greatness.

Switzerland is the land of freedom, the land of peace. But in earlier times some of the thrifty cantons sent forth their men as hireling soldiers to serve for pay under the flag of whosoever might pay their cost. There was once a proverb in the French court, "*Pas d'argent, pas de Suisses*" (No money, no Swiss); for the agents of the free republic drove a close bargain.

In Lucerne stands the noblest of all monuments in all the world, the memorial of the Swiss guard of Louis XVI, killed by the mob at the palace of Versailles. It is carved in the solid rock of a vertical cliff above a great spring in the outskirts of the city—a lion of heroic size, a spear thrust through its body, guarding in its dying paws the Bourbon lilies and the shield of France. And the traveler, Carlyle tells us, should visit Lucerne and her monument, "not for Thorwaldsen's sake alone, but for the sake of the German *Biederkeit* and *Tapferkeit*, the valor of which is worth and truth, be it Saxon, be it Swiss."

Beneath the lion are the names of those whose devotion it commemorates. And with the thought of their courage comes the thought of the pity of it, the waste of brave life in a world that has need for it all. "Sons of the men who knelt at Sempach, but not to thee, O Burgundy." Switzerland has need of more such

sons. It may be fancy, but it seems to me that, as I go about in Switzerland, I can distinguish by the character of the men who remain those cantons who sent forth mercenary troops from those who kept their own for their own upbuilding. Perhaps for other reasons than this Lucerne is weaker than Graubünden, and Unterwalden less virile than little Appenzell. In any event, this is absolutely certain: just in proportion to its extent and thoroughness is military selection a cause of national decline.*

Spain died of empire centuries ago. It was only her ghost which walked at Manila and Santiago. In 1630 the Augustinian friar La Puente thus wrote of the fate of Spain: "Against the credit for redeemed souls I set the cost of armadas and the sacrifices of soldiers and friars sent to the Philippines. And this I count the chief loss; for mines give silver, and forests give timber, but only Spain gives Spaniards, and she may give so many that she may be left desolate, and constrained to bring up strangers' children instead of her own." "This is Castile," said a Spanish knight; "she makes men and wastes them." "This sublime and terrible phrase," says Captain Carlos Gilman Calkins, from whom I have received both these quotations, "sums up Spanish history."

The warlike nation of today is the decadent nation of tomorrow. It has ever been so, and in the nature of things it must ever be.

In his charming studies of "Feudal and Modern Japan," Mr. Arthur Knapp, of Yokohama, returns again and again to the great marvel of Japan's military prowess after more than two hundred years of peace. This was shown in the Chinese war. It has been more conclusively shown on the fields of Manchuria since Mr. Knapp's book was written. It is astonishing to him that, after more than six generations in which physical courage has not been demanded, these virile virtues should be found unimpaired. We can readily see that this is just what we should expect. In times of peace there is no slaughter of the strong, no sacrifice of the courageous. In the peaceful struggle for existence there is a premium placed on these virtues. The virile and the brave survive. The idle, weak and dissipated go to the wall.

* "Lors de la guerre de Paraguay la population virile disparut presque complètement, et il ne resta que les malades et les infirmes." (E. Reclus.)

"What won the battles on the Yalu, in Korea or Manchuria," says the Japanese Nitobe, "was the ghosts of our fathers guiding our hands and beating in our hearts. They are not dead, these ghosts, those spirits of our warlike ancestors. Scratch a Japanese, even one of the most advanced ideas, and you will find a Samurai." If we translate this from the language of Shintoism to that of science we find it a testimony to the strength of race heredity, the survival of the ways of the strong in the lives of the self-reliant.

If after two hundred years of incessant battle Japan still remained virile and warlike, that would indeed be the marvel. But that marvel no nation has ever seen. It is doubtless true that warlike traditions are most persistent with nations most frequently engaged in war. But the traditions of war and the physical strength to gain victories are very different things. Other things being equal, the nation which has known least of war is the one most likely to develop the "strong battalions" with whom victory must rest.

As Americans we are more deeply interested in the fate of our mother country than in that of the other nations of Europe.

What shall we say of England and of her relation to the reversed selection of war? Statistics we have none and no evidence of tangible decline that Englishmen will not indignantly repudiate. When the London press in the vacation season fills its columns with editorials on English degeneration, it is to something else to which these journalists refer. Their problem is that of the London slums, of sweatshops and child labor, of wasting overwork and of lack of nutrition, of premature old age and of sodden drunkenness—influences which bring about the degeneration of the individual, the inefficiency of the social group, but which for the most part leave no trace in heredity and are therefore no factor in the decline of the race. Such decline is at once cause, effect and symptom—a sign of racial inadequacy, a cause of further enfeeblement and an effect of unjust and injurious social, political and industrial conditions in the past.

But the problem before us is not the problem of the slums. What mark has been left on England by her great struggles for freedom and by the thousand petty struggles to impose on the

world the semblance of order called "Pax Britannica," the British peace?

To one who travels widely through the counties of England some part of the cost is plain.

"There's a widow in sleepy Chester
Who mourns for her only son;
There's a grave by the Pabeng River—
A grave which the Burmans shun."

This is a condition repeated in every village in England, and its history is recorded on the walls of every parish church. Everywhere can be seen tablets in memory of young men—gentlemen's sons from Eton and Rugby and Winchester and Harrow, scholars from Oxford and Cambridge, who have given up their lives in some far-off petty war. Their bodies rest in Zululand, in Cambodia, in the Gold Coast, in the Transvaal. In England only they are remembered. In the parish churches these records are numbered by the score. In the cathedrals they are recorded by the thousand. Go from one cathedral town to another—Canterbury, Winchester, Chichester, Exeter, Salisbury, Wells, Ely, York, Lincoln, Durham, Litchfield, Chester (what a wonderful series of pictures this list of names calls up!), and you will find always the same story, the same sad array of memorials to young men. What would be the effect on England if all of these "unreturning brave" and all that should have been their descendants could be numbered among her sons today? Doubtless not all of these were young men of character. Doubtless not all are worthy even of the scant glory of a memorial tablet. But most of them were worthy. Most of them were brave and true, and most of them looked out on life with "frank blue British eyes."

This too we may admit, that war is not the only destructive agency in modern society, and that in the struggle for existence the England of today has had many advantages which must hide or neutralize the waste of war.

In default of facts unquestioned we may appeal to the poets, letting their testimony as to the reversal of selection stand for what it is worth.

Rudyard Kipling is the poet of imperialism; and as to the

cost of it all we may well heed his testimony. This he says of the rule of the sea :

“We have fed our sea for a thousand years,
And she calls us, still unfed ;
Though there’s never a wave of all her waves
But marks our English dead.”

Again, referring to dominion on land, Kipling warns the British soldier :

“Walk wide o’ the widow at Windsor,
For ’alf o’ creation she owns :
We ’ave bought ’er the same with the sword an’ the flame,
An’ we’ve salted it down with our bones.
(Poor beggars !—it’s blue with our bones !).”

Through all this we have the same refrain, the minor chord of victory, the hidden lesson of war.

“The brightest are gone before us,
The dullest are left behind.”

“The living are brave and noble,
The dead were bravest of all !”

“The kindly seasons love us,
They smile over trench and clod ;
Where we left the bravest of us
There’s a deeper green of the sod.”

“Set in this stormy northern sea,
Queen of these restless fields of tide,
England ! what shall men say of thee,
Before whose feet the worlds divide ?”

“And thou whose wounds are never healed,
Whose weary race is never won,
O Cromwell’s England ! must thou yield
For every inch of ground a son ?”

"What profit that our galleys ride,
 Pine-forest-like, on every main?
 Ruin and wreck are at our side,
 Grim warders of the House of Pain.

"Where are the brave, the strong, the fleet?
 Where is our English chivalry?
 Wild grasses are their burial-sheet,
 And sobbing waves their threnody."

"Peace, peace! we wrong the noble dead
 To vex their solemn slumber so:
 Though childless, and with thorn-crowned head,
 Up the steep road must England go."

It suggests the inevitable end of all empire, of all dominion of man over man by force of arms. More than all who fall in battle or are wasted in the camps, the nation misses the "fair women and brave men" who should have been the descendants of the strong and the manly. If we may personify the spirit of the nation, it grieves most not over its "unreturning brave," but over those who might have been but never were, and who, so long as history lasts, can never be.

It was at Lexington that "the embattled farmers" "fired the shot heard round the world." To them life was of less value than a principle, the principle written by Cromwell on the statute book of Parliament: "All just powers under God are derived from the consent of the people." Since the war of the Revolution many patriotic societies have arisen in the United States. These may be typified by the association of the "Sons of the Revolution" and of the "Sons of American Wars," societies which find their inspiration in the personal descent of their members from those who fought for American independence. The assumption, well justified by facts, is that Revolutionary fathers were a superior type of man, and that to have had such names in our personal ancestry is of itself a cause for thinking more highly of ourselves. In our little private round of peaceful duties we feel that we might have wrought the deeds of Putnam and Allen, of Marion and Greene, of our Revolutionary ancestors, whoever

they may have been. But if those who survived were nobler than the mass, so also were those who fell. If we go over the record of brave men and wise women whose fathers fought at Lexington, we must think also of the men and women who shall never be, whose right to exist was cut short at this same battle. It is a costly thing to kill off men, for in men alone and the sons of men can national greatness consist.

But sometimes there is no other alternative. War is sometimes inevitable. It is sometimes necessary, sometimes even righteous. It happened once in our history that for "every drop of blood drawn by the lash another must be drawn by the sword." It cost us six hundred and fifty thousand lives to get rid of slavery. And this number, almost a million, North and South, was the "best that the nation could bring." North and South, the nation was impoverished by the loss. The gaps they left are filled, to all appearance. There are relatively few of us left today in whose hearts the scars of forty years ago are still unhealing. But a new generation has grown up of men and women born since the war. They have taken the nation's problems into their hands, but theirs are hands not so strong or so clean as though the men that are stood shoulder to shoulder with the men that might have been. The men that died in "the weary time" had better stuff in them than the father of the average man of today.

"Ware are not paid for in war times: the bill comes later."

By the law of probabilities as developed by Quetelet, there will appear in each generation the same number of potential poets, artists, investigators, patriots, athletes and superior men of each degree.

But this law involves the theory of continuity of paternity, that in each generation a percentage practically equal of men of superior force or superior mentality should survive to take the responsibilities of parenthood. Otherwise Quetelet's law becomes subject to the operation of another law, the operation of reversed selection, or the biological "law of diminishing returns." In other words, breeding from an inferior stock is the sole agency in race deterioration, as selection natural or artificial along one line or another is the sole agency in race progress.

And all laws of probabilities and of averages are subject to a still higher law, the primal law of biology, which no cross-

current of life can overrule or modify: *Like the seed is the harvest.*

It is related that Guizot once asked this question of James Russell Lowell: "How long will the republic endure?" "So long as the ideas of its founders remain dominant," was the answer. But again we have this question: "How long will the ideas of its founders remain dominant?" Just so long as the blood of the founders remains dominant in the blood of its people. Not necessarily the blood of the Puritans and the Virginians alone, the original creators of the land of free states. We must not read our history so narrowly as that. It is the blood of free-born men, be they Roman, Frank, Saxon, Norman, Dane, Goth or Samurai. It is a free stock which creates a free nation. Our republic shall endure so long as the human harvest is good, so long as the movement of history, the progress of peace and industry leaves for the future not the worst but the best of each generation. The Republic of Rome lasted so long as there were Romans; the Republic of America will last so long as its people, in blood and in spirit, remain free men.

At the close of President Jordan's address, the session adjourned.

THIRD SESSION

SOME PEACEMAKING FACTORS IN MODERN SOCIETY

Monday Evening, May 3, at 8 o'clock

MUSIC HALL, FINE ARTS BUILDING.

MISS JANE ADDAMS, *Presiding*

MISS ADDAMS:

There are a great many forces working for peace outside of the American Peace Society and the International Peace Society. Perhaps one of the strongest of these is the many fraternal organizations and others which we find throughout the civilized world, the members of which try to keep war at least outside of their own organization and to live within that organization as we hope after awhile all the world will live together. Mr. Burt, who has been most active in bringing together the various fraternal orders of Chicago, will speak to us this evening on the fraternal orders and peace. It gives me great pleasure to introduce Mr. Joseph B. Burt.

Fraternal Orders and Peace

MR. JOSEPH B. BURT

When a famous general of our country was discussing the subject of war, he bluntly and tersely said, "War is hell," and every sane man in the United States fully understood this definition. And well they might understand it, for Masons had been shooting Masons, Odd Fellows had been shooting Odd Fellows, Catholics had been shooting Catholics, and Protestants had been shooting Protestants. War had changed the freedom and happiness of a peaceful and prosperous nation into a hell of carnage and crime.

When our Civil War began the Masons and Odd Fellows

were practically the only fraternal orders in this country. Members of each of these orders were on both sides in this war and were engaged in filling each other with bullets and not with fraternity. Near the close of the war a new fraternal order was started in the City of Washington which had for one of its objects the reuniting of the men in the North with the men in the South in the bonds of brotherly love. This fraternal order has now grown to nearly a million members. Each of the two fraternal orders which existed at the beginning of the war now has over a million members in the United States. Fraternal orders in this country have grown from two in number to more than six hundred in forty-five years and have a lodge in nearly every town and hamlet in this nation. It is safe to say that the fraternal orders now have included in their membership over one-third of the voting population of the United States.

It is no breach of confidence to say that all of these orders stand for peace. Fraternal orders have been teaching peace for nearly a century. Notwithstanding this fact, perhaps this is the first Peace Conference in which fraternal orders and peace have been discussed. It is therefore proper at this Conference to discuss the question, "What have these fraternal orders to do with peace on earth and good will toward all men?"

Perhaps the greatest guarantee against another civil war in this country lies in the fact that over one-third of our men belong to these orders and are taught to regard their fellowmen as brothers. The members of nearly all these orders have never charged each other with bayonets or killed each other with bullets.

We may ask ourselves whether the human race has advanced far enough to practice peace truly, as well as to preach it. The old tribal feeling that it is wrong to kill a fellow tribesman, but that one is justified in killing his fellowman who belongs to another tribe, has been handed down to us from generation to generation. It will take generations yet to come for the members of the human race to educate themselves away from this tribal training of the past. This Peace Conference, as well as others of its kind, will hasten the day when all men will realize that they should do no man wrong and that human life should be held sacred.

It is not my purpose to go into figures to prove the uselessness of war and the loss to the nation of human life which all wars entail. This field has been covered by others. Neither is it my purpose to try to prove that fraternal orders are altogether right in their methods of teaching peace. I merely wish to record the fact that members of fraternal orders do teach peace and they do discourage war. They are factors in our present-day civilization and should be considered by this and other peace conferences. They are agencies of brotherly love and not of bullets. They stand for friendship and not for fighting. They stand for truth and not for treachery.

How are these fraternal orders promoting peace? If it will promote peace to teach men the brotherhood of man, the Fatherhood of God, love, kindness, fraternity, friendship, charity, benevolence, truth and justice, then these six hundred fraternal orders with their thousands of lodges and millions of members in the United States are promoting peace, and our nation in years to come will be known as a fraternal nation.

Some men may say that the foregoing principles have long been the dream of dreamers, poets and women, but that these principles will never be practiced by business men and politicians. But there were many things called business and politics ten years ago, which already have passed away.

It has been said that you have only to break the skin of the average man to find a savage. Wars make men more savage, so that you do not have to break their skins to find the real animal.

It is not my purpose to try to paint in words the beauty and glory of the principles of fraternity, but I desire to state some of the practical principles of fraternal orders which can help educate our men for better citizenship and make them better husbands and fathers and thus promote the peace of our nation.

Most of these fraternal orders proclaim the doctrine that a man cannot be true to his fraternity and at the same time violate the law of the land. In other words, these orders have laws which provide for the discipline of a member if he violates the law of the land. A violation of the law of the land is a violation of the laws of the order of which he is a member. At least one of these orders in Illinois is now seriously trying to expel from membership some of its members who openly and

persistently violate the criminal code of the State of Illinois by keeping their saloons open on Sunday. This order is rapidly taking an advanced stand in educating its members away from the old tribal feeling of the past that it is right to protect a fellow tribesman although he is in the wrong. It is the duty of all fraternal men to expose all lawbreakers in these fraternal orders. Fraternity and open lawlessness cannot flourish in the same household or in the same nation. When fraternal education advances to that point where the members of these orders fully realize that open lawlessness means death to true fraternity much of our present lawlessness will disappear and the peace of the world will thereby be better secured.

As lawlessness decreases in a nation, so wars decrease in that nation. It was the lawlessness of the abolitionists of the North, as well as the lawlessness of the slaveholders of the South, that brought on our Civil War. The abolitionists did not recognize the legal right of one man to have property in another man, although the Constitution at that time guaranteed it. These men often violated the law of the land by helping to deprive slaveholders of their property. The slaveholders often violated the law of the land in trying forcibly to extend slavery into forbidden territory. Thus lawlessness grew to wholesale proportions and we had war.

War is wholesale lawlessness. Warlike people are lawless people and lawless people are warlike people. In order to avoid war we must educate ourselves to be a law-abiding people. Until we are a law-abiding people we are in danger of civil wars as well as foreign wars. If we are not just and humane at home, how can we be just and humane with foreign nations?

The members of fraternal orders are taught to be just and humane to all men. They are taught to respect the feelings and opinions of others. While it is true that all members of these orders do not always practice what they preach, yet the great majority of them make their promise their performance. Their motto is, In times of peace fraternally educate for more peace.

If working men and capitalists could meet as lodge men meet, they could settle their difficulties without murder. In 1905, during the strike in Chicago, we saw a sad illustration of this want of fraternal feeling between the representatives of capital

and the representatives of labor. Both sides violated the laws of Illinois in trying to bluff and bulldoze the other side. The free use of the streets was denied the citizens of this city, and lawbreakers from other cities were imported into Chicago and armed with deadly weapons, contrary to law. The law, which is the only protection capital and labor have, was defied by the representatives of both sides until open warfare prevailed.

Our Civil War resulted from a breakdown of the religious and moral forces in our country, as well as from a conflict over slavery. Another civil war may occur in this country unless we encourage all religious and moral organizations of our land to practice what they preach among their fellowmen. It may have been regarded in the past as a religious duty to kill one's fellowmen, but that is not the case now in this country. It never was regarded as a fraternal duty for men to kill their fellowmen.

Peace cannot be secured by legislation; it can be secured only by education. The educational forces of our nation along fraternal lines should, therefore, be analyzed and understood by all men. The silent forces of a nation go to make up the greatness of that nation. It is not necessary for us at this Peace Conference to single out any one agency of peace and to label all peace movements with the name of this particular agency, but we should at this Conference endeavor to establish more permanently a clearing house or bureau of information for all agencies which are teaching peace. Different agencies for peace must be permitted to teach peace in their own way. Publicity of the methods of preaching and practicing peace by these various agencies is the only safety for the peace of future generations. Every right-minded citizen should consider himself a partner in all peace agencies. They need the personality of every law-abiding and peaceable citizen. Publicity, partnership and personality are the general lines along which the human race must progress in order to obtain peace. The three great obstacles to the progress of the human race always have been and always will be jealousy, prejudice and ignorance. When one agency for peace becomes jealous of another agency it uses its force in fighting that other agency and in many instances fails to add anything to the sum total making for peace. When one agency for peace is prejudiced against another agency for peace, then that agency has outlived

its usefulness. Prejudice is the mother of ignorance, and ignorance has never contributed anything to the progress of mankind.

Fraternal orders are doing their part in breaking down these great barriers to the progress of the human race. Practically no jealousy exists between the men in one order and the men in another order. Oftentimes one man belongs to several different orders. Prejudice against men or organizations of men must not be exhibited in the lodge room. Outside criticism of the fraternal orders must remain unanswered in the lodge room. Lodge men have long since learned that their danger does not lie without the lodge, but that their real danger lies within the lodge. If the lodge permits the personality of its membership to deteriorate, then its membership disintegrates. Men engaged in occupations which tolerate lawlessness are now excluded from all but one of the fraternal orders in the United States. There is an unwritten law in many lodges that a member shall not solicit the membership of any man. The application of a new member should mean that the applicant has not only preached, but that he desires to practice the principles of fraternity.

Some, not all, members of peace agencies are ready to condemn other peace agencies without knowing the real facts concerning the condemned agencies; such condemnation is unjust and unfraternal. Honest criticism, on the other hand, is not condemnation; every man and every agency of men need criticism. Strong men and strong agencies of men encourage criticism and thereby gain much of their strength. Men and agencies of men who are afraid of criticism will cover up the truth, and the truth about ourselves is the only thing which will make us free from the ravages of war.

The twentieth century method of promoting peace is for men who have differences to sit down and reason with each other and not to try to reform each other. Reasoning together will educate the persons concerned and will make the one-half of the world know and understand the other half better. Wars in many instances are caused by the one-half of the world not knowing and understanding the other half. Our Civil War had been carried on for about three years before our people really understood that the purpose of that war was to abolish human slavery in the United States. The question of slavery could have been settled

without any loss of life if the leaders on both sides of the controversy had reasoned with each other in a fraternal spirit with an honest endeavor to find out the truth. Jealousy, prejudice and ignorance played their part in that controversy, and war was the result. Today we are paying a part of the great loss of that war in pensions, and many homes are sad because of broken health or death which was caused by cruel war. Had the question of slavery been settled in a fraternal way some of the money our government is now paying for pensions would have been paid then to slaveholders for their property, the security of which the Constitution then guaranteed to them. The million men who then fell on our battle fields and died from disease in war camps would have been saved to develop our rich and growing country.

Men in fraternal orders rejoice in the fact that arbitration is now taking the place of war. Decisions of arbitrators may not always be just, but wars never settle the justice of a cause. Wars merely settle the question as to which is the stronger party in the controversy. Fraternal men can best advance the peace movement of the world by educating themselves to promote peace and to condemn lawlessness and war. If we cease to be a lawless people we will cease to be a warlike people. If we cease to be a warlike people at home, then we will cease to be a warlike people abroad in our business and other relations with foreign nations. Other nations will treat us as we treat other nations; if we treat them unjustly, they will treat us unjustly. If we treat them in a warlike manner, they will treat us in a warlike manner. If we try to bluff and bulldoze other nations by trying to build the largest navy in the world, then other nations will try to bluff and bulldoze us by trying to build navies larger than ours.

Fraternal men should discourage the building of larger Dreadnoughts. Dreadnoughts and large armies do not stand for fraternity.

The best advertisement a man or a fraternal order can have is a reputation for truth and justice. The greatest detriment to a man or to a fraternal order is a reputation for bluff and bluster. In the long run, the bluff of every man and of every nation will be "called," and the man or nation thus exposed will receive the condemnation of all right-thinking people. Such men and such

nations are not willing to be honest and truthful with their fellow men.

Fraternal orders teach men confidence in their fellow men. A man who has not confidence in his fellow men is a dangerous citizen to the nation in which he lives. The people of a nation who have not confidence in their fellow men are a dangerous people and that nation is a menace to the peace of nations. A man who thinks that no one else is honest but himself is apt to be dishonest with his fellow men because he wants to treat others as he thinks others are treating him. So it is with a nation whose people think the people of all other nations are dishonest; they are universally dishonest because they attempt to "get even" with those of other nations whom they consider dishonest. A dishonest nation needs a big navy and a big army. The more dishonest a nation is, the bigger its navy and army ought to be. Such a nation is educating its people to believe that might makes right. Such a nation is educating its people to regard the Golden Rule as a joke, and is teaching them that justice and liberty are good things to preach about but bad things to practice.

Fraternal men are rapidly realizing that the Golden Rule is a rule of business necessity. A permanent business must be an honest business justly conducted. A dishonest business or a business dishonestly conducted means, sooner or later, bankruptcy. A dishonest nation means, sooner or later, bankruptcy or war. In other words, men and nations, sooner or later, get their just deserts. Men and nations, as a rule, get out of the world what they put into it. Men and nations are treated by the world as they treat the world. If men and nations want war they sooner or later get war; if men and nations want peace they sooner or later get peace.

We cannot expect fraternal orders as organizations to endorse this or that peace movement, but we can expect all true fraternal men, individually, to encourage and to work for peace.

The members of the fraternal orders in the United States not only advocate but earnestly desire peace, and the day will come when they will get peace and our nation will then really help to free this old world from the pestilence and ravages of war.

MISS JANE ADDAMS:

I am sure you all know Mr. Robert Treat Paine, President of the American Peace Society, and we will all be glad to hear a word from him. (Applause.)

MR. ROBERT TREAT PAINE:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: This is rather a sudden surprise, and I never had the power of speaking without preparation, but one cannot refuse to obey Miss Addams, in Chicago. (Laughter and applause.) We have learned to admire her so much in our distant city of Boston that obedience here would be easy if one were able to do so.

I cannot refrain from saying one word to express the pleasure with which I have listened to this last address, because we have been struggling for peace almost hopelessly and I do not know what real ground we have for confident hope unless it is the great masses of the people, the fraternal orders, and I think I am right in saying the great labor unions, those who are represented by Mr. Gompers, whom we shall hear later; unless, possibly they take up the cause of peace and present it with the fairness and thoroughness and splendor with which the last speaker has done.

The capitalists, I think I might almost say in my despair, have failed to bring about the desired result. Some people maintain that the capitalists are on the wrong side; that they are making larger profits out of war and the preparation for war than they can make in any peaceful way. We are beginning now to see that the results of war are pressing with cruel burdens upon the masses of the plain people; that the tremendous debts that are rolled up by all this preparation for war in Germany, in France, in England, and even in our own happy country, which until recently has been free from the burdens of war, are oppressing those nations with a mass of debt which really in the last analysis falls upon the labor unions, the laboring men and the fraternal orders. And therefore they have the right on the noble ground that has been presented to us of what I will call Christianity, to make their appeal to each other in behalf of peace; and also upon the economic ground that the burdens which grow out of the cruel debts of war are borne by the laboring people themselves, and

are felt by the workingmen and by their wives and by their children as an intolerable burden.

That argument we wish to have presented as powerfully as it can be on all occasions, but the argument which Mr. Burt has presented to us this evening, growing out of the Christian fellowship existing between working people, is a more beautiful, a more potent and a more powerful argument than the economic argument at its best.

Therefore I rejoice to have heard what Mr. Burt has just said to us, and I hope we shall hear it presented also by Mr. Gompers. I congratulate you in Chicago, and I congratulate Miss Addams on having presented the best argument, on the highest possible ground. (Applause.)

(A solo, "Why Do the Nations So Furiously Rage Together?" from Handel's "Messiah," was then sung by Mr. Arthur Beresford.)

MISS ADDAMS:

A national or international peace conference would be most incomplete if it did not give a large place upon its program to the claims of organized labor as a peacemaker. The fraternal delegates are sent from England every year to the meetings of the American Federation of Labor, and we are most happy in that at this Second American Peace Congress, held in Chicago, the cause of organized labor and peace is to be presented by Mr. Samuel Gompers, the president now, as he has been for many years, of the American Federation of Labor. I take great pleasure in presenting to this audience Mr. Gompers. (Applause.)

Organized Labor and Peace

MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: The question of peace and of war is peculiarly and particularly a question largely affecting the working people of all countries. Not alone in battle, not alone upon the bloody field of contest, but long after wars are over the working people must bear the brunt of it all; for

after all, from whom, if not from the great masses of the people, of the workers, is to be drawn the soldiery of the countries? The only benefit that possibly may result, the only thing really that war creates is widows and orphans. (Applause.) In all other respects war is the scientific, brutal and consummate art of destruction.

We hear occasionally some man valiant in battle who lends his voice with others in advocacy of peace, and to my mind there is no greater anomaly than to find any one trained in the art of wholesale killing adding his voice for peace, for if peace were general and universal the man of war would have to go out of business. It is unthinkable for a lawyer to be without a brief or a client, a physician to be without a patient; and how about a soldier without war?

Peace is the manifestation of the best in man for constructive purposes. When we realize the enormous sums of money that are expended by the nations of the world in war, in the preparation for war, in the standing armies, in tremendously increased navies, even upon a peace footing, it is enough to appall one. Today the newspapers published dispatches from Washington in which it was said that, notwithstanding it is the desire of the President and his Cabinet to economize in the expenditures of our government, it is not possible to bring the estimates for the coming year within a billion dollars! It does not take very long to say a billion dollars, but just give your thought a moment's time to grasp what that means and to realize, too, that so tremendous a part of that billion dollars is for our army and navy. Yet in spite of the fact that all thinking, observing men and women of our country realize the great exhaustion of the resources of our country, it has been difficult to obtain the appropriation of a dollar from Congress in order to protect the resources of our country from exhaustion. Niggardliness in appropriation for matters affecting the common weal!

I recall an incident when I had the pleasure of co-operating with three ladies now occupying this platform, Miss Jane Addams, Mrs. Raymond Robins and Miss Mary McDowell, in trying to get Congress to authorize the appropriation of fifty thousand dollars to investigate the extent of that awful evil of child labor and woman's labor in unwholesome occupations. What mattered

it to consider the great questions of the exploitation of our women and the crushing of the life of our young and innocent children? War, the preparation for war, these are the incentives to our statesmanship.

What relation has labor, and particularly organized labor, to peace? The whole history of the labor movement from its earliest institution has always been that it has stood unqualifiedly for international peace. One of the earliest labor unions in the United States more than one hundred years ago petitioned Congress to take the initiative and be the mediator for the establishment and maintenance for all time of international peace. The old national labor union, the Knights of Labor, the national and international trade unions, the local bodies of organized labor, central labor unions, state federations, and the American Federation of Labor in its convention when formed in Pittsburg in 1881, declared for international peace. At its convention in 1887 it received W. R. Cremer, the union stone cutter of England, elected to the secretaryship of his union, and then the opportunity came to him of a little more time and opportunity to understand the great questions affecting man, and he initiated the movement for the Interparliamentary Union. He issued a weekly paper called *The Arbitrator*. It had a precarious existence, and so did he, but he published his paper faithfully and regularly regardless of his own privations. He was the author and founder of the Interparliamentary Union now recognized by the members of the legislative part of the government of nearly every civilized country.

He came here to the United States and straightway made for the convention of our Federation at Baltimore and there by a unanimous vote the convention declared that it would support any and every movement that tended toward the elimination of wars among the nations.

W. R. Cremer four years ago was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize of \$40,000. He declined to receive it and preferred that it be given to the foundation for international peace. He died only a few months ago. Just before he died the government of Great Britain recognized in him a great force for universal peace and good will and bestowed upon him the order of knighthood, and thus he died Sir William Randal Cremer, the union stone cutter, an embodiment of peace.

In national and international congresses the representatives of labor are in attendance. They were in attendance in New York; they are in attendance here and have been today at the meeting at Orchestra Hall. They will be with you; they could not escape it if they would and they would not if they could. (Applause.) They are so vitally interested that, if it were not altruism, positive personal interests and a regard for personal safety would prompt them to favor international peace. And I may say in passing that the labor movement stands not only for international peace and arbitration to take the place of strife and warfare, but it stands unalterably in favor of industrial peace. (Applause.)

It may be well to chide the men of labor for what may transpire during a rupture of the harmonious relations existing between workmen and employers, but it would not be amiss to bear in mind what the conditions would be were the men and women of labor unorganized. I will take second position to no man on earth in my advocacy of international and industrial universal peace. Personally I would submit to almost any indignity rather than engage in an encounter, but there is a limit even to self-restraint. If we bear in mind the conditions which exist in industry with the great concentration of wealth and power, with the division and the sub-division and the specialization of labor, what opportunity would the individual workingman have to defend his rights, his interests and his honor, acting as an individual? It is only by his collectivity, by his unison with his fellows, that he obtains some of the individuality and power which he has lost by the development of modern industry. And if, incidentally, out of this great turmoil, out of this great crucible of our industrial development, we find a disagreement arise, none deplore it more than do the men of labor.

But there are some things that are even worse than strife: a degraded and demoralized manhood and womanhood. (Applause.) I would, with my fellows (and have declared for specific conditions) demand from our government to take the initiative so that the peace of nations, the peace of the world, shall be preserved; but I doubt that there is one man or woman in this hall tonight who would advocate the absolute disarmament of our country. Not in the year of grace 1909. (Laughter.)

We want peace and we want it mighty badly, but we must come to it by universal agreement or by the agreement of the powerful nations of the earth, by the keen conscience of the peoples of the civilized nations that shall compel the powerful nations of the world themselves to restrain themselves first, to prevent extension and expansion of the armies and the navies, and to bring their great power upon the other nations of the earth; to have some consideration for the conditions of the workers.

Where, however, will you find a people with such great self-restraint as has been manifested by the working people of our country? No famine due to any natural cause, no dearth of opportunity due to their own lack of ability and genius and willingness to work, but for nearly a year and a half now two millions of strong, sturdy, industrious men and women of our country have been walking the streets in idleness. It is saying something for the power and influence for good of the much misunderstood and much misrepresented labor movement. (Applause.)

We hear some adverse comment upon strikes as they occur, and some imagine that they are really the sum total, the Alpha and Omega of the labor movement, when, as a matter of fact, it is an interruption of the labor movement. The thousands and thousands of agreements reached by the men and women of organized labor with their employers are not promulgated or proclaimed from the housetops. The newspapers do not publish them. If there be a strike or a lockout, you may find the announcement made in large scare heads in the newspapers. That is sensational, and it is apparently vitally interesting. But an agreement reached by thousands of workmen in hundreds of instances is not sensational or interesting. If published at all in the newspapers it may be sandwiched in between an advertisement of a soothing syrup and a liver pad. (Laughter.)

The trade agreements that organized labor has with the employers are industrial treaties, and generally more faithfully abided by than are the treaties between nations.

We want peace as a substitute for war, arbitration to determine the justice and the right between nations, for we realize that, apart from the immediate results of a war, the wholesale killing, the production for simple destruction, there is one element to which seldom any attention is given. It is this, that every war

is an interruption of the natural progress of the people, to attend their own welfare; it is an interruption of the orderly development of the spirit of unselfish service to our fellows; it is an interruption of the best concept of altruism and good fellowship and good will. Every war that has come upon the people of the nations has retarded the spirit of progress and universal kindness.

Instead of our batteries and arsenals and armories and navy yards, we would have them converted into school rooms, into colleges, into universities, into university extensions, into manual training and technology, to make parks and playgrounds, air spaces, breathing places, and to weed out this great white plague that is ravaging the masses of our people. (Applause.) We would have our people taught the arts and sciences, to be of service, to teach them love and good will, the love of the good, the true, the beautiful and the useful. If there be emulation, let us endeavor to instill the principle, to emulate, to fight with each other as to who will render his fellows the best and the greatest public service. (Applause.) The time has gone by when the rulers of nations can begin and conduct foreign wars to stifle the voice of the people with the discontent of the wrongs which exist.

The people of our time have learned the lesson. We no longer recognize the great divisions between the peoples of the earth. I love my country better than any other country on the face of the globe, but that is no reason why I shall hate another country. I love my fellow citizens of this republic, and I want to serve them better than the people of any other country.

It is but natural that one should feel so; but in trying to serve the people of the United States I do not find it necessary to try to injure the people of any other country. (Applause.)

After all, we are not so far apart from the people of other countries as were our forefathers a century ago. Time and space have been eliminated to a very large extent. We communicate with the people of all countries and all climes within a very few moments. When a great calamity recently befell the people of Italy—the great earthquake—the bulletins of the newspapers in Chicago and New York had the news of that great holocaust placarded and announced to the people before it was announced in Naples or Rome. We hear the news of events which transpire, we learn them, and we communicate with the peoples

of the earth in a few brief moments: The cable, the telegraph, the telephone, the wireless, all these means of communication have brought us into direct communication with each other. The steam railways and steam vessels carry men and women and children and freight and goods from one part of the country to another. We are no longer six months from Australia or three months from England or Germany or France or Austria or Italy. It is simply a matter of a few days.

The time is coming when we shall be still closer than we are today, for we do not now count how many miles we are distant from the people of another nation. We count it in days and hours and minutes, and the more closely we are brought in contact with each other we shall, metaphorically speaking, be enabled to see into the eyes of another people and recognize in them that they are our brothers. (Applause.)

I said yesterday, and I desire to repeat the statement tonight, that I regard the building by Great Britain of her first Dreadnought as the monumental blunder of this generation. England has been known for many generations as "perfidious Albion." Her power she used like a giant and a brute; but side by side with the growing intelligence of the people of our country, the people of England, as reflected in her ministry and government, took on a more humane view of power, to possess power and use it gently; and her progress and influence, side by side with the progress and influence of the people and the government of the United States for universal peace, predominate over the nations of the earth. It was the building of the great Dreadnought that set the world by the ears again to consider what could and should be done by each nation in order to build Dreadnoughts for themselves. And now we do not know which country shall build more Dreadnoughts. There is much for the people, for the peace and for the safety of the peoples of the countries of the world to dread from these Dreadnoughts.

We may only hope that out of these congresses held in the city of Chicago, with the allied forces and power of the various organizations and societies, human, altruistic, aggressive, fraternal, scientific, men in public life and private life, men and women who are giving their all, their effort and their influence, may develop the power to encourage the Republic of the United

States to take the lead, to stand for peace and to invite the nations of the earth to appeal to the conscience of the peoples of the earth to stand for peace.

Bear this in mind, my friends. I want to repeat the thought that the working people are most vitally interested in the maintenance of peace and the avoidance of war. They have the most to lose, they have the greatest burden to bear, and if I read their temper aright, they are determined that peace shall be established. (Applause.) There is a last resort, which I trust may never come into play, but if through chicanery, if through trickery and greed our leaders in the public life shall fail to appreciate the great responsibilities depending upon them, if they shall fail to take the necessary steps that shall some time, at a time not very distant, see to it that war is abolished, then in the hearts of the masses of the people of our country and of other civilized countries by common agreement, they will understand that peace shall reign on earth for all time to come. (Applause.)

Industrial Basis for International Peace

PROFESSOR GRAHAM TAYLOR.

Industry furnishes the victims of war. Working capital and working people are "food for powder." They supply the "sinews of war" in money and in flesh and blood. Brawn for battle and blood for carnage are drawn only from labor. The treasure and tax of toil are the fuel for the flame of war. And yet the competition of commerce to get the materials for industry or to market its goods has been the chief incentive and occasion for the world's welfare.

There is a poetic justice in the fact that industry is preparing the way for peace, and in the prospect that the new foundations for international peace will prove to be industrial. It is none the less but even more significant that the people's peace is thus coming, less through such conscious effort as those of peace societies and their congresses than as a by-product of blind economic forces and of world-wide industrial tendencies. But because of such voluntary preparations for peace as are being laid by education, ethics and religion, it will thus have all the firmer basis in

the economic necessities of the new times. The ancients used to think "the stars in their courses fought" for or against them. We moderns are beginning to learn that it is futile to fight against the course of events, the orders of things, the way of the world and our common human nature, which is making for peace.

Industrial interdependence, more than anything else, makes peace possible and war more and more impossible. Man and man are made interdependent by the subdivision of labor, by the organization of industry. Class is dependent upon class, craft upon craft, and nation upon nation, all up and down the scale and the wide world over as never before in human history. "No man liveth to himself" nor can he. There is no self-made, self-dependent man or community or nation any more.

We have all become so necessary to each other that we cannot get along or even exist very long without each other. This interdependence grows with every invention, with every labor-saving device, with every economy and efficiency in production and distribution, with all the growth of civilization. And as it grows, any interruption of these necessary inter-relationships menaces human existence, becomes intolerable, costs too much for any people to afford. War therefore becomes more and more impossible, peace more and more necessary, as nation becomes more and more dependent upon nation not only for its profits but for its very living.

A broader basis for association is being laid by modern industry which is sure to become the foundation for peace among the peoples. Under the domestic system of industry, kinship or the village furnished the bond for almost all human associations. Under our modern industrial system, combination far and wide across these lines becomes necessary to both capital and labor. Capital has been compelled to mass its money and management in larger units. An individual finds it less profitable and less possible to be "in business for himself." As partnerships supplant individuals, so corporations supersede partnerships and are superseded in turn by syndicates and larger combinations of capital.

Labor is forced to combine by the same economic necessity. Collective bargaining is the only way by which it can preserve its freedom of contract in dealing with collected capital. As employers and employes recognize their own and each other's necessities

to combine, they naturally inevitably deal jointly. The joint trade agreement necessarily includes provisions for conciliating and arbitrating their differences. Thus the very elements which have been creating internal strife and provoking foreign wars are training themselves and each other in the ways of peace. In their separate and collective interests, organized capital and organized labor promise yet to be the chief impediments to war and the mainstay of the world's peace. For within every nation this industrial organization on both sides is clearly evolving a larger liberty, at least for the class; a rising standard of living for the mass; a stronger defense against the aggression of one class upon another, and a firmer basis and more authoritative power to make and maintain peaceful and permanent settlements of industrial differences. More slowly yet surely there are developing legal forms and sanctions which not only make for justice and peace between parties at variance, but recognize and secure the final authority of the public as the third and greatest party to every industrial interest and difference.

Thus by associating with larger and more diverse groups the people understand each other better, are less likely to be divided by prejudice and passion from those with whom they work and deal, and are preparing to fulfill Mazzini's prophecy of "the association of the peoples."

Modern industrialism tends to bring men into international relationships. Capital has necessarily become cosmopolitan. It has largely expatriated itself. Commerce floats its ships and cargoes under any flag that pays best. However sinister may be the influence which commercial interests have had upon politics, there is a larger good evolving out of them. Organized workingmen, who were the first to frighten the world by ignoring national boundaries, are naturally developing into international unions out of their national organizations without the loss of patriotism. By stretching hearts and hands across the seas to organize for their common interest across every frontier, these great craft brotherhoods bid fair to command the world's peace by their refusal to fight each other. Socialism is nothing if not international. However divisive it may be among the people of each country, it can never array one nation against another without committing suicide. However impracticable or dangerous its ideals may be

considered by others, socialists themselves honestly think their theory furnishes the final and only basis of peace by destroying the competitive incentive to war.

Industrial migration and immigration are plainly a fundamental part in pioneering peace. Beneath all the unrest, waste and wreckage attending the modern mobility of labor, the working people who are drawn or driven from land to land are like the shuttles in a great loom that is weaving a new pattern of international citizenship in cosmopolitan patriotism. America's adopted citizens are not so likely to want or tolerate war with the lands of their birth as would the descendants of our colonial forefathers had they continued to live upon an isolated continent by themselves. The return of so many workingmen to their kinsfolk in the fatherlands, when trade is dull and work is slack in America, makes our very industrial depressions work for peace. Thus the movements of our armies of industry and fleets of commerce are really an invasion and siege of the battlefields and citadels of war for the permanent establishment of peace. Commercial and labor laws in every land and reciprocity treaties between trading peoples are preparing the way for international courts and broadening and enlarging the scope and power of international law. Already we have an international society for labor legislation, with sections in each land and publications in the languages of all the "great powers." This and every other co-operative effort to establish industrial justice and peace by the enactment and enforcement of law, limit the area and the number of the fields for fighting; substitute a court officer for a regiment of soldiers; build a "palace of justice" instead of a fortress, and consecrate it as the cathedral of the state. All the highways of traffic and the waterways of commerce lead no longer to Rome, but to the High Court of Arbitration at The Hague, where the peoples of the earth will yet seat the supreme court of the United States, of Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia and America.

THE CHAIRMAN:

Miss Eckstein would like to give a short notice of a petition which she would like to have signed, and then we will proceed to the last speaker.

MISS ANNA B. ECKSTEIN :

I just wanted to say that near the door there are a number of petition blanks of the world petition to the Third Hague Conference. The idea is this, that of course, as we know, the governments today the world over are not autocratic governments any longer but governments of representation by the people, and the leaders of the governments, the leading statesmen, are wanting, because they must, to abolish war, but they cannot do it without the people helping them; so we want to have this world petition become a majority world vote. Everyone who wishes the abolition of war will please sign it so that we will have the signatures of all the people the world over, of those people who want the abolition of war. We wish to carry these signatures, as I said, a majority of the vote of the world, to the Hague Conference when the governments of the world meet for their third conference. I would like very much if all these friends of peace who are here this evening would sign that petition, or, better still, take home a blank with them, or as many blanks as you can, and distribute them among your friends and your church and clubs and organizations, so as to have each blank form a nucleus of new circles of signers and distributors, so that you will do your part in bringing about the abolition of war.

THE CHAIRMAN :

One of the most significant things in that curious war between Russia and Japan, which was so full of surprises, was the fraternal greeting sent from the socialists of Russia to the socialists in Japan in the midst of the war, when the two countries were fighting together, showing that the peoples of two nations may come together even if their governments do not.

This Peace Congress would recognize international socialism as one of the great forces toward peace. Mr. Carl D. Thompson, who will speak upon this subject, used to be in Chicago, I believe, a good many years ago. He went to our sister city of Milwaukee, was sent to the legislature of Wisconsin, was made secretary of the charter convention at Milwaukee, so that he comes back to us, not as a "Reverend" at all, but as an "Honorable." He will address us on this international subject. (Applause.)

International Socialism as a Peace Force

HON. CARL D. THOMPSON.

There are two features in the international socialist movement that make it by reason of its very nature, and logically, the greatest anti-war movement in the world. The first of these is the propaganda of socialism, its teachings and its principles. The second is its political and economic power.

THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF PEACE

In the first place the philosophy of socialism itself offers the economic basis upon which alone international peace can rest. If an evil is to be cured the cause must first be found and removed. There is a cause for militarism and war, and it lies in the very nature of our present industrial and economic system. The wars of today, and the preparations for war, all center around the question of markets. It is the struggle over foreign markets that embroils the nations. It is the effort of each nation to defend its commercial interests involved in the problems of foreign markets that gives rise to the military preparations.

Now why should a nation need to struggle to maintain its foreign markets? Why cannot the exchange between nations be carried on without friction? The essential element in the situation is this: Each nation under the capitalistic system is producing constantly a surplus which it cannot dispose of at home. And it is to find a place for the disposing of surplus which forces upon the nations the necessity of maintaining at all hazards their foreign markets.

But under a just social order there would be no capitalistic surplus of this sort. It is not overproduction that is the difficulty; it is the exploitation of labor. It is not that the working classes and the masses of the people in any given nation are overfed, or too well clothed, or too well housed, or in any way too well provided with the things that are necessary for their normal and physical existence. It is because, by reason of the capitalistic system, the workers have been impoverished. They are unable to buy from the market the wealth which their labor has created and put into the market. The surplus cannot be sold to them,

because, being robbed of the wealth which their labor created, they cannot buy it back.

And this is the fatal weakness of the capitalistic system. By reason of its very nature, therefore, and in spite of all that we may do, this system which compels its masters to struggle for foreign markets gives rise logically and inevitably to the international complications out of which war grows.

It is this same element that makes it seem necessary to the capitalistic rulers of the world to maintain vast armies and navies. And this in turn gives rise to the mad rush of the nations to see which can build the biggest battleships and marshal the greatest armies. Hence out of economic injustice, out of the exploitation of labor grows naturally the awful fruitage of militarism and war.

It is useless to cry peace, peace, with this system, when there is no peace and when there can be no peace so long as our industrial order rests upon this fundamental element of injustice.

Socialism goes to the root of the matter. It demands a readjustment of the industrial world. And the purpose of that readjustment is to secure for those who toil the wealth which their labor creates; to eliminate the unearned incomes that constitute the object of the capitalistic method of production; to give to those who labor practically the products of their toil.

When this is done the workers of the world, or the workers in any nation, will be able to buy out of the market an amount of wealth equal to that which their labor has put into the market. There will therefore be no surplus and hence the nation will not need to fight for foreign markets. Exchange between the nations may be carried on, without exploitation and without the fear of one securing an economic advantage over the other.

Thus the philosophy of socialism in itself offers the economic basis of justice and peace, and in the long run this is the only way of establishing peace upon the earth.

Every other form of effort that the world has resorted to as a means for securing peace has proven futile. The splendid propaganda of the Prince of Peace, the carpenter of Nazareth, maintained as it has been through centuries with the most wonderful devotion, self-sacrifice and martyrdom, has nevertheless failed to protect the world from war or to save us from the crushing burdens of our monstrous armies and navies.

Even our peace conferences have been in vain. The representatives of nations go away from the conferences to find their countries rushing into the bloodiest of wars. We have been holding peace conferences for the last sixty-six years. Twenty-three international peace conferences have so far been held, and yet during those years there have been countless wars, and the bloodiest of battles, and a most terrific destruction of life and property.

In spite of all the appeals for peace, in spite of the universal desire growing ever stronger and deeper in the heart of humanity for peace on earth, the burden and the curse of militarism grows steadily. Here in America, particularly within the last few years, the rush of our nation in preparation for war has been astounding. During the last few years the United States of America has appropriated more money for military measures of various kinds than any other nation on earth. Certain representatives of the army and navy, like Congressman Captain Hobson, have been making a systematic and thoroughgoing campaign among the people of the western states with the purpose of enormously increasing the navy. On practically all of the Chautauqua platforms for years this agitation has been carried on. And the whole purpose frankly stated in all of these lectures and agitation has been to get the people to urge their representatives in Congress to vote for larger appropriations for the navy.

Through the press and other means of public agitation an effort has been made to create an increasing military spirit among the people. Prizes have been offered for military drills, flag-raising occasions in the public schools have stimulated the spirit of militarism, and it is now even proposed that rifle drills be made a part of the public school courses.

In Congress we have witnessed the steady increase in the demands for appropriations for military purposes. Last year the appropriations for these purposes—for wars expected and for wars past—\$525,000,000 was appropriated by the United States Congress. And this in spite of the fact that those who were clamoring for more money for the navy were only given the smallest part of what they insisted was absolutely essential in order to put America on a proper "peace basis."

So that in spite of all our teaching, all our moral influence

and all our peace conferences, we are in the midst of the most belligerent spirit the world has ever seen.

This pleading, this effort to educate the people rightly, this influence of our Peace Conference is good; it is necessary. We join you most heartily in all you are doing in this line. But we tell you frankly that unless to this is added the readjustment of the economic basis upon which society rests, war and the preparation for war will go steadily forward in spite of us all.

Until the cause of war is removed, the curse itself will continue. We cannot have peace on earth until we shall have established justice, industrial, economic and world-wide. And we ought not to try to secure the one without the other.

A POLITICAL PEACE POWER

But there is a much more direct and vital force in the socialist movement that is making for peace and, indeed, that will at last make war not only unnecessary but impossible. This is its political and economic power. Nine million men have voted the socialist ticket in the world. And this, of course, does not represent anything like its full political power, since so many of the working classes in various countries are disfranchised. At least thirty million human souls are marshalled under its banners in the various countries, thus constituting at once the greatest political organization in the world today, and, in fact, the greatest political organization in human history.

Nor does the movement lack in the expression of its power in the parliamentary bodies of the world. Four hundred and seventy socialists are sitting today in the national parliaments of the world. In some of the parliaments the number is sufficient to exercise a very decided influence in the legislation of the nation.

There are ninety socialists in the national parliament of Austria, seventy-six in the national parliament of France, eighty-five in Finland, forty-three in Germany, forty-four in Italy, thirty-five in England, a strong group in Norway, Sweden, Belgium. In fact, in nearly every one of the great European nations, socialism is a political force of the most decided power and influence.

And when it is understood that the whole political force back of these representatives in the national parliaments stands to a

man committed to a policy against militarism and war, and is struggling for a philosophy whose very purpose is to put an end to war in the world and establish peace on earth, we shall begin to appreciate what a force for peace international socialism has already become.

The socialist movement has already actually prevented war, not once, but in many cases, and as it grows its force in this direction will increase.

Socialism strives everywhere for the thorough organization of the working classes, not only on the lines of trades unionism, but also on the economic field, and chief of all upon the political field. And besides it seeks to organize the working classes, not only in one country, but internationally. It seeks to organize all classes of the workers in all the lines that concern them. The socialist movement seeks to co-ordinate the trades union movement with the political organization of the working class, and to reinforce these by the economic organization in the various forms of insurance, co-operative societies and the like. And where the socialist movement has become mature it has co-ordinated all of this organized power of the working class and brings it to bear in combined strength against the forces of war.

The effect of this sort of organization on the matter of war and militarism can of course be much better judged in the countries where it has been more perfected than here.

In Europe the power of the working class is much more feared and respected than in this country. And this is because the American socialist movement has not yet succeeded in developing the form of co-ordinated organization which it has secured in the European countries.

The working classes in this country are held in contempt, not only by the courts, but by the political parties. In England the power of the working class is respected. And that is because the socialist movement has finally prevailed upon the working classes to organize their political power independently. They have thirty-five socialists in the national parliament. And there are no injunctions to be issued against the labor unions in England any more. There are old age pensions being established, and the impoverished children in the public schools are being fed at public

expense where necessary. A beginning has been made, the political power of the working class is being felt.

The same is true in Germany. Three million working-class men in Germany means three million trades unionists, and it also means three million socialists. And when the working class of Germany move they move together, not only on the trades union field, but also on the political field. And one helps the other. They are a solid phalanx. And their force is becoming resistless. It is the same in Belgium, in France, in Italy, in Norway and Sweden and Denmark. The workers of the world are being organized. And when political power like this sets itself against a proposal for war, the nations dare not act without them. This solid and co-ordinate form of labor forces in the European countries makes it possible for them to use successfully in enforcing their demands what is known as the general strike.

That is, when there is a universal feeling among the working class, against a proposed war for example, the representatives of the trades unions in the national congress inform the authorities who are seeking to precipitate war that if the war is declared a general strike will be ordered. This will mean that the coal for the ships will not be handled, that the munitions of war will not be transported, that trains will not run, and thus the nation's arms would be paralyzed. It can be readily seen that here is an economic power that can absolutely render war impossible. It is only a question of the degree of labor organization.

Thus, where the representatives of the working class are sure of the solidarity of labor they are able to absolutely prevent war.

Whenever a labor movement arises sufficiently organized to command its following, and that labor movement realizes that it has everything to lose by war and nothing to gain, then that labor movement will make war impossible.

And the socialist realizes that the interests of labor are opposed to war. It is the working class that in the last analysis bear all the burdens of war. The monstrous expenditure for militarism is impoverishing the people; is keeping our cities cursed with the slums and our homes blighted with tenements and hovel dwellings. It is the expenditure upon war, present, past and to come, that prevents our developing our natural resources which would give employment to the millions of unem-

ployed. It is the heavy tax for war and war preparations that levies its toll upon all the necessities of life and increases the cost of living. And this in turn bears most heavily always and everywhere upon the working classes.

And this is not all. When war is declared and the fighting begins it is not the rich nor the leisure class that go into the battles. They stay at home, hire substitutes and play the game of capitalism that draws profits off the anguish and agony that the workers suffer.

It is the common workingman that must shoulder the musket and make the weary march. It is the common workingman that must stand out under the silent stars and in the storm on sentinel duty. It is the common workingman that must take the cold steel to his breast and writhe in anguish upon a field dyed red with the blood of his comrades. It is the common workingmen, massed like huge projectiles hurled in murderous assault at each other, that become "lava contending with lightning and volcano contending with earthquake" until the earth beneath them trembles with terror.

It is the common working class that must drink all the bitter dregs of all the blood, of all the tears, and of all the anguish of this vicious thing that we call war. And today the workers of the world are aware of it. They long for peace. They struggle for justice that peace may come.

The socialist movement of the world is making an untiring fight against militarism. Its representatives refuse at every occasion to vote for the expenses of military and naval armaments. They seek to democratize the army. They use each year with increasing vigor and success the varied methods of action open to them to prevent the breaking out of wars or to end them if they once are started. By taking advantage of the weakness of governments when engaged in war, to press the demands of the working class, they are sometimes able to force a cessation of hostility.

Thus in many ways the organized labor movement, inspired by the purpose of peace, as socialism is, has, through mutual understanding and agreement, actually prevented war over and over again. An understanding arrived at between the English and the French trades unionists after the Fashoda crisis served

to assure peace and re-establish friendly relations between England and France. The resolute standing of the socialist representatives in the national parliaments of Germany and France during the Morocco crisis prevented war. The public demonstrations organized by the Italian and Austrian socialists who met in Switzerland warded off a conflict between those two nations. The vigorous intervention of workers of Sweden and Norway prevented a war in that case. Thus the socialist movement, representing the working class in its various forms of organization, has at command the one overwhelming power by which war may be ended.

And socialism teaches the working class steadily night and day, throughout the world, what war means to them. War is hell. And when it begins it is the working class that suffer its fiercest flames. Every good thing in the world is delayed, crippled, paralyzed on account of the tremendous expenditures for war. One battleship costs more money than it would cost to build homes for a thousand working people, or to lay out a score of parks where the poor in the crowded city could find a place to breathe the fresh air of God,

"With the stars above their heads,
And the grass beneath their feet."

And yet the battleship goes forth to kill and to destroy; goes forth inscribed,

"I hold the lightning, thunder is my breath,
Monstrous I swim, swollen with death;
All man's achievements centered in me,
The crown of his knowledge, I blast the sea."

War destroys government and paralyzes industry, thus in the long run destroying the opportunities for labor and life. It impoverishes the people, it robs millions of men of the richest years of their lives, it opens countless graves where happy homes should be. It fills the world with widows and orphans, it drenches our fields with blood, bathes the world with tears, and fills the world with hate. The world has enough of anguish, enough of broken, bleeding hearts, enough of tears. Let us turn our faces towards the light of peace. Let us wipe away their

tears. Let us heal the broken hearts, let us bring peace upon the earth.

These things the socialist feels and knows. And we know another thing. We know that we have the power to stop it all; that no war could ever be fought without us. We have fought all the wars in human history, we have borne the burden of the anguish and suffering that followed in every trail, and now we will fight one more war, and this only for ourselves: To abolish the social injustice that is the cause of war, that war may be no more.

What happened in Germany a few years ago will soon be happening in every nation on the earth. When the ruling class of one nation shall clamor for war with another, when they shall demand vast sums of money to build battleships, to equip armies, the socialist representatives in the parliament of the nation involved will arise and say: "You may declare war against them if you will. But the working class of this country has no grievance against the working class of their country. And if you declare war you will have to do the fighting yourselves, for the workers of this country will not fight and murder the workers of their country."

The socialist movement will arise and say in the parliaments of the world, "We are opposed to violence, bloodshed and murder. We seek to establish justice that war may be unnecessary. All the world is our fatherland. All mankind is our brotherhood, one common cause links us together in every nation. In every country under the shining sun and silent stars the workers of the world unite for justice and peace."

And so when the cause of socialism shall have captured the parliaments of the world, then war will cease forever. Then will be fulfilled the words of the prophet who said: "They shall beat their swords into plowshares, their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." Then will be fulfilled the song of the angels at Bethlehem—"Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will among men."

At the close of Mr. Thompson's address the meeting adjourned.

FOURTH SESSION

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

Tuesday Morning, May 4, at 9:30 o'clock

ORCHESTRA HALL

HON. GEORGE E. ROBERTS, Presiding

War Expenditures in an Economic Age

This session of the Peace Congress is set apart for a special consideration of the interests of commerce and industry; of the effects of war and the burdensome preparations for war upon commerce and industry. The time was when war was the principal occupation of mankind; when society was organized for war rather than for industry. Happily that is no longer true. We live in what, as compared with all the past, is the Economic Age, the Age of Industry and Commerce, an age in which the energies of man are devoted to the arts of production rather than to efforts of destruction or exploitation. This is an age of individual hope and ambition, when men are struggling to better the material conditions under which they live, to unlock by science and industry the boundless resources of Nature, to surround themselves with comforts and benefits heretofore unknown or beyond reach, and to open the way to a larger and richer life for their children. It is an age of calculation and analysis, of cost-keeping, when efficiency is the watchword and the elimination of waste a study. It is not strange at such a time, when money is wanted for a thousand purposes, and civilization seems to wait on means to make its ideals practicable, that the enormous and growing expenditures in preparation for war should be challenged. The enlightened opinion of the world must agree with Sir Edward Grey, the British Foreign Secretary, when he said a few days ago that they have become a satire and a reflection on our civilization, and echo his fear that if they go on at the rate at which they have recently increased they will eventually submerge that civilization.

When these expenditures are considered with relation to commerce and industry, and this waste of wealth and economic power is measured not merely in the formal figures of the budgets, but by the potential value of these sums in productive use, the cost and folly of it all comes home with redoubled weight.

The argument against it from the standpoint of commerce and industry is neither unpatriotic nor sordid. It is for the common welfare of the millions. It is a plea that these vast sums, produced by toil and sacrifice, instead of being dissipated and lost, may be added to the permanent working capital of the world. An indispensable factor in economic and social progress is capital. In the economy of communities and of nations, as in the economy of individuals and families, it is the dollar left over, the dollar that becomes capital, that counts for progress.

There is independence and inspiration and power, there is leisure and culture and hope in the dollar left over. As the telescope magnifies the power of the eye, as the telephone extends the reach of the voice, as the lever adds to the power of the arm, so the dollar left over, the savings fund, by a myriad of agencies multiplies the productive power of a people.

The accumulations of society at best are slowly and painfully made. When from the annual earnings of a community are taken the consumption and waste and deterioration of the year the actual gain is small, estimated at 3 per cent of the total, and it is out of this possible margin, narrow and meager as it is, that this war tax must be paid. And there is literally no end to the productive employment for capital, for the inventor and the scientist and the genius of enterprise are always waiting with new tasks for it to perform. There are vast stores of natural wealth to be utilized, there are endless opportunities to improve upon the methods and machinery of production, and finally the largest and most inspiring opportunity of all is the opportunity to improve and develop the human factor in production himself. For the gain here is not only an effectual means to an end, but the very end itself to which all social aims are directed.

A notable illustration of the productive investment of capital is afforded by the great dam in the River Nile at Assouan. It cost about \$10,000,000, approximately the cost of a modern battleship of the type which has made all the navies of the world apparently

obsolete. But the battleship when built is a serious and continual expense and may be obsolete itself in ten years, while the Assouan dam has added \$100,000,000 to the taxable property of Egypt, and will make an annual contribution to the comfort and progress of that people forever.

The old debt of Great Britain, the legacy of wars of a hundred years and more ago, is like a veritable shirt of Nessus, absorbing an interest charge of \$100,000,000 a year. That debt is still greater than all the loans of all the banks of Great Britain to commerce and industry, and two small wars, in the Crimea and in South Africa, have offset all the reductions made upon it in the last seventy years.

And if it should be said that the responsibility for this burden is far distant, and in no degree ours, it may be added that the cost of three recent wars—viz., between the United States and Spain, Great Britain and the Boers, Russia and Japan—has equaled the sum total of all the loans of the national banks of the United States to commerce and industry.

But the cost of war itself is not so great as the cost of continuous and increasing preparations for war. Sir Edward Grey in his notable speech in Parliament last month said that the principal countries of Europe were expending 50 per cent of all their revenues upon preparations to kill each other, and the chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations at Washington states that 60 per cent of the revenues of the United States government are being devoted to the same purpose. Under the pressure of these expenditures national debts are growing in time of peace, and the ingenuity of cabinets is taxed to find new sources of revenue, while great industrial enterprises and beneficent social reforms await a supply of capital.

Damage and Cost of War to Commerce and Industry

MR. W. A. MAHONY.

Commerce and Industry will certainly render due honor and express gratitude to all who have shown devotion and rendered service to our beloved country, whenever or wherever our coun-

try's vital interests have been assailed and where defenders of her enlightened and liberty-loving principles were endangered.

Wherever true patriotism has been manifest, there commerce and industry would render due acknowledgement. Especially would commerce and industry render assistance in caring for those who through exposure on ocean or land have become crippled and diseased and need the sheltering arms of the government in providing for those who have defended the motherland. While commerce and industry would gratefully make acknowledgment, these two great interests of mankind may be allowed to ask the question, "Is there not a better way than that of war and the 'big stick' to influence our fellow men, and at the same time have our own just rights respected and protected?" Commerce and industry will probably always admit the need and wisdom of maintaining an ample police force, local, state, national and international, to enforce, where necessary, local, state, national and international customs and laws, and, where necessary, to hold in check and compel the submission of the unruly, law-defying element, whether that element be local, state or national.

Commerce and industry may be permitted to ask, Why the need of such an increase in the expense of army and navy, when so many arbitration treaties are signed and when there is such a growing tendency to look to courts of law for settlements of differences? The code of the duelist is out of fashion. The big navy enthusiast is shouting for peace, and gives, as an excuse for wanting a big navy, that such a navy will be a dove of peace.

War deranges every relationship of life and throws into confusion the occupations whereby the human family is nourished and housed. Commerce, one of the principal sources of national wealth, and industry, through which mankind provides for the necessities and luxuries, are both burdened and interfered with by preparations for war and by war itself. Preparations for war and the cost of past wars are now absorbing about two-thirds of the present very large income of the United States government, an income obtained directly and indirectly through taxes which are levied in large part on commerce and industry. What reason has this monster evil of the world, war, to give for the burdens it is imposing on mankind? War is one of the principal causes of poverty; war is the principal cause of the immense national

debts and the consequent cause of the heavy taxes. Commerce and industry may well question the reasons which army and navy allege as justification for the large sums of money, the large number of men and the vast amount of material they are taking from productive sources, for armies and navies are non-producers. This equipment is of the most expensive character, and, when in action, their object is destruction; the result of efficient action is wounds, death, destruction of property and of the enemy.

Is the justice of a cause established by war? Never! Are the passions of men soothed by war? Never! Is brotherly kindness promoted by war? Never! Is faith and confidence in your brother man strengthened by elaborate and costly preparations for war? Never! Is the peace and comfort of our minds promoted by fearing our fellows? Never!

Should commerce and industry, so sorely burdened by preparations for war, remain silent and enter no protest? Should not commerce and industry call upon the congresses, the legislative bodies of the world, the leaders and rulers, to arrest these vast expenditures in preparing for war? They certainly should. Should not commerce and industry point to the fact that they are enabled to carry through their vast achievements because of their faith in their fellow men, that the very existence of their beneficent life-work depends upon their confidence that contracts will be fulfilled, and that if there should arise differences of opinion as to what contracts call for they can appeal to properly constituted courts before which both sides may explain their understanding of the contract, and through disinterested judges reach peaceful methods of settlement? Do commerce and industry ever find it the best method to cut, shoot, burn? Never! Then why should congresses, leaders or rulers persist in cruel, barbarous, destructive, wicked, foolish method of war, for settlement of differences? It is high time that commerce and industry should raise their voices, that they may be heard even by the congresses, the leaders, the rulers—heard even above the noise of cannon, and that those voices should demand that the peaceful methods of arbitration should be trusted, that nations as well as individuals may be trusted to keep their contracts, that honorable dealings among nations may be expected even as among private individuals. Let commerce and industry, that supply men and money, the

sinews of war, resolve that they will insist on the better way of arbitration.

Commerce and industry have not forgotten the blockade of southern ports during the American Civil War, nor the effects of that blockade upon commerce from southern ports and throughout the South as well as the North, the interruption to the shipment of the products of the South and the greatly enhanced market price to the consumer. Nor have commerce and industry forgotten the damage to northern shipping through the devastating work of that southern craft the Alabama. Neither has England forgotten the part she was made to take by that same vessel, and the judgment of her national peers that England should pay \$16,000,000 in damages because of the depredations of that one vessel. Commerce and industry have not forgotten the great confusion caused by the American Civil War to all northern commerce and industry, also to the price of commodities and securities, stocks and bonds, and the violent fluctuation in the premium on gold. Nor have commerce and industry forgotten the thousands of their ablest and strongest men who were called from their occupations to the hardships, the risks, the wounds and deaths of the Civil War; men, who, risking health and life in the field, found themselves at the close of the conflict discharged from the service, crippled in mind, body and estate, many of them without property, without employment. Commerce and industry have not forgotten that during the Civil War destruction came upon bridges, railroads and highways; that thousands of southern plantations were impoverished and many destroyed; that the pursuits of the southland were injured and millions upon millions were utterly obliterated.

What kind of a monster has seized the nations? What demon has taken possession of their minds that they show so little faith in each other and are straining every nerve to arm themselves against—whom? Their neighbors? Their relatives? Is it the demon of fear or the demon of destruction? Or is it a secret combination of all who would be materially profited by the expansion and continual expansion of army and navy? I do not pretend to say; I only stand amazed that the years that have witnessed the greatest progress in adopting methods for the peaceful adjustment of national disagreements should be the very

years in which the greatest enlargement, the most effective weapons, the biggest war vessels, the longest range guns are eagerly sought for by the same nations, who, at the same time, loudly proclaim their intention to keep the peace.

It is time that commerce and industry should say: "We decline to have the wealth we have laboriously accumulated squandered by the non-productive military class under the pretense of protecting our interests. We decline to have our money used in expensive machines of destruction that so often prove dangerous and deadly to those who man them." The French nation, as well as the balance of the world, was startled by the explosion on her war vessel at Toulon.

Has the British nation forgotten that one of her new, large, steel constructed, formidable battleships, the *Victoria*, built to protect, built to make other nations fear its strength—that that very vessel was a death trap, carrying its crew to the bottom of the sea?

Russia, Japan and the world have not forgotten the results of the meeting of the Japanese with the Russian vessels, carrying destruction of property and death to the crews.

Commerce and industry may ask the question: "Are not these modern Dreadnoughts more dangerous to friends and owners than to enemies?" Can we expect to get out of them our money's worth of protection? Are they not machines more dangerous to those who man and work them than they are to enemies?

If larger and larger navies and armies are surer guarantees of peace between nations, why is it that there is so much unrest in Great Britain and Germany, also in France, as each nation notes the increase the other is making in the size of its armies and navies?

The relative strength in armies and navies of all the nations would remain the same, if they would by one great and beneficent act reduce by one-half, or even three-fourths, the present size of their armies and navies.

If a larger navy is necessary to insure the influence of the United States in the councils of the nations, how is the great influence of the United States, when our country was without the present large navy, to be accounted for under Secretary Hay, in

securing for China such agreements with the great nations? If a larger navy is necessary to command respect among other nations, how is it that we did grow, did develop, did become the land of the free and the home of the oppressed, even without a big navy? How is it that our beloved country had attained such commanding eminence even before we began to construct our big navy?

Commerce and industry are taxed heavily to meet the very large expenses of maintaining the large armies and navies and should plead for saner methods of maintaining the peace of the world, through the less expensive and more effective methods of diplomacy, of arbitration, or referring to The Hague tribunal cases that fail to be adjusted through the ordinary methods of diplomacy. Some of you will recall the "arrangement" between Great Britain and the United States entered into in 1817 whereby all naval vessels on the lakes bordering Canada and the United States were at once dismantled; whereby each government was limited to maintaining four vessels of not over one hundred tons burden, each vessel to carry one eighteen pound cannon; also whereby no other vessels of war were allowed to be constructed or other vessels to be armed on the Great Lakes. This arrangement has now been in force ninety-two years, has been effective in enforcing the laws, and has saved the two nations millions upon millions of dollars which would have been expended had each maintained big navies on the large inland seas.

I took the trouble to go to our state library and look up that treaty, and it might be interesting in these days when so many of our naval friends are depending upon these immense Dreadnoughts and immense armies for effect to study the ninety-two years of the effects of this 1817 brief arrangement. That is what we practical men want, and we want to get them through the simplest methods.

Now, probably five or six hundred years ago it might have taken 50,000 men to start the machinery in one of our great expositions which today is started by some little child touching an electrical button. But the effect of starting machinery is greater and more satisfactory by the little child touching that little electrical button than it would have been if 50,000 men had attempted to start that machinery by the force of their muscles. If we are

after effects and if our friends who are clamoring for a large navy are after effects, then let them remember the simplicity, the brevity, the effectiveness of this, what is called "an arrangement."

As I say, I took the liberty of copying this "arrangement" from the United States Statutes, Foreign Treaties, Volume 8, from 1789 to 1845, and it is contained on that piece of paper. There is some difference between the size of that piece and the size of a Dreadnought. There is some difference between the cost of that piece of paper and the cost of a Dreadnought, and yet this little agreement whereby the two nations, Great Britain on the one hand and the United States on the other hand, in 1817 agreed to dismantle all the war vessels on our Great Lakes, also Lake Champlain, and to substitute therefor these four vessels—these four vessels of not over one hundred tons burden, and they were not allowed to carry a cannon of over eighteen pounds. Now, I had raised the question of whether this was still in effect, so I wrote to the Secretary of State, and I have the letter from the Secretary of State here in reply. He says:

"In reply to the query made in your letter of the 14th instant I have to inform you that the arrangement (it is called) reached in the year 1817 between the United States and Great Britain relative to the limitation of the naval force to be maintained by the two navies on the Great Lakes of America, appears to be in full force and effect at the present time."

There is a period of ninety-two years that that small document has had the effect of limiting the vessels of war upon our Great Lakes to four. There is another limitation that is mentioned in that, and that is that no war vessels shall be constructed upon the Great Lakes and that no vessels shall be armed except these four.

This brief arrangement of 1817 might serve as a model for an "arrangement" between the nations bordering the Atlantic whereby they would agree to reduce their respective navies to the size of a moderate police force, said vessels to patrol the Atlantic, with the object of seeing that the treaties were observed and obeyed.

Canada and the United States make the western shore of the North Atlantic; Norway, England, France, Spain and Portugal make the eastern shore of the North Atlantic Ocean. Three of

the countries—viz., England, Canada and the United States—have had the benefits of such a treaty so fully demonstrated in the past ninety-two years that their example would probably assure the other four nations of the advisability of such an arrangement for the North Atlantic. In addition, there is the compact entered into by the countries bordering the North Sea, also the Baltic Sea, to respect one another's territorial rights forever. This compact has been solemnly ratified by all the countries bordering on these two seas. Such a compact should lead other nations to avail themselves of its beneficent provisions.

So far as I am aware there is not a piratical vessel afloat on the Atlantic and probably no prospect of one. So far as I am aware there is no nation that now presumes to act contrary to its treaty rights, so there should be little or no work for the proposed fleet of police vessels.

I suggest that this congress request its committee, which will undoubtedly be appointed to bring the recommendations of this congress to the attention of the Hague Conference of 1915—that said committee be instructed to embody among its recommendations the feasibility and desirability of the nations bordering the North Atlantic Ocean to enter into an arrangement whereby a portion of their naval vessels be turned into merchant ships, and that said nations limit the number of vessels of war they will keep in commission in the future. Said "arrangement," or treaty, as it may be designated, to be terminated by any nation a party to the treaty. It might have been terminated at any time by either nation by giving a notice to the other nation to that effect, and yet it has existed for ninety-two years, and neither nation has indicated its desire to have it abrogated. If it proved fairly satisfactory to the nations making the trial, other nations would probably try something of the same kind on other oceans. Is not the suggestion worthy of your consideration as affording relief from the present mad race of the nations to build and maintain at enormous cost big navies? I think big navies and armies are leading rapidly toward national bankruptcy and that they are not the guarantees of the peace which they claim to be. Indeed, I think they are proving themselves to be disturbers of the peace, security and comfort of neighboring nations, and are leading the nations to a mad rivalry in armaments.

It is high time that the voices of commerce and industry should be raised and that they make a plea for an arrest of the armaments. Let commerce and industry urge an increase in the number of treaties of arbitration and a decrease in the number of engines of destruction. Let commerce and industry point to the Hague Court, but not point Dreadnoughts and big guns for the settlement of differences. Let commerce and industry point to the reasonable way, the legal way, the modern and manly way of adjusting differences before the Court of the Nations which may be convened at The Hague when desired by the nations.

The nations must have relief from the present ineffective, expensive, barbarous method of "settlement by battle." We are rapidly growing out of that antiquated, cruel method, and I most respectfully urge that the membership of the Hague Conference which we expect to see convene in 1915 shall be composed of a largely reduced number of military men and substituted therefor shall be a larger number of diplomats, jurists, legislators and able representatives of commerce and industry.

When arbitration and other peaceful methods of adjusting differences are multiplying so rapidly, when the attitudes of nations are becoming more and more friendly, when the people of various nations are traveling through each other's countries more and more, when journeys around the world are becoming everyday affairs, where is the justifiable reason for spending such vast sums, where is the good and sufficient reason for so rapidly increasing the engines of destruction? Where is the good and sufficient reason for feeding the dogs of war on blood-and-thunder rumors of the sinister intentions of neighboring nations? Where is the good and sufficient reason for plunging nations into the vortex of fear and driving them to useless expense which leads to suspicion, hate, and finally to war, to bankruptcy? Instead, let commerce and industry proclaim the faith and trust in fellow men on which its vast achievements are based and which are the foundations on which their wealth-producing, beneficent life and work rest. (Applause.)

Following Mr. Mahoney's address, Chairman Roberts announced that Belton Gilreath and T. H. Molton, of Birmingham, Alabama, who were on the program to deliver addresses at the

morning session, had unfortunately been on a train which was wrecked the previous night and would not reach Chicago until later in the day. He then introduced A. B. Farquhar, a manufacturer of York, Pennsylvania, who addressed the gathering on the subject of Pennsylvania's Experiment in Christianity.

Pennsylvania's Experiment in Christianity

A. B. FARQUHAR.

It is a rare privilege to represent, at a gathering of this kind, the State of Pennsylvania. The principles of the Sermon on the Mount, whose actual application to the affairs of men is represented as a mere dream of chimerical fancy by many who value their own practical wisdom more highly than that sermon, were for more than half a century the fundamental law of Pennsylvania. Others may debate those principles on theoretical grounds, but it is the privilege of Pennsylvania to decide for them on the ground of experience. We may claim to know, for we have tried. The result of Penn's experiment, his "pattern of a Christian commonwealth," has again and again been characterized, in words more or less like these from Charles Sumner:

"The flowers of prosperity smile in the blessed footprints of William Penn. His people were unmolested and happy, while—sad contrast—those of other colonies, acting upon the policy of the world, building forts and showing themselves in arms, not after receiving provocation, but merely in anticipation or from fear of danger, were harassed by perpetual alarm and pierced by the sharp arrows of savage war."

Historians assure us that during that entire period, from 1682 to 1755, "the Indians in Pennsylvania never took the life of a white man." Other colonies had their "King Philip's" wars, their Schenectady and Deerfield massacres, but none such was known in our state till the time of the Revolution, twenty years after the abandonment of Penn's methods. It is no mere sentiment, but a deliberate judgment from the facts of history, which led Samuel Macpherson Janney, in his historical account of the early days of Pennsylvania, to conclude:

"It would not be difficult to point out a dangerous fallacy in

the maxim so generally believed—that in time of peace nations should prepare for war. For as in the intercourse of individuals with each other it is found that those who habitually carry arms are more liable than others to be involved in deadly affrays, so in the intercourse of nations the hostile attitude assumed by their vast armaments, and the numerous officers employed who are dependent for promotion and renown on actual hostilities, are rather incentives to war than sureties for peace.”

Mr. Janney has here stated a truth, an unshaken truth, a deeply important truth. We reap what we sow; and men do not gather a harvest of peace and international concord and human brotherhood by sowing gunpowder and fortifications and battleships.

The history of early Pennsylvania, therefore, declares for disarmament. Its voice, heard across a gulf of two centuries, is not loud, but it is perfectly clear. That voice it is our duty to echo today. Have we any hesitation in doing so? We are conscious of the heavy weight of national taxation resting upon us, growing with every decade. War costs now fully three times the annual average from 1871 to 1897; naval expenditure twice as heavy in 1896 as in 1886, five times in 1906 what it was in 1896, and still soaring aloft; pensions in 1886 more than double their figure in 1876, for every year since 1891 more than double their 1886 figure, and in the last appropriation bills larger than ever, being now six times the amount believed ample (if not excessive) by General Garfield, chairman of the Appropriations Committee, shortly after the Civil War, when pensions, of course, should of right have been much larger than they are now. Yet we probably reconcile ourselves to this lavish outpouring of the public treasure by persuading ourselves that it is somehow conducive, perhaps necessary, to the country's welfare. It is not in the least degree necessary or even conducive. To realize this let us put the case to ourselves as individuals.

My nearest neighbor now happens to be a highly valued personal friend; but let us suppose that before we were acquainted we acted on the principle that “if you wish peace prepare for war”—that “peace is secured by arming ourselves until too powerful to be attacked.” Logically, we proceed to build high walls about our premises, and man them with powerful guards. We

keep this up for years, each excited continually to further efforts by seeing what the other is doing. Our families are impoverished—perhaps starved. Neither of us suggests a parley with a view to an understanding, for that might pass for a confession of weakness. But let us suppose that, after years of trying to make ourselves “too powerful to be attacked”—in a way that is rapidly bringing us to bankruptcy—an accidental meeting occurs; we find out that neither has any disposition to harm the other if not attacked by him, and so agree to pull down our fortifications, sell the cannon for scrap metal, and spend what our armaments are costing us for the benefit of our families. Since nations are an aggregation of individuals, our supposed course should be the nation's course, in principle. That is the case for disarmament briefly stated.

But there is a little more that it seems proper to add. The proposition that it is as absurd in principle for nations as for individuals to impoverish themselves in arming against one another, does not need to be qualified; nor is there a particle of doubt that war is as monstrous an absurdity, as wasteful and barbarous, as incapable of really settling any question, on the one scale as on the other. Nevertheless, it is proper to give some attention to the reasons why this principle has so long remained unrecognized. There are two reasons. First, as has already been hinted in the parable above, nations do not know one another as neighbors do. That is a difficulty that can be cured. Increased international commerce will do much to cure it. Increased travel, and study of what can be learned in foreign lands, will do something. A greater number of international congresses for the discussion of postage, the law of nations, standards of weights and measures, scientific nomenclature, missions to the heathen, the Balkan or the Morocco question—anything and everything that needs to be settled by agreement and that may bring the wide-awake people of the world together—these will do more. Peace will not come of any of these measures at once, but all will lead in that direction.

The second reason for the backwardness of the nations of the world in coming to a sense of their true best interest in this matter is the absence of any generally acknowledged alternative. They may be willing to admit that brute force is a bad way of

deciding any point at issue, but they are convinced that it does decide something, and is in so far preferable to unending indefiniteness. The cure for that difficulty is to supply an alternative, as it is proposed to do by developing a court and code of arbitration.

Finally, let me exhort you, in the words of one of our revered leaders, Andrew Carnegie, "to urge in season and out of season the precious truth that lasting peace is only to be attained by an International League of Peace, prepared, if necessary, to enforce peace among erring nations as we enforce obedience to law among erring men; this league finally to be perfected by an International Supreme Court."

Following the reading of the Farquhar paper, the chairman announced that, owing to the inability of Mr. Marcus M. Marks to attend the Congress, the paper which he had prepared would be read by Rev. Charles E. Beals, of Boston.

Business Men Want Peace

MARCUS M. MARKS.

We want peace, first, because we are *men* and are moved by the humanitarian instinct that rebels against the cruel butcheries of war, and secondly, because our business is bound to be seriously injured by the interruption of the friendly relation between nations.

There is no need to go into other reasons; these seem sufficient. It has been said that some business men want war because it creates a demand for their products, such as guns, powder, foodstuffs, uniforms, etc. This is absolutely untrue of business *men*, though there may be a few abnormal beings who would willingly see their brothers slaughtered in order to add to their own commercial profits. Business *men* all want peace. Why are they, then, not more active in the peace movements of the world? The teachers, the preachers and other professional men have, in the main, carried the burden of peace efforts thus far. They have been the seers and the prophets. There are two principal reasons for this seeming apathy of the men of business. First, they have not looked upon these peace movements as practical in their

methods; they have not appreciated the possibility of early realization of the hopes of peace so freely expressed. Secondly, business men have been so engrossed in their own affairs that they have, as a rule, neglected not only their opportunity, but their duty to co-operate in this greatest cause on earth, in which, as before said, their humanitarian as well as their selfish interests are so vitally involved.

What is there to warrant the men of business to change their view as to the impracticability of the peace movement and its hopelessness? If they can be convinced that practical results are possible within a reasonable time, they will throw off some of the meshes of business detail now entangling them and adding their systematic effort to the enthusiasm of the present forces, will hasten the day when the international courts of justice will take the place of battleships in settling differences between nations.

What are the arguments to convince the men of business that peace is now a practical proposition?

First. The growing nearness of the nations through fast steamers, cable, wireless telegraph, rapid and general news exchange, the development of popular education all over the world and the closer personal acquaintance through travel, all tend toward universal brotherhood disregarding national boundaries.

Second. The great advance in sentiment toward international arbitration during the last ten years, and the increased number of treaties that have been signed between the nations, surely augur great possibilities of general peace in the near future.

Third. The terrible power of destruction now possible through modern war agencies and the still undeveloped air warships, force upon all men the absurdity of "settling" international differences by mutual annihilation.

Yes, the day of peace is in sight; it is not a dream any longer. Now the dreamers, the far-sighted, the idealists may at last be joined by hard-headed men of affairs whose daily cry is for results—results!

The merchants of the world have indirectly done much to bring about the improved relations between the various nations. Commerce has been a great educator and has broken down many walls of ignorance and animosity, but only incidentally, in the

development of trade, not in the unselfish spirit of the peace societies.

Let them now help finance the peace movements of the world and add unselfish, practical co-operation in the great cause. If they do this the heavy burden of armies and navies, now becoming so alarming in the rivalry between European nations, will soon be removed and the immense sums now being used for defense and destruction will be converted to saner, constructive uses which will tend toward the elevation of the human race.

World Expositions as Peace Factors

HON. HARLOW N. HIGINBOTHAM.

As evidence that I am not a new convert to the subject under discussion, and to assure you that I am not here to speak in a perfunctory manner, I ask your patience while I quote the closing sentence of my address in opening the Parliament of Religions in this city in 1893. It will of course be remembered that this parliament was a part of the World's Columbian Exposition. "To me there is much satisfaction and pleasure in the fact that we are face to face with men that come to us bearing the ripest wisdom of the ages. They come in the friendliest spirit, which, I trust, will be augmented by their intercourse with us and with each other. I am hoping, Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, that your parliament will prove to be a golden milestone on the highway of civilization—a golden stairway leading up to the tableland of a higher, grander and more perfect condition, where peace will reign and the enginery of war will be known no more forever."

You will recall that in the years preceding our exposition peace reigned throughout the world. It was an opportune time for the assembling of the animate and inanimate parliaments, a time for the world to pause, take account of stock, to note the progress in all the things that make for peace and humanity's good, a time for the exchange of greetings between the peoples and the nations of the earth. You will remember with what zeal Chicago entered into competition for the honor of being the host on that occasion. You will also remember the satisfaction and pride that filled our hearts when we had won the distinguished

honor, and the heroic efforts we put forth to fulfill our pledge. To the older civilizations of the world it seemed presumptuous that a new city in a far country should appear in such a role. Our nearer neighbors predicted failure, and this stimulated us to greater effort and with a result that it is not even necessary for us to refer to at this time except in so far as to show its beneficent influence and substantial value to the world.

In the onward westward march of civilization Chicago was but little more than the outpost on the great highway, and it was fitting that here should be assembled the great forces that, moving forward for the advancement of human interests in the world, should consider the forces employed and determine or distinguish the good from the bad, the right from the wrong, and to anew align its guidons for the advancement to a future higher, grander and more perfect.

I think I am safe in saying that what we sought and strove to do was more than accomplished. We installed the very best examples in every department of human endeavor. The landscape gardener and the architect had the fullest opportunity to do their best. Landscape effects were produced as if by magic. The Wooded Island sprang into being, a thing of beauty; the Court of Honor appeared to rise out of the marsh with all the grandeur and loveliness of the dream of St. John on the Island of Patmos.

The Columbian Ode said of him who conceived and outlined the imposing and inspiring setting for our exposition:

"Back with the old glad smile comes one we knew; we bade him rear our house of joy today, but Beauty opened wide her starry way and he passed on."

One of the best evidences of the benign influence of our exposition was the fact that during the entire period of its existence we did not have occasion to police or control the immense concourse of people constantly coming and going. We had guards, but it was said of them that they were more guides than guards. We had expected that the element that usually appears in numbers at such gatherings would be present and would require our attention, and we had accordingly in attendance two detectives from each of the leading cities of the world, but we had no occasion to make use of their services. This can only be accounted

for on the theory that if people came here to commit depredations they were disarmed when they witnessed the matchless beauty of the situation. They doubtless declared to themselves, If we are going to do anything wrong, this is not the time and place.

In a single day we entertained 750,000 people without an accident or reported loss of a single article. This fact was an exhibition of itself, speaking volumes in favor of the vast multitude of intelligent and happy people having a just pride and feeling an ownership in what they had helped to create and maintain. The exposition was really the flower or culmination of the civic pride of the citizens of this great city. What wonder, then, that they came to it exulting in its beauty and treasures of information and bearing themselves in such a commendable manner. There was no aristocracy in its creation or management; it was of and for the people and the joy and profit was theirs. They prepared the soil, sowed the seed, and the harvest rightfully belonged to them. Those of us who stood by and carried out their commands were amply repaid by the great measure of good it accomplished and the satisfaction everywhere manifested by those who were at once the creators and the immediate beneficiaries.

The throngs who wandered through the highways of the fair or over the lagoons in gondola or launch and witnessed the domes and turrets of the buildings when gilded by the rays of the rising or setting sun, came in contact with people from all the nations of the earth, exchanged greetings, went forth with a kindlier feeling for others and a keener appreciation of the value of nature, art and architecture as well as for the courtesies and amenities of life.

The international exposition participated in by the peoples of the different nations, where the richest and rarest products meet in friendly competition, where the ripest wisdom of the ages is represented by the scholars and thinkers of all the world, cannot but result in great and lasting good in promoting peace and good will.

The exposition stands at the meeting of the world's highways, where gather the nations of the earth, burdened each with the evidence of its newest and noblest achievements. It is an epitome of the world's progress, a history and a prophecy.

The latest discoveries, the newest inventions, the triumphs in art, in science, in education, in the solution of social and even of religious problems, are here arrayed. Here stand the most effective dynamo, the swiftest locomotive, the telescope piercing the remotest heavens, the most productive printing press, machines that spin, weave, set type, thresh grain, mine coal, drill rock, fashion railway bars; the artist's dream on canvas or in marble, in clustering column or aspiring dome, in woven fabric or in decorated vase; the flower's effulgence and the fruit's alluring blush; all products of the soil, the mine, the sea; whatever testifies to the industry, the skill, the creative and almost divine power of human thought when stimulated to its most earnest endeavors.

The more we share with others the good we possess, the more they share with us the things and thoughts that make for peace with them. The more we all strive for the common good, the nearer we will attain the universal brotherhood.

Let us all hope that this twentieth century will witness the dawn of a new era, that it will go down in history as the age of peace, the age when a common desire seemed to take possession of humanity everywhere to share with all others the blessings they themselves enjoyed. Thus would be augmented the great sum of human happiness.

I am hoping that future expositions will leave out the enginery of war. I know that we had a warship and the Krupp gun at our own exposition, but I am older now and I have a higher and a grander appreciation of the implements of peace and an intense dislike amounting to a hatred of war and all its trappings.

The nations of the earth unite in a movement to maintain a universal court whose duty it will be to determine and adjust all national differences. I would have representing this court on the high seas one navy and only one, whose duty it would be to police the seas, prevent possible piracy or improper or illegal commerce and assist the merchant marine in time of disaster or distress. The money thus saved would go far towards the care of the sick and the unfortunate the world over and would add to the peace and prosperity of the people everywhere far beyond the power of the human mind to conceive or calculate.

I would rather have, Mr. Chairman, any sixteen men chosen from your association make a circuit of the globe than as many

warships. I believe they would accomplish more for humanity's good and for the peace and prosperity of the world, and they would cost infinitely less. I was myself surprised a few days ago in learning that our national budget for wars past and possible future had cost our nation during the last session of Congress more than five hundred millions of dollars; in fact, more than half the expenses of the government were on this account.

The relations that I would have pertain between the nations of the earth can best be expressed by relating a story or old Jewish legend that I once heard.

Two aged brothers whose landed inheritance adjoined, one of them being very rich and the other poor, conceived each the idea of helping the other as follows: At the harvest time the rich brother said to himself, "I will go in the dead of night and carry some of the sheaves from my field into my brother's field and he will not know." And the poor brother said to himself, "My brother is rich, but he has a large family and many dependents and responsibilities and is sorely tried with the many burdens he has to bear, and to relieve him I will go in the dead of night and carry some of the sheaves from my field and place them in his." It is further related that as they were thus engaged, each bearing a heavy burden of the golden grain, they met at the division line face to face, and it is also said that on the spot they met Solomon's temple was afterwards reared.

MR. ROBERTS:

I have a telegram from Mr. Gilreath, who was on the program this morning, dated Champaign, Illinois, as follows:

"I regret I cannot fill my engagement on program for address this morning. My train collided with a bull last evening, disabling both and causing my delay, but I beg to salute the Congress at this distance with great respect."

We are so fortunate as to have upon the platform this morning a gentleman who is a member of one of the great parliamentary bodies of the world, the House of Parliament of Great Britain, and I am going to take the liberty of calling upon him to say a few words of greeting, and expressing the sympathy

which I knew he feels for this great movement, Hon. Joseph Allen Baker, of England, a member of the House of Commons.

Salutations from English Co-workers

HON. JOSEPH ALLEN BAKER, M. P.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: It is indeed an unexpected honor and unexpected privilege that I have of taking any part in this great Peace Conference being held in the metropolis of your western country. I should be, I suppose, attending to my duties at the present moment in the House of Commons, where debates of a very important nature on the question of revenue and the question of Dreadnoughts and the increase of armaments is taking place, but the peace subject being very heavy upon my mind, and I having given a great deal of attention to it during the past year, I had a temporary breakdown of health and was ordered to take a short trip abroad to recuperate. I hope you will think that I am not quite an invalid at the present moment. The trip across the Atlantic and the bracing air of your western land has put me in fine trim. (Applause.)

Meeting your secretary, Dr. Trueblood, at Boston, I heard of this Peace Conference in Chicago. I had not heard of it before. I felt that I should like to come and gather some inspiration from some of the speeches that would be delivered, and when I saw the program I said, "I must be there." And here I am. (Applause.)

When your honorable chairman asked me to say a word or two this morning I refused. I hesitated, without preparation, to occupy your valuable time, but when the gentleman who has just spoken delivered his address and I realized who he was, it brought back memories of that memorable year of 1893. I spent some months in your city at that time and had one of the principal exhibits at that great World's Fair, of which the speaker, Mr. Higinbotham, was then the honorable president. I remember with what awe, with what—I don't know what word quite to use—I used to have to approach that gentleman through his officers to get some of those things done that we poor exhibitors wished to have carried out at that time. He certainly did a great work and Chicago did a great work in carrying out what at that time was the most successful, was the greatest of all the exhibitions

that had been held in the world up to that time. And that Parliament of Religions to which he has referred as so important was, I believe, the first of its kind that had been held in the world.

Now there can be no doubt whatever that these great international exhibitions, and especially where the religious elements are gathered together and are asked to speak their mind on these great world problems, have done a very great deal of good, and my hope is that the day may not be far distant when the religious representatives of every country in the world will gather in some great world conference and say that "As far as we are concerned, representing the world's religions, we are against all war, in every shape or form."

I believe it is the clear, the plain duty of the Christian Church, and I believe it is the duty of those religions that do not call themselves Christian, and one is glad to recognize that some of those other religions are perhaps as much or more against war than the Christian countries themselves. (Applause.)

Now, Mr. President, I hope that from this conference in your city some word may go forth that will do at this psychological moment in the world's history in regard to the peace movement that which may be analogous to what was done at the time of your great World's Fair in Chicago in 1893. We look to America to take the lead in this matter. I believe America is the only country that can take the lead. (Applause.) The nations of Europe are jealous of each other, they are armed to the teeth, their diplomacy is of such a character that they almost fear to approach each other in regard to these matters; but if your President at Washington and your Legislature there would take a bold step and say, "This mad race in the increase of armament must stop," I believe that the whole world would listen to the voice of America, and that an important step would be taken that would speedily bring about peace to the world, and the diminution of armaments in all countries.

We have heard in one of these papers which was read a few moments ago of how the cost of wars presses heavily upon the business of the country. No more striking illustration of that can be had than what followed that disastrous South African War that we lately waged with the Boers in the Transvaal. Three hundred millions of pounds sterling (fifteen hundred millions of

dollars) were spent uselessly in fighting those Boers in South Africa. But that is not all. The loss to our commerce, the aftermath of the war, is greater than the cost of the war at the moment. As we heard yesterday in one of the speeches, the bill for a war comes later, and what follows is that trade is bad, there is depression, dear money, and trade and industry suffers in consequence, and we have the great problem of the unemployed.

Ladies and gentlemen, we look to you, we look to this great Conference, representing as it does the best thought and the best talent of the whole of your great country, to give us the lead, and to show to the countries of Europe that you are in earnest in this matter, and to give us a word that will be so strong that we will feel it our duty and our privilege to follow the lead of the United States of America. (Prolonged applause.)

FIFTH SESSION
SOME LEGAL ASPECTS OF THE PEACE
MOVEMENT

Tuesday Afternoon, May 4, at 2 o'clock

ORCHESTRA HALL

Rev. Algernon S. Crapsey, Presiding.

SECRETARY MELENDY:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I desire to call the attention of the delegates to the business session tomorrow morning. Delegates are especially requested to be present because of the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

I desire to remind you again that if you have resolutions which you have not yet presented to this committee, you will be expected to do so some time this afternoon; that resolutions will not be received from the floor tomorrow morning that have not been previously presented to the committee. I want to make it perfectly plain that you may at that time present from the floor any resolution previously presented to the committee even if it should so happen that they do not adopt it.

MR. CRAPSEY:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I find myself very unexpectedly called upon to preside at this meeting owing to the strange disappearance of the gentleman whose name is written down for that duty. Doubtless Mr. Calhoun will be here presently and when he comes I will resign to him this seat of honor. It is quite right that one session of this conference should be devoted to the subject now under consideration, namely, "Some Legal Aspects of the Peace Movement." And therefore we will listen with great pleasure and interest to those who are to present to us thoughts upon this subject. I have great pleasure in introducing the first speaker of the afternoon, Prof. William I. Hull, of Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania, who is an authority upon The Hague Conferences. (Applause.)

The Advance Registered by the Two Hague Conferences

PROF. WILLIAM I. HULL.

MR. PRESIDENT, MEMBERS OF THE PEACE CONGRESS: I am very glad of the opportunity to present this topic to this audience.

When Clio, Muse of History, shall take up her pen to pass final judgment upon "The Advance Registered by the Two Hague Conferences," we know not now precisely what verdict she will record. For now, close as we are to the toil and struggles of the Titans who shaped and fashioned the institutions of those conferences, and breathlessly endeavoring as we are to catch up with the full significance of the events which those institutions have already ushered in upon a wondering world, it is inevitable that we should see them only as through a glass and darkly.

Again, so far-reaching through the realm of international relations is the scope of the conferences' work that to attempt to estimate the advance registered by them is like an attempt to estimate the results of the application of steam to industry or of democracy to government. For already it is clear that the Hague Conferences are to international law what the industrial revolution of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was to human industry, or what the rise of the American Republic was to human government.

But despite the difficulties of this task, it is natural and fitting that it should be undertaken. For when the traveler from some sunken valley climbs the winding path up a mountain side towards its snow-capped summit, and rests for a moment from his toil upon some projecting headland, it is well for him to look back upon the progress he has made and calculate from it the direction and if possible the distance of the path which lies before him. And when a great nation like ours, in its ascent from the Valley of the Shadow of Warfare up towards the sunlit summit of perpetual peace and justice, comes to such a resting place as is afforded by this National Peace Congress in Chicago, it is just to the past and should be helpful to the future for it to estimate the progress it has made and to consider its present position.

The civilized world, in common with our own country, has made use of many instrumentalities in its great ascent towards

international peace and justice; but the greatest of them all I believe to have been the two conferences at The Hague. For these conferences, like the great heroes or institutions of history, embodied in themselves nearly all the forces or were exponents of nearly all the instrumentalities which have been achieving for the world its renowned victories of peace.

Among these forces I would mention, first, the international *solidarity* which has superseded the superficial international *comity* of the past. Assembled in the Hall of the Knights, in the Second Hague Conference, were the representatives of the forty-four sovereign states which share between them the destinies of practically all of the population and nine-tenths of the territory of the earth. In the presence of the world thus assembled for the first time in history in a single room was solemnly and definitively proclaimed the great fact, fundamental in international relations, that the nations form a single *family*, each member possessing inalienable rights and bounden duties. This ideal of an international *family*, long talked about and dreamed of by international jurists, was embodied in the various conventions adopted by the conferences, was fully and freely expressed by many of the delegates, and has been borne in upon the consciousness of the nations as never before. It has enormously strengthened the international *esprit de corps*, and has accentuated as nothing else probably could have done the existence and growth of that *international* public opinion which is already the chief sanction of international agreements. The potency of this decent respect for the opinions of the rest of the family was shown in many striking instances. For example, it induced Great Britain to adhere in 1907 to the two declarations which it rejected in 1899, those, namely, prohibiting the use of "dum-dum" bullets and of bombs whose object is the diffusion of asphyxiating or deleterious gases. It induced Germany to accept the Permanent Court of Arbitration in 1899, and to announce its entire conversion to the principle and practice of obligatory arbitration in 1907. It induced Spain and Mexico to adhere to the Declaration of Paris in 1856, which prohibited privateering. It induced China and Switzerland to adhere in 1907 to the laws and customs of warfare which they rejected in 1899. It induced the nineteen Latin-American repub-

lies to ratify in 1907, without question, the acts of the Conference of 1899, in which they were not represented. And, above all, it induced thirty of the thirty-six small powers to accept the International Prize Court, although the principle of its constitution was held to violate the absolute equality of sovereign states. As indicative of the spirit in which this court was accepted by the small powers, may be noted the words of M. Hagerup, of Norway, who said that although his country's merchant marine ranked fourth among all the powers of the world, it would nevertheless accept the eleventh place assigned it in the distribution of judges.

The power of this redoubtable sovereign of international public opinion was evident in countless other instances during the conferences; but enough of these have here been stated to show that, behind the governments of the world in their dealings with each other, there is the same irresistible power which guides, checks and spurs onward the various governments in their national affairs.

The old economic theory that one nation's loss is another nation's gain has long since been exploded. In diplomatic transactions this theory has not yet been discarded; but at The Hague, in the presence of common needs and common interests, a clear view was caught of the fact which will be embodied in some future conference that international solidarity requires the observance of the rule of "each for all, and all for each," and that it will enable the gain of one member of the family to be a genuine and permanent one only when that gain is based upon a strict observance of the rights of all the other members.

Turning to the great code of international law which was incorporated in the sixteen conventions and four declarations of the conferences, we stand in the presence of the stupendous fact that within our time and under our very eyes an event has transpired which is comparable with the publication of the Twelve Tables in ancient Rome or the compilation of the laws of our Teutonic forefathers. For at The Hague was codified into concrete international law a vast mass of international custom which had been more or less vague, disputable, and unapplied. More than this, the most daring innovations which have ever been introduced into international law—far more daring than those which came from the hands of Hugo Grotius and the master

builders of the science—were made authoritatively by the official delegates of the nations at The Hague.

This great body of codified custom and new law, together with the approximate acceptance of the principle of international solidarity, has caused the veritable revolution in international law which has been already referred to, and has made the student of that science feel himself to be in the presence of a new heaven and a new earth. "To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world." The facts here submitted will be grouped under the three headings: The alleviation of warfare's horrors, Its restriction within narrow limits, and The means for its prevention.

In the alleviation of warfare's horrors, the Hague Conferences have far surpassed the reforms accomplished or suggested by the Conventions of Geneva of 1864 and 1868, the Declaration of St. Petersburg in 1868, and the Declaration of Brussels in 1874. For at The Hague the Red Cross rules were applied for the first time to warfare on the sea, and a careful revision and development of them as applied to warfare on the land was provided for in 1899 and accomplished in 1906; by the vote of every government, except that of the United States, the conferences prohibited the use of bullets which expand or flatten easily in the human body, and of projectiles the object of which is the diffusion of asphyxiating or deleterious gases; they forbade the bombardment of undefended ports, towns, dwellings or buildings by artillery in the air, on the land or on the sea, and at the same time they permitted seaports to protect themselves against invasion by the use of anchored mines, and yet, as technically undefended, to remain immune from bombardment by the invading force. The Conference of 1899 adopted a great code of sixty rules and regulations, some of which had been urged during more than a quarter of a century, and all of which are designed to prevent the evils of warfare from falling upon peaceful non-combatants, and to alleviate the sufferings of the soldier in the field and as a prisoner of war. These rules have to do with the means of injuring the enemy, with belligerents, prisoners of war, spies, flags of truce, armistice, capitulations and the treatment of occupied territory. They are far too numerous even to be mentioned in this paper, but their importance may be estimated by the fact

that Professor Zorn, of Germany, has said of them that they alone would have made the Conference of 1899 a remarkable success.

Turning next to the restriction of warfare and its evils to the narrowest possible limits, we find marked progress in defining the relations of belligerents with neutrals, and in restricting the scope of warfare between the belligerents themselves.

Heretofore, the belligerent has bestrode the narrow earth like a Colossus, while petty neutrals walked under his huge legs and peeped about to find the best means of avoiding his displeasure. So difficult and dangerous was the position of the neutral in the last century that statesmen very often acted on the policy that war with one or the other belligerent was preferable to neutrality. We have changed all that in recent years, and especially have the two Hague Conferences cribbed, cabined and confined the belligerent in many stringent ways.

The conferences first gave their high and definitive sanction to existing international custom which admonished belligerent states to refrain from carrying on hostilities within neutral territory, to abstain from making on neutral territory direct preparations for acts of hostility, to obey all reasonable regulations made by neutral states for the protection of their neutrality, and to make reparation to any state whose neutrality it may have violated. They then enacted a considerable body of new legislation designed to emphasize and protect neutral *rights* rather than neutral *duties*. So carefully did they protect neutral rights, and so strictly confine belligerent rights, that they may be said to have fairly *canalized* warfare—banked it within definite and relatively narrow channels, and erected a system of dykes as noteworthy as those which Holland has built against the fierce North Sea—for the protection of the great world of peaceful commerce and industry from the devastating floods of warfare which belligerents may let loose against each other.

Among these devices of restriction and protection may be mentioned the following: First, an unequivocal declaration of war, stating its causes, must be issued before hostilities are commenced, and must be promptly announced to the neutral powers. It is indicative of the unbridled condition of belligerents before the Hague Conferences that this primary restriction against

treachery towards the enemy and this common-sense recognition of neutral rights was established for the first time in 1907 in modern international law.

The most eminent juris-consults in the world, the members, namely, of the Institute of International Law, had been wrestling unavailingly with the knotty problem of the rights of neutrals on land and sea for a generation. The Conference of 1907 solved a number of its phases. Upon the fundamental assertion of the inviolability of neutral territory, it forbade the conveyance across neutral territory of troops or convoys of munitions or provisions; it forbade the installation on neutral territory of telegraphic or other apparatus designed to serve as a means of communication with belligerent forces on land or sea; it forbade the bringing of prizes into neutral ports, unless under stress of bad weather or lack of coal or provisions; it forbade belligerents to increase in any manner whatever their military or naval strength on neutral lands or waters; it forbade an unlimited and too frequent renewal in neutral waters of belligerent food and fuel supplies; it forbade more than three belligerent warships to come into neutral ports at any one time, or to remain there more than twenty-four hours, unless the neutral power concerned had made a different rule; it forbade belligerent warships to follow an enemy's warship or an enemy's merchant ship from a neutral port within twenty-four hours after the latter ship's departure.

Not only did the Conference of 1907 assert the above rights of neutral states, but some rights of neutral citizens residing within belligerent territory were asserted by it as well. Concerning these rights, international disputes are particularly frequent, as Baron von Bieberstein, of Germany, pointed out in the conference; and as General Davis, of the United States, remarked, the protection of them is of vast importance in these days of wide international commercial operations which should be disturbed as little as possible by warfare. As a result of the rules adopted concerning them, neutral residents are protected not only against the belligerent state in whose territory they reside or do business but also against the belligerent which invades that territory. The anxieties and hardships of resident aliens are diminished by the rule that they may not be punished by either belligerent for lending money or contributing goods to the other belligerent, nor for

rendering police or civil services. The military representatives of Germany and Austria emphasized "the imperious necessities of generals in the field;" but the conference adopted the above rules unanimously, as it did also the rule that the rolling stock of railway companies coming from the territory of neutral powers and owned by those powers or by corporations or private persons can be requisitioned and used by a belligerent only in the case and to the extent that an imperious necessity demands, and that it must be returned as soon as possible to the country of its origin; while neutrals may if necessary retain and utilize, in compensation, such property coming from a belligerent power. By this last rule is protected the paramount right of neutral commerce to unrestricted railway transportation; and by a further resolution it is made "the special duty of the competent military and civil authorities to protect in time of war the maintenance of pacific relations, especially commercial and industrial relations, between the inhabitants of the belligerent countries and those of neutral states." These rules, though few in number, are of great importance, since they not only lessen the danger of warfare caused by disputes over neutral rights, but also circumscribe more narrowly than heretofore the closed lists of combat.

Not only was the shadow of the belligerent colossus upon the land reduced by the conferences, but he was given very positive notice that he did not own the high seas, and could not use them as he pleased in warring against his enemy. He was forbidden to use unanchored submarine mines, unless constructed in such manner as to become harmless within one hour after their control has been lost; he was forbidden the use of anchored mines which do not become harmless as soon as they break their cables; he was forbidden to use automobile torpedoes which do not become harmless when they have missed their aim; he was forbidden to place submarine mines along the coasts and in front of the ports of his enemies with the sole purpose of intercepting commerce; he was required to take every precaution to protect peaceful navigation against submarine mines, and to cause them to become harmless after a limited time, by removing them, guarding them or indicating the dangerous regions and notifying the other powers of them.

The advance registered by the conferences in curbing these

modern demons of the sea may be appreciated from the fact that three years after the close of the Russo-Japanese War the Chinese government was still obliged to furnish its coasting vessels with special instruments to remove and destroy the floating mines with which the belligerents had sown not only the neighboring high seas but China's own territorial waters as well; that, in spite of every precaution, a very considerable number of coasting ships, fishing boats, junks and sampans have foundered as a result of striking these mines; and that more than five hundred peaceful Chinese citizens, peacefully pursuing their occupations, have suffered a cruel death from these dangerous engines of warfare, while the lives of thousands of passengers on the great Occidental liners have been in imminent peril from them.

The further attempts to protect neutral commerce by a more restrictive definition of blockade, by abolishing or by closely defining contraband of war and by prohibiting the destruction of neutral prizes, did not succeed in the conferences; but twenty-six of the nations voted for the radical British proposition to abolish contraband of war, and it was agreed that both belligerent and neutral prizes might be permitted by neutral powers to be sequestered within their harbors and thus saved from destruction. The encouraging discussion of these three long-standing and knotty problems of international law resulted, also, in the meeting of a Naval Conference in London, from December, 1908, to February, 1909, in which ten of the leading maritime powers participated, and in which agreements were arrived at very much in accord with those foreshadowed at The Hague.

In confining warfare within as narrow limits as possible the conferences did not devote their attention exclusively to the assertion of neutral rights, but protected the belligerents themselves as far as possible against each other.

Under the gallant leadership of Dr. White and Mr. Choate, of the United States, twenty-one nations were induced to cast their votes in favor of prohibiting the capture of the private property of the enemy in warfare upon the sea, and although this American proposition failed of adoption, it has been so emphasized and popularized before the world that it will very probably be adopted by the Third Conference at The Hague, or at least be agreed upon by the great majority of the nations in

treaty between themselves. The First Conference forbade unanimously the destruction or seizure of the private property of the enemy in warfare on the land, unless imperatively demanded by the necessities of war, and in that case it shall be paid for.

So great has become the conviction that the private property of belligerents should be protected as much as possible, even in warfare upon the sea, that the Second Conference placed several restrictions upon its capture. It required that due warning to depart must be given to merchant ships which are found in the enemy's ports on the outbreak of hostilities, or which enter them or are captured upon the high seas in ignorance of the war; and that if they do not or can not heed this warning, neither they nor their cargoes may be confiscated, but may only be detained until the end of the war, or requisitioned on payment of compensation. The officers and crews of captured merchant ships are not to be made prisoners of war, provided they promise not to take part in the war. Boats used exclusively for fishing purposes, and all ships (even warships) engaged in scientific, religious or philanthropic missions, were exempted from capture. The mail matter of both belligerents and neutrals was made inviolable, and must be forwarded with the least possible delay in case the ship conveying it is detained or captured. And to prevent a return to the old practice of privateering, which was abolished by many of the nations in 1856, as well as to make piracy more difficult, it was provided that merchant ships transformed into cruisers in time of war shall acquire the rights and privileges of warships only when placed under state control, with a duly commissioned commander and a crew under military discipline and conformable to the laws and customs of warfare.

The most conclusive evidence of the growing regard for the rights of private property, even in warfare on the sea, was the establishment by the Second Conference of the International Prize Court. This court will remove the capture of merchant ships still farther from the plane of piracy by permitting the presumably partial decision of national prize courts to be supplemented by the probably less partial decision of an international one, and will thereby emphasize the fundamental principle in international, as in national, law that a suitor shall not be a judge in his own cause.

Coming thirdly, and lastly, to the measures adopted for the

prevention of warfare, we find in them the crowning glory of the Hague Conferences. They represent in very truth the Magna Charta of international law, and they embody the chief hope and the chief strength of the peace-makers of the twentieth century.

The First Conference was called to solve if possible the problem of increasing armaments, and the world jumped to the conclusion that a foolish attempt was to be made to usher in disarmament. This hasty conclusion almost discredited the conference in the eyes of practical people, but the proposition for disarmament was not even alluded to. What was done, in both conferences, was to strike in upon the consciousness of the nations the fact that in our day and generation the growth of armaments on land and sea is increasing faster than the growth of population in great cities or the concentration of wealth, and has brought every civilized land face to face with very grave financial, industrial, political and international perils. Both conferences emphasized this fact in words of burning eloquence and made a solemn appeal to the governments to study this problem thoroughly and to find some solution of it before precipitating a gigantic war whose prevention is the alleged reason for armament increase. This appeal has not met, as yet, with governmental response; but it is greatly to be hoped that under the auspices of such Secretaries of War as Mr. Taft and Mr. Dickinson—whose proudest boast it is that they have been Secretaries of Peace rather than Secretaries of War—this great and burning problem may be solved before it be too late.

Our day has seen growing up, side by side with armaments on land and sea, the beginnings of armaments in the air. The final result to war or peace of this new development of human genius cannot yet be even guessed at; but both conferences voted that the world should be spared, at least until the end of the next conference, the expense, anxiety and incalculable danger connected with warfare in and from the air. It might help us to appreciate the significance of this prohibition by reflecting on the saving of wear and tear which would have followed upon a prohibition of Dreadnoughts by the First Hague Conference.

The irresistible power of publicity, which has been exerting its sway in such a remarkable manner in national affairs, was applied by the conferences to international affairs. After a long

struggle in the First Conference it was agreed that the establishment of international commissions of inquiry is a "useful" method of avoiding warfare, and in 1907 it was agreed that this method is "desirable" as well. But it was so hedged about with conditional phrases as to honor, vital interests, and circumstances permitting, that it was derided as mere pretense, or as a sop to Cerberus. Nevertheless, it has already afforded another proof of the duty and success of raising a standard to which the wise and honest may repair; for, endorsed by the Hague Conferences and made readily applicable by the adoption of a few simple rules of procedure, it has enabled the great powers of Russia and Great Britain to settle speedily and peacefully the grave dispute concerning the Hull fishermen off the Dogger Bank. Reason as well as experience proves that if a thorough and impartial inquiry be made into international differences, and if the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth be published, a decent respect for the opinion of mankind and an aroused national and *international* public opinion will compel "circumstances to permit" the peaceful settlement even of differences in which "honor and vital interests" are involved. "Investigate *before* you fight," was the demand of the conferences; "investigate and you *won't* fight"—at least in nine times out of ten—is the verdict of recent history.

The agreement adopted by the conference that powers in dispute would have recourse to the good offices or mediation of one or more friendly powers before an appeal to arms, in case of any serious dispute, and as far as circumstances permit, was supplemented by the further statement that the signatory powers consider it useful that one or more powers, strangers to the dispute, should, on their own initiative, and as far as circumstances permit, offer their good offices or their mediation to the states at variance with each other. The restriction of this agreement by the phrase "as far as circumstances permit" was considered an unfortunate one; but it was adopted because the conference did not desire to attempt more than the powers could reasonably be expected to carry out.

When the principle embodied in these agreements is compared with the former jealous resentment of any "foreign intervention" which dominated international relations before 1899, the progress made by the conference in the mere frank statement

of it is apparent. But when it is recalled that, inspired by it, President Roosevelt extended the good offices of the United States government to Japan and Russia in their recent war and that the Peace of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, was the fortunate result, the value of this feature of the convention of 1899 is greatly proven by an accomplished fact of vast historic import.

The desirability of a more frequent resort to this means of avoiding or shortening a war was emphasized in the Conference of 1907, which added the words "and desirable" to the former statement that the powers consider good offices and mediation "useful." This slight addition to the phraseology of 1899 may not have directly the desired result of increasing the frequency of good offices and mediation; but it at least emphasizes the former statement that their extension, even during the course of hostilities, shall not be considered by either of the parties to the dispute as an unfriendly act. The consistent adoption of this latter view, together with the growing conviction that the interests of one are the interests of all in the family of states, will increase the frequency of this means of preventing war and insuring justice.

A treatise on international law, which is widely used as a text-book in this country and in England, was written by Professor Lawrence, of the Universities of Cambridge and Chicago, and was published a few years before the meeting of the First Hague Conference. That treatise devotes five pages out of six hundred and thirty-six to a consideration of *arbitration* in all its phases, and these are confined to a discussion of the possibility of concluding a treaty for arbitration between Great Britain and the United States. A Permanent Court of Arbitration for all the world, with its Permanent Bureau, Advisory Council, and Peace Palace at The Hague, an International Prize Court, obligatory arbitration of contractual indebtedness and scores of obligatory arbitration treaties between nations, to say nothing of a world-treaty of obligatory arbitration, and a Court of Arbitral Justice, are wholly outside the imagination of this brilliant but antiquated author, or are deemed so wholly imaginative and visionary as not to deserve mention. We need seek no more striking evidence of the advance registered by the two Hague Conferences than this simple fact. For all of these extraordinary institutions have been not merely dreamed of since 1899, but within the brief span

of eight years most of them have been put into actual practice, and the remaining two have received the unanimous indorsement and are within the determined acquisition of the large majority of the nations.

A large number of international differences were submitted to voluntary arbitration during the century preceding the conferences. But for the first time at The Hague the nations unanimously indorsed this peaceful and rational method of settling differences, and even went so far as to declare that when a serious dispute threatens to occur between two or more nations it is the *duty* of the other nations to remind the disputants that an easy recourse to arbitration is open to them, and to advise them, in the higher interest of peace, to resort to it. The assertion of this duty was re-enforced by the further statement that the disputants shall consider such reminder and advice only as an exercise of good offices and by no means an unfriendly act.

The advance registered by the conferences in the direction of obligatory arbitration may be recorded in the words of Baron von Bieberstein, of Germany, who said in the Second Conference: "At the First Peace Conference, the German delegate declared in the name of his government that experience in the field of arbitration was not of a kind to permit an agreement at that time in favor of obligatory arbitration. Eight years have passed since that declaration, and experience in the field of arbitration has accumulated to a considerable extent. The question has been, on the other hand, the subject of profound and continuous study on the part of the German government. In view of the fruits of this examination, and under the influence of the fortunate results flowing from arbitration, my government is favorable today, in principle, to the idea of obligatory arbitration. It has confirmed the sincerity of this opinion by signing two treaties of permanent arbitration, one with the British government, the other with that of the United States of America, both of which include all judicial questions or those relative to the interpretation of treaties. We have, besides, inserted in our commercial treaties concluded within recent years an arbitral agreement for a series of questions, and we have the firm intention of continuing to pursue the task in which we are engaged in concluding these treaties. In the course of our debates the fortunate fact has been mentioned that a

long series of other treaties of obligatory arbitration have been concluded between various states. This is genuine progress, and the credit of it is due, incontestably, to the First Peace Conference."

Our great American Secretary of State, Mr. Elihu Root, also, in his instructions to the United States delegation to the Second Conference, alluded to the many separate treaties of arbitration between individual countries, and said that "This condition, which brings the subject of a general treaty for obligatory arbitration into the field of practical discussion, is undoubtedly largely due to the fact that the powers generally in the First Hague Conference committed themselves to the principle of the pacific settlement of international questions in the admirable convention for voluntary arbitration then adopted."

The Second Conference did not succeed in agreeing upon a world-treaty of obligatory arbitration, but thirty-five of the nations voted for such a treaty, and those who opposed it did so on the ground that it might retard the growth of obligatory arbitration treaties between the nations separately; while forty-two of them declared their conviction that certain classes of international differences are capable of being submitted to obligatory arbitration without any restriction whatsoever.

The principle of obligatory arbitration was strikingly applied by the Second Conference in its adoption of the Porter proposition, which requires the submission to arbitration of disputes relating to contractual indebtedness before the use of force for its collection is permissible. This was one of the greatest achievements in the history of diplomacy, and reflects undying luster upon its chief advocate, our own illustrious general and diplomatist, Horace Porter. The advance registered by it is especially appreciated by Latin America, which has been too often the prey of unscrupulous foreign promoters, and by our own Republic, whose peaceful enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine is greatly facilitated by it.

The German proposition to establish an International Prize Court electrified the Second Conference by its novelty and significance, but, despite the knotty problems of sovereignty and equality involved in it, the conference enthusiastically and, with the exception of one vote, unanimously adopted it. The establishment of an

international high court of justice functioning as a court of appeal from national courts in cases of merchant ships captured in naval war was, for several reasons, one of the Second Conference's most important achievements. It is the first truly international *court* established in the history of the world. Its decisions will be a fruitful source of maritime *law*. It will remove a fertile cause of disputes between the belligerents themselves, and between them and neutral nations, and will thereby lessen the bitterness of wars once begun and prevent the outbreak of others. The unanimous vote (with the exception of Brazil's vote) of its method of selecting judges will pave the way for the solution of the same question in regard to the Court of Arbitral Justice. By supplying in time of war a regular adjudication of one very important and delicate class of international differences it will serve as an inductive argument and give a strong impulse to the establishment of the Court of Arbitral Justice for the adjudication of all classes of international differences in time of peace. And, finally, its establishment has already given rise to one important international naval conference, that in London in 1908-1909, which will doubtless be followed by others, designed to fill up the gaps and strengthen the weak spots in the maritime law of nations, and thus to afford the new International Prize Court a more solid legislative foundation upon which to erect its structure of judicial decisions and precedents.

The institution established by the conferences at The Hague which stands out pre-eminent in the mind of the nations is the Permanent Court of Arbitration. This pre-eminence is deserved; for, although this institution is not truly permanent nor is it a genuine court, yet it is the pioneer of its race and has already proved itself of incalculable utility, having settled four important international differences and attracted six others into the path towards peaceful solution. Like the Magna Charta of England and the Constitution of the United States, it is the corner-stone of the edifice of international law and justice which will be erected in the future; while its establishment is a tangible evidence of the fact that national governments, whose duty it is to enforce law and justice within their own territories, themselves recognize the eternal and universal validity of those principles upon which their own reason for existence and claim to allegiance are based.

A national observance of international law and obedience to international justice cannot fail greatly to strengthen individuals' observance of and obedience to national law and justice. The advance registered, then, by the Permanent Court of Arbitration and the admirable code of procedure adopted for it, is of profound significance upon both the national and the international scale.

The Court of Arbitral Justice, although not set in operation by the Second Conference, constitutes the International Promised Land of the world today. A truly permanent and a genuine court, with a prestige based upon consecutive decisions and a consistent interpretation of international law, was a great, a path-breaking idea. The potency of great ideas in human history needs not to be argued. Now this idea, although abandoned as impracticable by the First Conference, was introduced in the Second Conference only eight years later, explained, attacked, defended and almost unanimously accepted as both desirable and practicable. Some of the ablest of international jurists collaborated in the task of advocating that idea and giving to it form and substance. The concrete results of their labor were adopted by the conference and are published, not as a vermiform appendix but as an essential annex to the Final Act.

Not only will the idea of such a court henceforth stand behind the wrong of warfare, but it will inevitably rule the future. The court itself, fashioned and wrought out in all but one of its details, needs only an agreement as to the appointment of its judges; and when this breath of life is breathed into it by *any* number of the nations, it will at once spring into beneficent activity. Its operation does not require unanimity among the nations, as did so many other features of the Final Act of The Hague; nor does it require even a two-thirds acceptance, as did the Constitution of the United States; but the moment when two or more powers agree upon the appointment of its judges, it will open its doors for the pacification of disputes. Even though constituted by only two powers, it will be known as the Court of Arbitral Justice at The Hague, and, like a city set upon a hill, it will eventually draw to it all nations seeking to escape the evils of warfare.

It was greatly to be desired, of course, and it is still greatly

to be desired, that its operation should come as the result of unanimous agreement. But even from this point of view it should be noted that the conference voted unanimously the recommendation that the governments should adopt, not *some* court, but this particular Court of Arbitral Justice, and put it in operation as soon as they could agree upon the choice of its judges.

Two great Americans, Elihu Root and Joseph H. Choate, were the Moses and Aaron who led the Second Conference into the path towards this Promised Land; the conference as the result of infinite toil has led the world across the desert to the Jordan; and now it is the growing hope of the civilized world that Philander Chase Knox will be the Joshua who will take it across that one last river—the difficulty, namely, as to the appointment of the judges.

Looking back upon this brief summary of the work of the two Hague Conferences, we must admit that the past at least is secure. The alleviation and prevention of many of warfare's former horrors, its restriction within narrow limits, the protection of noncombatants and neutrals from its ravages, the assertion of principles and the establishment of practices for its prevention and for the enforcement of justice—such were the great achievements of these two epoch-making events in the world's history. There they stand in all their undying luster, so that he who runs may see that they have afforded to the peace workers of our time a new and *positive program*, on which every true believer in international peace, of no matter what complexion his belief may be, can find room and opportunity for labor, and whose realization will not only make present armaments as obsolete as would a fleet of airships, but will at last usher in a reign of law and justice within that No Man's Land of international relations.

When the traveler in some distant time shall stand beside the Palace of Peace in The Hague and shall look out over a world in which the hoary forces of warfare have been permanently diked within the channels of peaceful commerce, when he shall hear the voice of international justice rolling forth to every clime and corner of the world, and shall know that the writ of the Court of Arbitral Justice runs freely and unquestioned from the mountains of Venezuela to the shores of the Adriatic and the Golden Horn—then will he clearly see what our less seeing eyes can only dimly

see: the full richness of the harvest of peace and justice that sprang from the seed which the two Hague Conferences sowed.

CHAIRMAN CRAPSEY :

In thanking Professor Hull for his very able and scholarly paper, I would like to call attention to the thought that the Hague Conference was of vast importance not only for what it did but for what it was. Bringing together representatives of the various nations was itself a great event. It was my fortune to be in the same hotel with the representatives of the Turkish Empire and the Grecian Kingdom, and it was a wonderful sight to see those ancient enemies holding peaceful conferences in the same room. Now we have the still more wonderful event that the Turk has taken up arms against the Turk to secure the Greek element in the Turkish population its civil rights. (Applause.)

I have the great pleasure now in presenting to you Professor Charles Cheney Hyde, of Chicago, who will address us upon the subject of "Legal Problems Capable of Settlement by Arbitration."

Legal Problems Capable of Settlement by Arbitration

PROFESSOR CHARLES CHENEY HYDE.

Our first inquiry is to ascertain what is a legal problem. Professor Westlake, of Cambridge University, has declared that a legal problem is one "which can be settled by reference to known rules, having at their back that force which is derived from the general consent of the international society."

But few of these rules are codified. Some are defined by international agreement. Some are expressed in the domestic laws of states. Some are set forth in the decisions of the local courts. Whatever be their source and whatever be the evidence of their existence, they are rules which civilized states feel themselves bound to observe, and therefore do observe in their intercourse with each other. They alone constitute what is known as international law.

It is unfortunate that learned men well qualified to guide our feet into the way of truth have been content to mark out the path that nations ought to follow, rather than that which they

have actually trodden. Because of the conflicting views of equally careful scholars, we are sometimes led to believe that with respect to very many problems of international intercourse there is no general agreement of the family of nations.

Careful examination, however, of the practice of enlightened states at the present time reveals a happier condition of affairs. It shows not only that there are rules of conduct which nations habitually observe from a sense of legal obligation, but also that those rules are applied in testing the propriety or legality of the conduct of each state in almost every phase of its relations with the outside world. In a word, it shows that international practice has established a system of law which stamps upon almost every international act either a legal or illegal character.

Attempts are constantly made to differentiate legal from political questions. It is sometimes said that a controversy relating to the policy of a nation is, by reason of that fact, of a political character. In one sense this is true. That which has to do with the policy of a state is political. Nevertheless, because a difference between nations may arise from a question of policy it does not follow that the controversy lacks a legal quality. The policy of a nation may call for action flatly in derogation of a well recognized right of another state. Whenever it does, it gives rise to a legal problem. The attempt, therefore, to distinguish international controversies of a political character from those of a legal character, on the sole ground that the former relate to the policy of a nation, is obviously inadequate. On the other hand, it is true, and we ought to be glad that it is true, that legal differences between states may embrace in their scope questions of the most vital national policy; for notwithstanding their magnitude, known rules of international law furnish a means of solution. That law is not a system intended merely to secure the orderly conduct of minor affairs. It is capable and has proven itself capable of promoting justice, even when controversies have shaken opposing states to their very foundations.

In order to ascertain what legal problems are capable of settlement by arbitration, it is worth while to turn to the experience of the United States. Since the Declaration of Independence the international problems which have confronted this Republic have been difficult and varied; sometimes they have led to war. In

very many cases where adjustment by diplomatic means has failed, settlement by judicial means has been possible.

As early as 1785 John Jay, when Secretary for Foreign Affairs, submitted to the Congress a report on the eastern boundary, and stated that in his opinion effectual measures should be taken to settle all disputes with the Crown of Great Britain. In that report he submitted an elaborate plan for their adjustment. The plan provided for the appointment of an equal number of commissioners to be appointed by the United States and the King. A majority of the commissioners were to be empowered to render a final and decisive judgment as to the rightful ownership of the territory in dispute. This report was submitted by President Washington to the Senate in 1790.* No arrangement was made in pursuance of its suggestion. The United States did, however, subsequently seek a solution of the various phases of the boundary dispute by judicial as well as amicable means. John Jay's recommendations signify much today. They indicate that before the close of the eighteenth century an American jurist and diplomat who was alive to the feeling of antagonism prevailing between England and America; who was aware of the imperfections in the description of the northeastern boundary contained in the Anglo-American treaty of 1783; who knew the difficulties then existing in securing evidence of international law to guide any international tribunal; who appreciated the difficulties also of securing courageous and unbiased judges, nevertheless did not hesitate to advise, as the best means of adjusting the grave territorial dispute, its reference to a judicial tribunal of Englishmen and Americans.

In 1896, in the course of negotiations with Secretary Olney concerning a general Anglo-American treaty of arbitration, Lord Salisbury expressed grave doubts as to whether territorial disputes were capable of arbitration. He took the position that the rules of international law applicable to territorial controversies were not ascertained; that it was uncertain what sort of occupation or control of territory was necessary to give a good title; how long such occupation or control should continue; and that the projected procedure suggested by Mr. Olney would be full of sur-

* American State Papers, Foreign Relations, I. 94.

prises.* In reply Mr. Olney said in part: "International law fails to furnish any imperative reasons for excluding boundary controversies from the scope of general treaties of arbitration. If that be true of civilized states generally, *a fortiori* must it be true of the two great English-speaking nations. As they have not merely political institutions but systems of jurisprudence identical in their origin and in the fundamental ideas underlying them, as the law of real property in each is but a growth from the same parent stem, it is not easy to believe that a tribunal composed of judges of the supreme court of each, even if a foreign jurist were to act as umpire, could produce any flagrant miscarriage of justice."† If in 1785 John Jay believed that such disputes were capable of adjustment by judicial means, it was not surprising that his successor, in 1896, should take a similar stand. It will be remembered that in 1897 Secretary Olney and the British Ambassador signed a general arbitration treaty. In that agreement provision was made for the arbitration of pecuniary claims. For the adjustment of claims, or of differences involving principles of grave general importance affecting national rights as distinguished from private rights, it was agreed that recourse should be had to a tribunal composed of three American and three British judges. Their award, if made by a majority of five to one, was to be final. This treaty met with the approval of both President Cleveland and President McKinley, as well as of a large majority of the Senate. As less than two-thirds of the Senators present advised its ratification, when a vote was taken, the treaty failed. Notwithstanding that fact the Olney-Pauncefote convention stands today as a significant proof of what legal differences two of our own Presidents as well as the British government believed to be capable of adjustment by judicial process, and that two years before the assembling of the First Hague Conference.

An attempt to settle the territorial differences between Great Britain and the United States concerning the northeastern boundary by judicial process was only in part successful. Brief reference to what happened is enlightening: Which of two rivers designated in the Treaty of Peace as the St. Croix, and constituting the boundary, was ascertained by means of arbitration. The

* Foreign Relations, 1896, 235.

† Foreign Relations, 1896, 236.

rightful ownership of certain islands in Passamaquoddy Bay and in the Bay of Fundy was established by a joint commission consisting of one Englishman and one American.* The remaining portion of the northeastern boundary dispute, involving the determination of title to over 12,000 square miles, was not settled until 1842, and then by diplomacy. In the meantime, an attempt had been made in 1827 to settle the controversy by referring it to the King of the Netherlands as arbitrator. The royal arbitrator, instead of rendering a decision based on the descriptions contained in the treaty of 1783, declared in his award what he himself believed to be a suitable line of demarkation. This was regarded by the United States as a departure from the powers entrusted to him, rendering the award recommendatory in character, and therefore imposing no obligation on the litigant states. There was a mutual waiver of the award by the two governments. If there was a miscarriage of justice, it was due to a failure on the part of the arbitrator to appreciate the nature of his duty and the scope of his powers, rather than to a weakness of the system on which reliance had been placed. The experience did, however, lessen the confidence of the United States in arbitration as a suitable means of adjusting territorial disputes. Some years later, when the controversy with Great Britain relating to the Oregon dispute became acute, President Polk declared that territorial differences were not capable of adjustment by such means. In 1871, however, the United States and Great Britain referred to arbitration before the German Emperor the question as to the San Juan water boundary. His award, rendered on October 22, 1872, was satisfactory to both parties, and they expressed their thanks to that effect to the Kaiser.†

On February 11, 1903, Great Britain and the United States concluded an agreement referring to a joint tribunal consisting of six impartial jurors, three to be appointed by the President and three to be appointed by the King, the determination of the Alaskan boundary dispute. The United States was convinced of the justice of its own position, regarding the claims of Great Britain not only untenable but almost frivolous in character. Nevertheless, it was believed that the controversy, notwithstanding the

* Moore, *Int. Arbitrations*, I. Chapter II.

† Moore, *Int. Arbitrations*, I. Chapter II.

British claims, could be safely entrusted to an Anglo-American tribunal. The contentions of the United States that it should continue to enjoy the possession of a continuous strip of mainland separating the British territory from the inlets of the sea were sustained not only by the three American commissioners but also by Lord Alverstone, the president of the tribunal. It will be remembered that the chief counsel for the United States, who labored industriously in this legal controversy of vast importance to two nations, was the Honorable Jacob M. Dickinson, the president of this congress.

The foregoing cases illustrate well the fact that our own country has found that there are rules of international law sufficient to guide a judicial tribunal in adjusting territorial differences. They indicate also that such legal problems are not outside the scope of arbitration by reason of the fact that the award of a court may require a state to give up the possession of territory previously occupied by its own citizens or subjects under a claim of right.

In the British-Guiana-Venezuela boundary dispute of 1897, in view of the fact that the claim of Venezuela seemed to be in defiance of certain accepted principles of international law with reference to the acquisition of territory, arbitration was made feasible by inserting in the treaty providing therefor certain rules applicable to the case. A decision was duly rendered by a tribunal comprising in its membership two justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. Where the issue between two nations involves a controversy as to the very existence of a particular rule of law, the insertion in the treaty of arbitration of rules to guide the court, or rules which the court may assume the parties have undertaken to act upon, may be the means of securing a decision satisfactory to both parties. Such was the case in the Geneva arbitration under the Convention of 1871.

The general arbitration treaties recently concluded by the United States with other powers are substantially alike in reserving from their operation such differences of a legal nature, or relating to the interpretation of treaties, as may affect the vital interests, the independence or the honor of the contracting parties, and do not concern the interests of third parties.* It is

* See for example, Treaty between the United States and Switzerland, of February 29th, 1908; *American Journal of Int. Law*, II. 330.

not the purpose of this article to discuss the expediency or necessity of such reservations in general arbitration treaties. It is of interest, however, to note parenthetically, that according to an editorial comment of last year in the *American Journal of International Law*, edited by our good friend Dr. Scott, the Solicitor to the Department of State, it is said, and I quote the language: "It may be that nations will one day agree to arbitrate questions concerning their vital interests, independence or honor, but at present they are either unwilling or unable to do so."* Nor is it the purpose of this paper to inquire whether a general arbitration treaty with a particular state, such as Great Britain, might not be more comprehensive in scope than those which the United States has already concluded. Nor is it the object of the writer to inquire whether certain classes of disputes are better settled by reference to arbitration before a court having a neutral umpire than by a joint commission comprising an equal number of judges belonging to the states which are parties to the particular controversy. These are problems of national policy. They are of grave importance, requiring the most careful attention not only of those who possess the necessary technical knowledge but also of the laity who are interested in the pacific settlement of international disputes. They are most appropriate for the careful consideration of a national peace congress. It is the single purpose of this paper to consider what legal questions are capable of adjustment by arbitration. To that end it is instructive to examine further the experience of the United States in dealing with certain international problems which have been regarded either by our own country or by some other as affecting vital interests, national honor or independence. Territorial differences are invariably regarded of vital interest to at least one party to the controversy. The United States and Great Britain and Venezuela have each found this to be true. Yet each of these nations has also had recourse to arbitration to settle such disputes.

At the close of the Civil War, when the United States claimed that the British government, in its treatment of the Alabama and of other vessels built for and serving the Confederate Navy, had been guilty of unneutral conduct, Earl Russell in reply to a statement of the American Minister, Mr. Adams, said:

* *American Journal of Int. Law*. II. 390.

"It appears to Her Majesty's government that there are but two questions by which the claim of compensation could be tested: The one is, Have the British government acted with due diligence, or, in other words, in good faith and honesty, in the maintenance of the neutrality they proclaimed? The other is, Have the law officers of the Crown properly understood the foreign enlistment act when they declined, in June, 1862, to advise the detention and seizure of the Alabama, and on other occasions when they were asked to detain other ships building or fitting in British ports? It appears to Her Majesty's government that neither of these questions could be put to a foreign government with any regard to the dignity and character of the British Crown and the British nation. Her Majesty's government are the sole guardians of their own honor:"* It may have been true that these questions did involve the national honor of Great Britain. Whether they did or not, however, public sentiment in that country strongly believed that the issues involved substantial questions of law and practice and questions of international conduct which the British government, according to Professor Moore, might consider "without abating anything of the 'dignity and character' of the Crown, and without ceasing to be 'the sole guardians of their own honor.'"[†] In May, 1871, a treaty for the arbitration of the Alabama claims was concluded. The accomplishment of the Geneva tribunal is too well known to require comment.

During the War of 1812 the American privateer General Armstrong, while in the harbor of Fayal, was destroyed by British warships. The United States demanded indemnification from Portugal on the ground that that nation in failing to protect the vessel had also failed in its duty as a neutral. The issue was referred to arbitration before Louis Napoleon, then President of the French Republic, who, in November, 1852, rendered a decision adverse to the American claim. The question at issue was one of public law and one of great importance, because it involved an inquiry concerning what acts by a belligerent warship forfeited its right to demand protection by a neutral; also an inquiry into the question concerning the extent of the duty of a

* Moore, *Int. Arbitrations*, I. 496.

† Moore, *Int. Arbitrations*, I. 497.

neutral to a belligerent. The award was contrary to the contentions of the United States. Nevertheless, it served to put an end to the dispute.

In 1892 occurred the well-known arbitration of the Fur Seal controversy between Great Britain and the United States before the Paris Tribunal. The issues were of a legal character involving primarily whether the United States rightfully exercised exclusive jurisdiction over the waters of Bering Sea. Our country had asserted a right of property and control over the fur seals frequenting certain islands in Bering Sea when such seals were found outside of the ordinary three-mile mark. Great Britain denied the lawfulness of that claim, and attacked the validity of an interest which the United States had regarded as of vital consequence. The award, favorable to Great Britain, swept away the foundations of the American contentions. Our government bowed to the decision and justice was promoted.

Whenever a state asserts over any area, whether land or water, a claim of jurisdiction or control the validity of which is denied by any other nations, the controversy is usually regarded as involving the vital interests of one of the parties concerned. Such a controversy is none the less capable of adjustment by judicial means, because its solution is always to be had by reference to existing rules of international conduct.

During the present year, a special agreement has been concluded between Great Britain and the United States for the submission of the northeastern fishery dispute to arbitration before a tribunal chosen from the general list of members of the Permanent Court at The Hague. The controversy is one involving the interpretation of Article I of the Treaty of 1818, affecting interests which ever since that date have been regarded by both nations as most vital. It concerns the extent of the right of British authorities to regulate or restrain the fishing industry within certain portions of British America; it involves the welfare and prosperity of our New England fishermen as well as that of the fishermen of Canada and Newfoundland. Nevertheless, the nations concerned have believed that the complicated controversy is capable of adjustment by a judicial tribunal of five judges, three of whom are to be neutral. It is significant that the United States and Great Britain have reached an agreement

in the matter, notwithstanding the fact that the differences between the two nations are based upon radically opposing systems of legal interpretation. The question presented to the court is really in its final analysis—Which of the two systems is correct?

It may be observed also that the agreement to arbitrate the controversy is in pursuance of a general Anglo-American arbitration treaty, which provides that the two contracting parties shall not be obliged to submit to arbitration whatever affects the vital interests of either.

At the close of 1903 the Colombian government presented to the Department of State a statement of grievances, contending that they constituted a violation of an existing treaty with Colombia (concluded between its predecessor, New Granada, and the United States in 1846), and requesting that they be submitted to arbitration before the Hague Tribunal. These claims arose from the intervention by the United States in November, 1903, with respect to Panama. The acts of intervention which constituted the basis of complaint consisted in the prevention by the United States of the landing of armed forces on the Isthmus, the prevention of the bombardment of the town of Panama and the recognition by the United States of Panama as a new nation. Without any attempt to discuss the merits of the controversy, it suffices to observe that Secretary Hay, January 5, 1904, declared that the grievances of Colombia were of a political nature, such as nations of even the most advanced ideas as to international arbitration had not proposed to deal with by that process. He said: "Questions of foreign policy and of the recognition or non-recognition of foreign states are of a purely political nature, and do not fall within the domain of judicial decision."

It is not appropriate at this time to discuss the question as to the expediency of declining to arbitrate the questions then at issue. Attention must be called to the fact, however, that while the acts of the United States in 1903 may have been properly described as possessing a political character, grounds for their justification were sought in the provisions of the treaty of 1846. The United States contended that its position was a just one by reason of a legal right secured by that compact. The real issue, therefore, between Colombia and the United States involved the interpretation of that treaty. The question was one of a

judicial character, and capable of solution by reference to well-known rules of international conduct. The issues did involve interests vital to both Colombia and the United States. They did involve the freedom of action of two independent nations. Nevertheless, the rightfulness of the conduct of either, in so far as it was based upon their early agreement, was clearly capable of a true determination by neutral judges.

Attention is sometimes called to the fact that the employment of arbitration has in many cases resulted in a miscarriage of justice. In the experience of our country there have been failures in the arbitration of both private and public claims. Such results have, however, usually been due to a lack of care in the choice of judges, or in the definition of the question at issue, or in the provisions relating to procedure. Almost all are to be traced to the carelessness of the contracting parties in drafting the agreement to arbitrate. None of these defects are necessarily connected with arbitral procedure. They do not indicate that one class of disputes rather than another is incapable of adjustment. When a controversy arises affecting the vital interests of two states a judge who may be a citizen of either litigant may find it difficult to rise above local prejudice and yield assent to an award adverse to the claims of his own country. Judges possessing every necessary qualification are, nevertheless, to be found today in every civilized state, and the names of many of them are already enrolled on the general list of judges of the Hague Tribunal.

We must look outside of American diplomacy for the most notable case in recent years where a difference involving the vital interests if not the honor of at least one state was adjusted by recourse to arbitration. The issue was between Great Britain and Russia. It arose from the attack on October 22, 1904, by the Russian squadron on vessels belonging to the British fishing fleet while engaged in trolling for cod off the Dogger Bank. There was submitted to an international commission an inquiry into all the circumstances attending the disaster and particularly as to the responsibility for the disaster. The commissioners agreed unanimously that the fisherman committed no hostile act, and a majority reached the conclusion that no hostile torpedo boats were near the Russian fleet and that the opening of fire by that

fleet was unjustifiable. Upon the report of the commission the Russian government promptly paid the British claim for damages.

Professor John Bassett Moore, whose conclusions are entitled to great weight, says of this case: "Thus ended one of the most agitating and difficult controversies to which the process of arbitration was ever applied. I venture to say that in this North Sea incident there were involved both questions of national honor and questions of vital interest. Surely nothing can more affect the honor or the interests of a government than the wrongful taking of the lives of its people, especially where they are assailed at the hands of the officials of a foreign power. Not only is the arbitral settlement of the North Sea incident a proof of the growth in the world of a magnanimous and enlightened spirit, but it is to be placed among the great cases in which that mode of settlement has brought peace with honor, to the lasting benefit of the powers immediately concerned, and to the great advantage of the whole world."*

From the experience of our own country certain conclusions of fact can be drawn. We have found that territorial disputes with our British neighbor, however grave and of whatever magnitude, have proven capable of adjustment by judicial process, either through the medium of a court of arbitration or that of a joint commission. We have found that even where the controversy has involved the existence of a particular principle of international law, it has yet been possible, by means of a comprehensive preliminary agreement, to secure complete adjustment by neutral arbitrators. We have found that where an adverse claim has been asserted in defiance of what was believed to be an established right long enjoyed by the United States, we were nevertheless safe in entrusting the controversy to a tribunal composed in part of judges representing the state which made such assertion. In brief, the experience of the United States affords abundant evidence of the fact that if an international controversy is of a legal character, it is capable of adjustment by arbitration whether the claims involved are national or private; whether the issue is one of fact or of law; whether the difference is one concerning the ownership of land, or the control of water; whether the honor of the state is involved, or even its most vital interests. Although

* Proceedings Lake Mohonk Conference, 1905, p. 150.

our country has entered into no general treaty of arbitration which does not specifically reserve questions affecting its independence or honor or vital interests, we find the United States not unwilling in particular cases to submit to an arbitration tribunal differences of such a character. And in this present year of grace we witness the fact that recourse is had to arbitration before The Hague Tribunal for the adjustment of a controversy which has baffled the diplomacy of the United States and Great Britain for ninety-one years.

When we look beyond our own concerns and observe the action of European states, we find within the present century instances of agreements stipulating that the permanent court of arbitration shall decide whether or not the vital interests of one of the contracting parties are involved. Sweden and Norway, Denmark, Russia and Spain have all been parties to such conventions. Denmark, the Netherlands and Italy have become parties to certain treaties providing for obligatory arbitration of all differences, without exception.

Turning to our own hemisphere, we note a remarkable convention for the establishment of a Central American Court of Justice concluded at Washington on December 20, 1907, by the governments of the Republics of Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and Salvador. By that agreement the contracting states bind themselves to submit, when diplomatic adjustment fails, all questions which may arise among them, of whatsoever nature, and of whatsoever origin, to the Central American Court of Justice.

Finally, it will be remembered that the Second Hague Conference was unanimous "in declaring that certain differences, and notably those relating to the interpretation and application of international conventional stipulations, are susceptible of being submitted to obligatory arbitration without any restriction."

However widely statesmen may differ as to the best means of preserving peace; however cautious they may be in broadening the scope of general treaties of arbitration, the time is past when it can be seriously maintained that international controversies of a legal character are incapable of adjustment by judicial means. This is true, not merely because the enlightened public sentiment of civilized states is intolerant of the use of force to secure ends equally

capable of attainment by amicable methods, but rather because men have found that the law of nations is a reality; that that law, as shown by the practice of enlightened states, affords a test of the rightfulness of the conduct of a state, in almost every phase of its international intercourse; and finally, because there live today jurists who, unmoved by prejudice, endowed with courage and rich in learning, are able to declare that law and to administer exact justice among the nations.

MR. CRAPSEY:

In the absence of the Honorable James Brown Scott, the next speaker on the program, Rev. J. L. Tryon will read Mr. Scott's address.

MR. TRYON:

Perhaps you may not all know who Mr. Scott is. He is the Solicitor for the State Department, well known as an expert in international law, the technical delegate of the United States at the Second Hague Conference. While Mr. Root suggested a Court of Arbitral Justice and Mr. Choate advocated the idea, the scheme was elaborated by Professor James Brown Scott, and I think that when all the facts in connection with the Second Hague Conference are known, that Mr. Scott's work will stand out as a most honorable work. His name will go down with the greatest jurists and lawyers of all time, and whenever you hear of the High Court of Nations you must always think of the attempt of Professor Scott to make a new Court of Arbitral Justice.

Some Subjects Likely to be Discussed at the Third Hague Peace Conference

HON. JAMES BROWN SCOTT.

It was expected by the members of the First Hague Conference of 1899 that a Second Conference would meet in the very near future; indeed, President de Staal stated to Dr. Andrew D. White that the First Conference was one of a series and that another would undoubtedly be held in the course of a twelve-month. The Conference itself felt that a similar meeting of the

nations would be held, and referred to its consideration various subjects upon which it had failed to reach an agreement, or which were either not discussed or not adequately discussed for lack of time. For example, the Conference expressed the wish "that the questions of the rights and duties of neutrals may be inserted in the program of the Conference in the near future; that the proposal which contemplates the declaration of the inviolability of private property in naval warfare may be referred to a subsequent conference for consideration" and that "the proposal to settle the question of the bombardment of ports, towns and villages by naval force may be referred to a subsequent conference for consideration." In other words, the First Conference not only expected a successor but relegated to it certain matters of very considerable importance, and it may be said in passing that of the three subjects referred to and actually considered by the Second Conference, two form the subject of separate conventions.

The Second Conference not only had in mind a successor but it actually recommended to the powers the assembling of a Third Peace Conference "which might be held within a period corresponding to that which has elapsed since the preceding conference (eight years), at a date to be fixed by common agreement between the powers," and provided that "some two years before the probable date of the meeting a preparatory committee should be charged by the governments with the task of collecting the various proposals to be submitted to the conference, of ascertaining what subjects are ripe for embodiment in an international regulation, and of preparing a program which the governments should decide upon in sufficient time to expect it to be carefully examined by the governments interested."

The question of a Third Conference is thus no longer a matter of conjecture or speculation, nor is its convocation based upon "the reference of certain subjects to a future assembly," although the fourth recommendation of the Second Conference suggests that "the preparation of regulations relative to the laws and customs of naval warfare should figure in the program of the next conference."

The program of this Third Conference is to be framed by a preparatory committee some two years in advance of the probable meeting, so that the participating powers may not only study the

questions presented to the conference but may formulate proposals or otherwise determine their attitude in advance of the meeting at The Hague.

The various subjects contained in the recommendations of the First Conference were considered in the nature of unfinished business, by means of which the two conferences were brought into very close connection. The several recommendations of the Second Conference may likewise be considered as unfinished business, and the subjects discussed (without, however, reaching conclusions upon them) may also be considered in the same way, and are therefore likely to figure in the program of a Third Conference.

Without attempting to usurp the functions of the preparatory committee charged with the preparation of a program for a Third Conference, it may be asserted with some confidence that certain subjects will undoubtedly be discussed at the Third Conference and, it is hoped, conclusions reached upon them.

For example, compulsory arbitration, defeated at the First Conference, recognized in principle at the Second Conference and incorporated in the convention for the limitation of force in the collection of contract debts, will, in all probability, make its appearance and triumph at the Third Conference. In 1899 the principle of compulsory arbitration was rejected; in 1907 the principle was unanimously accepted, for the final act declared that the Conference is unanimous—

- “1. In admitting the principle of compulsory arbitration.
- “2. In declaring that certain disputes, in particular those relating to the interpretation and application of the provisions of international agreements, may be submitted to compulsory arbitration without any restrictions.”

The next step is the negotiation of a treaty which will give effect to the principle of compulsory arbitration unanimously adopted, and the negotiation, since the close of the conference, of some sixty treaties of compulsory arbitration, of which twenty-four have been concluded by the United States, shows that an

insistent public opinion is forcing nations not merely to confess their faith in arbitration but also to evidence it through international agreement.

It was the desire of an overwhelming majority to adopt a general treaty of arbitration, reserving from the obligation of arbitration questions affecting the independence, vital interests and honor of the contracting nations, and to include in the treaty various specified subjects in which the reservation of independence, vital interests and honor were renounced. Thirty-two states voted for the draft convention prepared by the Committee of Examination, nine voted against it (Germany, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Bulgaria, Greece, Montenegro, Roumania, Switzerland and Turkey), and three abstained from voting (Italy, Japan and Luxemburg).

Germany, which led the opposition to the treaty of compulsory arbitration in 1899, confessed its mistake at the Second Conference by accepting the principle, and it is to be expected that the experience of the interval between the Second and Third Conference will cause that enlightened country not only to confess but also to accept, if it does not actually propose, a project of compulsory arbitration at the Third Conference. Should it do so, the faithful allies, Austria-Hungary and Italy, would declare themselves in favor of compulsory arbitration, because Austria-Hungary is not unmindful of the desires of Germany, and Italy is an outspoken partisan of compulsory arbitration, even without the reservation of independence, vital interests and honor. The Triple Alliance is, however, still in existence, and Germany is the Triple Alliance.

The negotiation of a general treaty of arbitration, as well as the individual treaties between the various states and the universal acceptance of the Hague conventions, makes an international court for the determination of disputes arising out of these various international instruments almost a necessity.

It is a familiar doctrine that a judgment merely binds the litigating parties, but the interpretation of a treaty to which all civilized nations are parties is of scarcely less interest to the signatories than it is to the parties litigant. The decision of a tribunal constituted by two contending nations binds only the nations constituting the tribunal and participating in the trial,

whereas the interpretation of an international treaty by an international tribunal constituted by the community of nations would bind not merely the parties litigant but all parties to the treaty and interpret it authoritatively for all.

The tribunal would need to be permanent, because without permanency continuity in international decisions can hardly be expected.

It is therefore neither utopian nor improbable that an international court of justice will be established by the Third Conference, if indeed it be not constituted by the powers during the interval between the Second and Third Conference. Every treaty of arbitration concluded between nations is a step toward the establishment of such a tribunal and the opponents of compulsory arbitration are certain to be entangled in the net of arbitration treaties which are rapidly encircling the globe.

The establishment of the International Court of Prize by the Second Conference is a demonstration of the fact that an international court of justice can and will be constituted whenever the international need is apparent, and it is impossible to believe that nations will content themselves with the establishment of a tribunal for the determination of cases arising out of war to the neglect of a tribunal for the peaceful determination of conflicts arising in peace, and which if unsettled may either cause war or produce friction and animosity, inclining nations to a resort to arms. It is indeed not unlikely that the two courts will be combined into an international judiciary competent to decide civil as well as prize cases. The Prize Court as it now exists might be invested with the powers of a Court of Arbitral Justice in accordance with the draft convention for the establishment of a Court of Arbitral Justice, adopted by the conference and recommended to the powers.

The Second Conference specifically recommended "that the preparation of regulations relative to the laws and customs of naval warfare should figure in the program of the next conference," and the recent naval conference, composed of the ten leading maritime powers, held in London from December 4, 1908, to February 26, 1909, adopted a declaration dealing with the important subjects of blockade, contraband, destruction of neutral prizes and hostile assistance—subjects discussed at the Sec-

and Conference but upon which no agreement was reached. Should the non-represented powers refuse adherence to this declaration, the subjects embraced within it will undoubtedly be discussed at the Third Conference, and in any event will likely be considered by it and form a part of a more ambitious codification of the laws and customs of naval war.

The Second Conference adopted a convention respecting the rights and duties of neutral powers and persons in case of war on land, but failed to include in it "the position, as regards charges, of foreigners residing within other territories." This subject, which formed the third recommendation of the conference, will undoubtedly be considered by the Third Conference as unfinished business of the Second, and will not only be included in the program but also be the subject of an international agreement at the approaching conference.

It is common knowledge that the First Conference was called into being by the enlightened and humanitarian Czar of Russia to secure "by means of international discussion the most effectual means of insuring to all peoples the benefits of a real and durable peace, and, above all, of putting an end to the progressive development of the present armaments." It is also common knowledge that the Conference was unable to reach an agreement upon the important question of the limitation of armaments, although the subject was considered carefully, profoundly and sympathetically in all its bearings.

The discussion was not, however, fruitless, because a resolution condemning the excessive militarism of the present was unanimously adopted:

"The conference is of opinion that the restriction of military charges, which are at present a heavy burden on the world, is extremely desirable for the increase of the material and moral welfare of mankind."

In addition to this measured denunciation of the present system, which exhausts and wastes the resources of the nations in times of peace, lays intolerable burdens upon their peoples and exposes the nations to annihilation and their peoples to needless and brutal slaughter upon the battlefield, the conference expressed two *vœux* or opinions which sooner or later will be considered and realized:

"The Conference expresses the wish that the question with regard to rifles and naval guns, as considered by it, may be studied by the governments with the object of coming to an agreement respecting the employment of new types and calibers.

"The conference expresses the wish that the governments, taking into consideration the proposals made at the Conference, may examine the possibility of an agreement as to the limitation of armed forces by land and sea, and of war budgets."

It is well known that Great Britain and the United States specifically reserved the right to bring to discussion at the Second Conference the limitation of armaments and that the following resolution, proposed by Great Britain and seconded by the United States, was unanimously adopted :

"The Second Peace Conference confirms the resolution adopted by the Conference of 1899 in regard to the limitation of military expenditure; and inasmuch as military expenditure has considerably increased in almost every country since that time, the Conference declares that it is eminently desirable that the governments should resume the serious examination of this question."

The question of limitation of armaments is thus in the nature of unfinished business for the Third Conference, and it is morally certain that it will make its appearance at the conference, whether or not it be included in the official program, for, like Banquo's Ghost, it will not down.

It is inconceivable that nations should look for relief from the burdens of armament in economic exhaustion rather than by an appeal to reason solve the problem by mutual concession while there is yet time without the waste that threatens their economic existence. It is a question for statesmanship, and the failure to meet it and solve it argues a lamentable and inconceivable lack of statesmanship.

It may well be that the Third Conference will not content itself as did the Second with the recommendation that a future conference meet "within a period corresponding to that which has elapsed since the preceding conference," but will either recommend or provide that a conference of the nations be held at regularly recurring intervals, thus raising the international and occasional conference to the dignity of an established institution.

Many more subjects will undoubtedly be included in the program for the Third Conference, but however important any or all of them may be, the establishment of a stated international conference would be a crowning achievement of diplomacy, for an instrumentality would be created and set in operation whereby the world's interests might be considered, promoted and safeguarded by an international assembly capable of legislating and referendum for the nations because composed of representatives of the nations.

Thus would be realized the hope of the founder of international law, for, to quote the words of Grotius, written in 1625, in the gloom of the Thirty Years' War, "It would be useful, and indeed it is almost necessary, that congresses of Christian powers should be held, in which the controversies which arise amongst some of them may be decided by others who are not interested, and indeed measures may be taken to compel the parties to accept peace on equitable terms."

MR. CRAPSEY:

We have present on the platform one of the most distinguished workers in this great movement for the peace of the world as it has expressed itself in positive institutions. We have with us the Honorable W. I. Buchanan, of New York, who was one of the United States delegates to the Second Hague Conference, who represented the United States in the Peace Conference which established the Central American High Court of Justice, and represented President Roosevelt at the inauguration of that court. He was also United States High Commissioner to Venezuela and is at the present agent at The Hague Court for the Venezuelan cases. He was the high arbitrator between Chile and Argentina, which established the rule between those states of perpetual peace, which was signified by the erection of the statue, The Christ of the Andes, between those countries. It is hardly necessary to say that this session of the Congress is highly honored by the presence of Mr. Buchanan and it will not consent to adjourn until it hears fully from him. (Applause.)

The Application of the Principle of Arbitration

HONORABLE W. I. BUCHANAN.

It is manifestly unfair, both to a speaker and to his audience, to ask one to speak informally and entirely impromptu, after so many carefully and excellently prepared papers have been read regarding these most interesting and transcendental subjects, but if you will assume your share of the responsibility, I am willing to assume mine. (Applause.)

Each one of the gentlemen who has spoken has referred to the desideratum of a permanent judicial court at The Hague. One of the gentlemen was not only fortunate but happy in inserting an "if"—that is, that it would be brought about if it was possible to devise some plan by which judges could be selected. It may interest you to know that this was the crux of the case at The Hague. It seemed simple in the beginning; it seemed natural to assume that it would be impracticable to have a court composed of forty-two judges. Hence the number must be reduced to, let us say as a maximum, seventeen judges; then it seemed reasonable to assume that the greater nations should, each of them, be entitled to a permanent representative on that court. If you could have seen the different attempts made to devise some form of mathematics which would allow forty-two countries to be permanently represented on a court of seventeen members, I am quite certain you would not be too critical of the result that finally took place.

Any of us could, no doubt, take a piece of paper and elaborate a scheme to our entire satisfaction. We would probably begin by stating that the United States was entitled to a permanent member on that court. We would go through perhaps seven or eight other countries and be bound to admit that each of these was entitled to a representative. With but fifteen judges, or seventeen at the outside, we would be left with the interesting problem of dividing nine judges between twenty-seven countries, giving each a judge. (Laughter and applause.) That was the difficulty that was met with.

We must remember that it is impossible to have an international conference except by agreement of the powers that

are to take part in the conference, and that neither the United States nor any other country will blindly agree to take part in a conference and accept its results. As a consequence international conferences are called after the subject matter has been thoroughly understood, discussed and limited in its scope, between the countries that are to take part. The Hague Conference was based on the sovereignty of each participating country, and it seemed difficult to suggest some way by which sovereignty could be reduced into fractions.

If the members of this congress wish to have a permanent judicial court at The Hague, and are not too much occupied in other affairs, they might do the most splendid piece of work of their lives by devising some way by which forty-two countries can be represented on a court the membership of which shall not exceed seventeen.

The present permanent court at The Hague, in my humble judgment, ought to take care of all the cases of international differences that may arise. If more use is made of that court and all joint commissions abolished it would be one of the greatest steps forward in the direction of arbitration.

Anyone who has had experience in these matters knows that it is the rarest case where two countries are satisfied with the decision of a joint commission, because that joint commission usually consists of one member from each of the two countries parties to the misunderstanding, with a third member designated as an umpire, so that the court consists in reality of two counsel, one for each side, and of one judge. The Hague tribunal requires at least three, and you can, if you desire, have five or seven members sit, and it requires a majority vote; that is, that two persons at least shall decide every case. In a joint commission it is one person usually who decides and that is the umpire. In the Hague tribunal it requires two, and if the procedure is followed—which I believe in—of eliminating members of the court who are nationals to the question at issue, you then have three judges foreign to the countries in dispute and two of those judges must agree. The convention providing, as it does, that there shall be no appeal from that decision, except in the case of new evidence being brought up and then that this appeal must be decided by

the same court that has rendered the decision, you reach a definite conclusion to a case. With a mixed commission you may reach it.

One of the cases that grew out of the mission it was my pleasure to carry out in Venezuela recently is a case of the latter kind. We are now going to The Hague to determine, first, whether a decision given in 1903 in Venezuela by a mixed commission shall stand. We could have gone to The Hague in the beginning and the question could have been determined for all time.

I am not a believer in what is usually termed "compulsory arbitration." I am unable to conceive of such a thing as compulsory arbitration. All arbitration must be voluntary. Even what is known as compulsory arbitration treaties must be voluntary; that is, they must be entered into voluntarily and ratified by both sides before they become treaties. In reality what we call compulsory arbitration does not exist. It seems to me that the greatest step toward peace and toward a better understanding between countries would be reached if all of us were more temperate and conservative in our views with regard to disputes that arise between our own country, let us say, and some other country. I believe that the best way to arbitrate is to prevent arbitration by making it unnecessary. Some of the most marked cases where arbitration finally settled the dispute need never have occurred had there been any such thing as temperate popular opinion on either side in discussing beforehand the question which finally grew until it reached such a point that no solution was practicable.

Let me illustrate. The difficulty that arose between the Argentine Republic and Chile in the matter of their frontier line and brought about a debt of more than twenty-five million dollars on either side for armament and brought those countries to the verge of war arose because of the possibility and plausibility of two distinctly different interpretations and meanings to one single word in a treaty. That word unfortunately had to do with the course the divisional line between the two countries should take. The word was "vertiente," which happens to mean two things, one a spring, and hence watershed, and again the slope or side of a mountain, and hence a straight line without regard to water. At the time the treaty was written the land in dispute was worth little. As years went by and the dispute grew, it became better

known, very valuable, and hence personal and national interests became involved, and finally it reached such a point that some solution had to be found to prevent war. To the great credit of both countries, it can be said that the solution was found, and it was one of the greatest honors of my life that I happen to have had part in connection with that solution. (Applause.)

Reference has been made to the Central American Court of Justice. May I say a word about that; I will not tire you——

A DELEGATE: Go on; let's have a lot of it.

A VOICE: You can't tire us.

MR. BUCHANAN: It is creditable to the five Central American republics to say that they established the first international judicial court that the world has ever had. (Applause.) Lest we may be too enthusiastic, may I say that even in that instance difficulties have been met with. The question of the number of judges was not an issue there because each of the five countries has a judge. That court has certain not very well known rights. It has the right, upon a case being presented to it by two of the signatory countries, to fix the *status quo* which shall exist and be maintained by each country pending the consideration and decision of the suit. That to my own mind is the greatest advance that has been made in any such work. It has the right not only to hear cases between citizens of one of the signatory countries and another signatory country, but equally a right by mutual agreement to hear a case between, let's say, the United States and one of the signatory countries. Every precaution was taken in the designation of judges. They are designated by the Congress of each country and receive equal pay in gold from a common fund to which each of the countries binds itself to contribute a fixed amount. In this way it was believed that the influence of the executive or the obligations of a judge toward the executive of either country would be eliminated so far as possible, so that the judge would represent the country rather than the executive, his appointment coming from Congress. That court was inaugurated in May last at Cartago, the ancient capital of Costa Rica, and you may be interested to know that Mr. Andrew Carnegie, among other notable acts, gave \$100,000 for the construction of a palace for that court (applause), his wish being that by the construction of a permanent edifice for the court there might be no possibility

of its dissolution, that it might be a link toward bringing those countries together and keeping them together in peace and equality, and toward enabling them to find a rational way to settle their difficulties. The first case that came before the court was between Honduras and Guatemala and Salvador. The treaty provides that each country is obligated to submit to that court every case they are unable to settle between their foreign offices. Honduras did not believe there was anything to be gained by waiting and going through the formality of discussing with Guatemala the aggravating incident that arose; so she went to the court and said: "We ask you to take jurisdiction of this case." Guatemala said: "No, you have no right to take jurisdiction, because this case has not been discussed between us diplomatically." Honduras answered: "I have the right to renounce my right to discuss it and to place it before the court and let the court determine whether it will take jurisdiction or not." The court determined that it would take jurisdiction, that it had the right of jurisdiction. So you see that even with the most carefully prepared piece of machinery in the shape of court procedure, limited to five countries, their interests similar, their citizenship practically transferable from one country to another, that a question arose in the first case brought under the treaty.

Two or three advances have been made in arbitration which I wish to touch upon for a moment. One is that there is today a greater inclination on our own part to submit questions to arbitration and equally on the part of other countries. I do not know how familiar you may be with the subject, but it is a fact that the United States has submitted to arbitration cases in which, unless I am mistaken, there have been involved more than thirty decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States. That has been the greatest lesson and the greatest encouragement to other countries in the way of agreeing to arbitrate cases where differences arise growing out of court decisions that has occurred during the past fifty years, to my knowledge. There is not much difficulty in arriving at an agreement to arbitrate if people can only be brought to the point where they are willing to sit down and discuss a question and not write too much about it. The difficulty with much writing about a subject is that it is always necessary to build upon the thing previously written, adding one story

after another to the house; whereas, if you can discuss a case verbally, on a friendly basis, I believe every instance of an international difficulty can be easily and satisfactorily adjusted by arbitration.

I recall that during my visit to Venezuela the Minister of Foreign Affairs, a most delightful and charming man, a man with whom it was the greatest pleasure to treat and negotiate, and I discussed the questions we had to adjust for twenty-seven days, every day, and reached a solution concerning which we were both entirely satisfied and happy, and which put an end to all the differences that had grown up during ten or twelve years. During those twenty-seven days there had not been fifty lines written on either side. (Applause.)

So that I get back to my original thesis. If all of us will just be temperate in our utterances; if we will not undertake in the beginning to determine beforehand questions like the Japanese question, which concern our country; if we will ever reach that point where we are willing to admit the possibility, even though we may not know the whole case (laughter and applause), and that wisdom is not going to die with us (renewed laughter and applause), and that there is a possibility, just a bare possibility, that the United States may not be entirely and absolutely and wholly right with regard to the question (laughter and applause), we will have little difficulty in reaching solutions of all of our questions that will be an honor and a credit to us as a people; that will raise us in our own estimation; that will make our relations with other countries satisfactory, peaceful and encouraging, and will not require so deep and so abstruse a knowledge of mathematics as I have indicated will be necessary to find a solution for this permanent judicial court. (Applause.)

MR. CRAPSEY:

If there is anyone on the floor who has any pertinent thought to add to the discussion, we will be very glad to hear from him or her, allowing just one-half minute for that pertinent person to make up his mind; otherwise we shall adjourn this session in order that we may refresh ourselves for the very important session that is to be held this evening, when educational questions are to be considered. The half minute is up and the session is adjourned.

SIXTH SESSION

WOMAN'S WORK FOR PEACE

Tuesday Afternoon, May 4, 1:30 o'clock

CHICAGO WOMAN'S CLUB

MRS. ELLEN M. HENROTIN, *Presiding*

MRS. HENROTIN:

LADIES: I am sure it is a great pleasure to see so many here. I believe I am a little late, but I was detained at a luncheon given to Mrs. Philip N. Moore, president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs. Mrs. Moore is making them a very interesting address and therefore she and Mrs. Mead and Miss Addams will be a little late.

Meanwhile I am going to speak a little about the progress of the peace movement and what I think it means to women. Not but that I think it means as well an immense amount to men, but I think it means more to women in this way, that it means the same thing to every woman born into the world. No matter what her race, or what her country, or what her relatives, or anything else, are, peace means blessing to her. It means comfort in a way.

I think we women of the twentieth century can hardly realize what it means to us to live in a period of comparative peace. When you think of the lives of the women under the great Napoleon (I must confess that I always in spite of my principles had a sneaking fondness for Napoleon—I think he strikes the imagination with a certain dramatic element)—but when you think of the lives that the women led under his reign, then you feel, I am sure, what it is to us to live in a period of comparative peace. The height of men in France decreased several inches, the army requirements; the age down to fifteen. Think of your little sons of fifteen going into the army! Forty thousand men alone perished in the great Russian campaign in one battle. And while we think of the dead, we can hardly imagine the agony of the living.

I have been interested in the addresses of the Peace Congress in that I have heard so few references to woman's part in war, but surely it is on us comes the burden. Think of the Civil War! It took away the best men in the United States. The man of the ideal perished in the Civil War. That is true both North and South, that the man of the ideal, the man on whom we depend for our poetry and our art and our literature and our humanity, died in that great struggle between brothers. Go to any of the great national cemeteries and think what it means to the women of that generation. Think what it means in memory to us today. North and South, East and West, we all can recall the man of the ideal who perished in that great conflict.

I am sure, too, that the Civil War had an immense influence on the economic and industrial condition of women. So many men died, so many heads of families, so many young husbands, and so many young husbands to be, that it left the women where they must support themselves, and aided that influx of women into the competitive industrial life. And, again, the man who died in the war was usually the picked man, because war always wants your best. War does not want your undersized son, but wants your biggest and strongest and cleverest son, who has the best physique, and therefore, of course, more or less the best mental powers. That is what war wants. It is not contented with the refuse of civilization; it wants the best you and I can give. Therefore the Civil War left an immense number of women and children dependent on their own exertions. It was a much greater factor in the entrance of women into the commercial and industrial life of this country than I think we realize unless we go back and think about it.

Then there is another very interesting point, I think, and that is the birth rate. The more intelligent women become, the less will they consent to bear sons for cannons' mouths. (Applause.) Certainly it is not in the statistics, but what is the meaning of the decreasing birth rate among the women of France? It means they are becoming too intelligent; they have been through the mill. Don't they read the story in the Napoleonic wars? Of course they do, and are they going to pour out sons to die in that way? No, they will not do it. Germany is catching on, as you may say, and more and more as the German

women become intelligent, even economic conditions cannot account for the decrease in the birth rate. It lies largely in the fear of the German woman that her sons must go into the army. It is a tremendous influence. You let this country become a military country, and do you suppose the American women for an instant will give their best and bear sons for this purpose? No. We will gladly bear sons for peace and humanity and for fine purposes and righteousness, but not for food of cannons' mouths. I am sure that that is more and more becoming a great point, and that it must be reckoned with in the birth rate of the great nations.

Last night I had the pleasure of listening to a very wonderful address by Professor Jordan, of California, and he went over in a masterly and magnificent way the biology of war, showing the effect of which we reckon so little and think so little, on the history of the great nations of the world. He showed how England has planted one of her sons on every rod of earth almost, and she has not planted her worst sons, but she sent all of her bravest and best and handsomest. And so, as I say, on us women falls the great burden.

You all know I am a very ardent suffragist. There is nothing like seizing your opportunity by the horns, so to speak, and I am sure until women have a voice in governmental affairs that the problems of peace will not be solved. (Applause.) If war and all the great political problems press harder on us, economically, industrially and socially, then surely we are entitled to say when war shall rage and when it shall stop.

We will have the pleasure of listening now to Mrs. George C. Sikes, delegate from the Association of Collegiate Alumnae. (Applause.)

MRS. GEORGE C. SIKES:

The Association of Collegiate Alumnae, which I represent, has a particular pleasure and pride in welcoming the delegates, because one of the speakers this afternoon, Mrs. Moore, has served the association for some years as president and now is secretary, so we feel we have a double representation.

The college woman, it seems to me logically, ought to bear a large part in the responsibility of the work for peace for a

double reason, because from time immemorial the woman and the student have been unconditionally wedded to peace. Therefore it seems to me only logical to expect that the college woman should help this movement in many ways for this double reason.

More than that, the college woman presumably has had special opportunities to compare the results of war and peace in an impersonal and an impartial way as a student.

I can only add for our association and promise for it that in the future it will take more interest than in the past, if anything, in this movement and will co-operate in every way with those who are trying to promote it. (Applause.)

MRS. HENROTIN :

The next speaker is Mrs. Henry Solomon, from the National Council of Jewish Women. (Applause.)

MRS. HENRY SOLOMON :

I just wish to bring a word of greeting to the peace meeting from the Council of Jewish Women. We of course are a very peaceful organization. We have ten standing committees, every one of which would be more or less disturbed if we had to engage in warlike practices. We represent religion, philanthropy and all the other lines, and I am sure that we shall be very happy to join in any work that will promote universal peace.

Life is altogether an attitude of mind, and I think if we all keep ourselves in a peaceful attitude instead of a warlike attitude, we shall soon have that universal peace for which we are all working, and which will make possible what the prophet said was to come, that the nations should not learn war any more. (Applause.)

MRS. HENROTIN :

We will hear now from Mrs. Bright, of the Congress of Mothers.

MRS. ORVILLE F. BRIGHT :

I represent the Illinois Congress of Mothers, and in the name of motherhood I welcome this Peace Congress.

Motherhood today means more than it used to mean in a way because the mothers today are recognizing the fact that they must mother the childhood of all the world. There are children

that are unmothered and it is for us who are mothers to mother those too, and our work is for all the children. One of the aims of our congress, which I always love to repeat because I think it is so beautiful, is this:

"To surround all childhood with that loving and wise care in the impressionable years of life that shall make for good citizenship."

Mothers of that kind, mothers with that aim, must welcome such a movement as this conference stands for, and I can assure the members and delegates of the Peace Conference that the mothers of Illinois, and I feel safe in saying the mothers of the whole country, will be glad to aid in this movement. (Applause.)

MRS. HENROTIN:

Miss Addams has just come in and has to leave very early, so I will ask Miss Addams to speak now. (Applause.)

Woman's Special Training for Peacemaking

MISS JANE ADDAMS.

It is rather difficult to find new things to say concerning the necessity for peace in a large conference of peace people gathered from all over the nation, but perhaps there are some special things which might be said to an audience of women that would not be so applicable to an audience of men.

One of these things is, I suppose, that men very early learned to do things together, because they were obliged to fight together; that one of the things which war bequeathed to mankind and to the male portion of mankind was this ability to go out together, to go in tribes, to go in phalanxes, to go in regiments, to go in whatever body of men was the safest to those who were fighting, and to bring the most destruction to those whom they were fighting against. But we women never had this training. It is said that even when women were used as beasts of burden, which began very early, one woman always went by herself or went with another beast, but two women never pulled together. Whether that is true or not, I think it is certainly true that the thing which is happening now to this special generation of women is the ability and the learning how to act together.

This very meeting, with representatives from women's organizations of all sorts, shows that at last women are learning to pull together, to pull in bodies. We may call those bodies clubs or we may call them benefit societies, or we may call them this, that and the other, but they are all bodies of women as such, and they are going out to do away with such evil as they see and to bring about such good as they may be able to perform.

There is one thing which the theory of evolution has given to us. It is very hard for use to detach ourselves from the past. That is, whether we call ourselves evolutionists or not, whether we think much about it or not, it has so changed our point of view that unconsciously we realize we are children of the past. The things which we are now are the results of the things which have gone before us. If at last in the fullness of time it has come about that Anglo-Saxon women have received a larger measure of freedom, if they can go to clubs without being accused by the men of their family, or by the newspapers, which are often much worse, of neglecting their children at home, in their cradles; if various things have happened so that we can without detaching ourselves too much from the past, organize into these clubs and movements, it is now up to us—if I may use that phrase—to see what we are going to do with this power of organization and with this new ability to act together. If men learned it in fighting, it may be harder for them to forget the method by which they learned it. It may always be harder for a body of men to go out to do things, to reform, than it will be for women. They are not quite free from the fighting instinct yet.

It is said that one of the charms of political life—of course we will have to speak of that entirely by hearsay; we cannot even have any reminiscences in our blood, I suppose, of that—is the fighting element that still remains; the consciousness that you are one of a large body of men going out to battle against your enemy of the other party. If we lack all of that training and have now come into this new movement with the power of acting together, we ought to bring a distinct factor into the peace of the world. We ought to make it clear that bodies of people can act together without this fight spirit, without the spirit of competition, without the spirit of rivalry; simply moved by a

common impulse, going out to do the things which ought to be done, and finally we have at last learned to do them together.

So it seems to me we are, as women's organizations, bringing into the civilizing forces—or shall I say social forces?—or those things which make for progress, a new combination which while it does make for progress will make for peace as perhaps no organizations have ever done before. I hope that is not fantastic, and I hope we will show that it is true. (Applause.)

MRS. HENROTIN :

Mrs. Mead, who has given and is giving her life to the furtherance of the peace movement, will now speak on some common fallacies. (Applause.)

Some Common Fallacies

LUCIA AMES MEAD.

We hear much of the "practical" American. But if to be "practical" means to see the relation of cause and effect, to be governed by reason, not prejudice, to know a fallacy when we see it, and to aim straight for the mark, it is a serious question whether we as a people can boast of being practical instead of visionary in dealing with the greatest political problem of the age. This is the just and peaceful settlement of international difficulties.

The visionary, who gets his political philosophy from the newspaper headlines as he hangs to the carstrap, sees, as he thinks, insuperable obstacles to ending war and the huge armaments as costly to our government in 1908 as was war itself in 1898. These obstacles exist only in the minds of those who, however practical when dealing with bricks and steel and coal, are visionary when they deal with problems of human nature and statesmanship, and see spooks and bogeys which are but the figments of their own imaginations. Five fallacies about national dangers and defense have deluded not only the man on the street but his teachers as well. Preachers, editors, Congressmen repeat the ancient catchwords and befog the millions who look to them to do their thinking for them. Daily antidotes are needed for the

poison in these plausible phrases which have caused rivers of blood to be shed and the treasure of the nation to be thrown into a bottomless pit. The average college man seems quite as likely to be deluded about national defense as is the cowboy.

1. His first delusion is thus expressed: "As long as police are necessary in cities to protect citizens, so long navies will be needed to protect nations. These are merely national police." There are two types of organized force—the police, which use the minimum of force to secure a judicial decision, and armies and navies which use the maximum of force and avoid a judicial decision. Police are forbidden to use more than the minimum of force to get a culprit to court. Their usual task requires no exercise of force at all. They rescue the helpless from burning buildings and the motor car; they perform a thousand kindly, protective deeds as their daily task, never being allowed to avenge a wrong or punish a miscreant, but only to get him before a jury of his peers. The police represent the noblest type of force and an always necessary one. As President Eliot has well said, it "is a force eminently superior to that of the soldier." The militia belongs to the same category as the police. They exist not to fight the militia of another state but to keep order within their own. They are authorized only to use the minimum of force and never to pursue a mob that disperses. Police and militia exist solely for protective purposes and to promote judicial settlement of every wrong. Navies do not. What attempt to secure judicial decision do our fabulously costly Dreadnoughts make? Possibly battleships were once useful in protecting us from pirates; but pirates are as dead as the Spanish Inquisition, and the men who captured them sailed in little wooden ships. These diabolical steel constructions, each one costing the price of ten colleges and each of service less than ten years, these are not police, they are merely weapons of nations preparing for a duel. The old time duel of two men, fought with equal weapons, with no ambushade or treacherous mine or mean advantage, had some slight claim upon our admiration. It did not ignore all sense of honor like its titantic counterpart, the duel between nations, in which with cold blooded, mathematical precision, Christians, who have no quarrel with the men they slay, by a touch of the button blow hundreds of helpless fellow mortals

into shreds. Though an occasional battleship sometimes performs police functions and carries bread and blankets to earthquake sufferers, every child knows that we are not building armor-plated vessels for such purposes. In building them we are preparing for a duel and not to get our quarrels settled in a court. Away with our silly, dangerous euphemisms, exalting the duelist and fooling ourselves with prattle about "police."

An international police the world will surely see this century, but rival navies and armies are doomed; thousands of years before police can be discarded these monstrous anachronisms of civilization must be turned into beneficent messengers of commerce, and Krupp guns transformed into lamp-posts and bridges. A little army and navy under orders from an international parliament will then police the seas and prevent war between such outlying regions as still are savage. Then and not till then can we speak of a navy as a police force.

2. The second great fallacy is: "You cannot end war until you change human nature. So long as feuds exist in Corsica and Tennessee, so long as savages go on bloody forays and boys give each other black eyes, so long will wars continue." On the contrary, wars between any of the nations represented at the Hague Conference of 1907 will end a thousand years before all these other forms of strife disappear. It is only the visionaries who see insuperable obstacles in the way. But let us clearly distinguish between international war and other kinds of strife. The confounding of strife *within* nations with strife *between* nations has dangerously obscured thought on this subject and made a thousand pessimists where there should be none. The same method of organization and unity that today prevents war between the Italian cities which in the day of Dante or Michael Angelo were in frequent strife; the same method that keeps the peace between Kentucky and her neighbors, though night riders disturb her inward peace, will when applied more widely keep peace between the nations. Organization and a Supreme Court at Washington have prevented any one state of all our forty-six ever warring with another. However great Pennsylvania's graft or New York's greed in mulcting their own citizens, upon their state line has been peace and justice. Civilized human nature does not crave bloodshed. It will gladly avoid it if an easier way

is provided of getting justice. In Gladstone's school days every boy fought, today fighting is unfashionable on the playground. Human nature is changing, but whether it changes or not, the business of the world will not much longer tolerate two nations making a cockpit of the people's highways and dragging the neutral nations into commercial loss. The common people are getting their eyes open and beginning to see the relation between the destruction of more than two billions of dollars in two recent wars and the panic of 1907. A comparatively few influential persons in a few influential countries can end international war, and will end it. The majority of the 1,500,000,000 on the planet will have little to do with it. It is chiefly a question of statesmanship and will be accomplished without any essential change in human nature in forty-six nations, as interstate war has been prevented by less than one hundred framers of our Constitution for forty-six states, without all the people within those states becoming saints. The United States can show the way to achieve a United World.

3. The third fallacy is that all government is based on force. All governments *use* force certainly, but no republic could remain a republic and be based on force. Our republic is primarily based on the good-will and consent of the governed, and it is the stablest of governments because it uses the least force to maintain itself. Russia is the least stable because it uses the most force to coerce loyalty. The perpetuity of our government rests a thousand times as much upon its newspapers and schools as upon its navy. Abolish the latter and we can secure arbitration treaties with every land to make us even more secure than we were twenty years ago when our navy was a negligible quantity, yet we were never attacked. Abolish newspapers and schools and presently our government would be like that of Hayti. Our government rests on a dozen things, and where it rests on force at all it is upon the force of the police and the state guard, not upon its menacing ironclads. Our enemies are all within. In all our foreign wars combined, since we became a nation, not over 12,000 men fell by foreign bullets, but little more than those murdered every year by the enemies within, which no battleship can reach.

4. The fourth fallacy is that hoary one, "In time of peace

prepare for war." Certainly prepare for war if war is what you want. We usually get what we prepare for. But if you want peace, in the name of common sense why not prepare for peace? In 1817 we prepared for a century's peace with England by uniting with Canada in demolishing our forts upon our northern frontier and both agreeing to have no battleships or forts along that 3,000 miles of borderland. Without any cost, that has remained the safest borderland in the world. Norway has prepared for peace by getting Russia, England, France and Germany to agree to let no foreign foe attack her. Why not get the powers to guarantee the same neutrality for the Philippines when we grant them independence and thus remove one danger spot? England prepared for peace with France by initiating the *entente cordiale*, an interchange of visits and gentlemanly treatment. The nations at Algeciras prepared for peace. The return of the Chinese indemnity which did not belong to us has done more for peace than would twenty Dreadnoughts.

The armed man in the frontier mining camp creates suspicion and dread and provokes attack. The unarmed gentleman going about his business on Wabash avenue or on an Illinois farm is safer. England and Germany endanger and weaken themselves with every Dreadnought they build and with blind folly bend their backs under an ever increasing load which brings no more security. Lord Roberts and the Navy League ignore the facts of human nature, and with goad and spur of wild alarm create danger where none exists and invite the certain enemies of starvation and poverty within their borders in their frantic efforts to prepare to fight an enemy largely of their own creation outside their borders.

5. The fifth fallacy, and a specially dangerous one, is that the best advisers as to what and how large our defenses shall be are the men who are trained to only one form of defense, that is, by use of explosives, and the very men whose whole chance of honor or promotion must come by using this defense. The last man to advise whether one needs a new coat or not is the tailor who is to make it. The last man a consumer wants to settle the tariff on gloves is the man who makes gloves. The last man who should decide whether I need a new house is the architect I should engage to build it.

The need of defense depends solely upon the degree of danger. That is for the statesmen, traveler, and business man to perceive. It is a psychological problem. It is, "How can we keep Germany, Russia, Japan, France and the other nations which have been our friends for a century still our friends?" The problem as the militarist sees it is simply, "How shall we menace or kill these old friends when by some piece of folly we have turned them into enemies?" As well expect the Tsar to turn a democrat as to expect men who have focused their minds for thirty years upon physical problems like the trajectory of projectiles to understand the significance and force of the new substitutes for war. How can they be expected to undermine their own profession or not to try to enlist the vested interests to clamor for Congress to buy the munitions of war that they want to sell? Small blame to the soldier or navy man that he is not a statesman; we do not blame an engineer because he is not a doctor. But let him not usurp the functions of statesman and tell us what our dangers are or when nations should go to war. Said a United States rear-admiral during the Boer War, "I tell you what England ought to do. She ought to whip France." "What, when her hands are tied in South Africa?" he was asked. "Yes, yes," he retorted; "she could do it and it would clear the air." "But go to war on general principles?" "Yes, yes; it would be a good thing." Alas that the expert in managing squadrons is often an infant in political philosophy and international ethics! Let his bravery and excellence in his own profession not blind our eyes to the folly of his wild demands for twenty Dreadnoughts on the Pacific before we have given a thought to securing from all nations what England in 1897, in the Olney-Pauncefote treaty, was ready to sign with us, pledging to settle all differences between us by some peaceful means. What nations would refuse were we to offer interchange of such a pledge? Let not newspaper sentimentality about prestige or cowardly fear of non-existent enemies, or the glamor of brass buttons permits us as a nation to retrograde further towards the Old World's travesty upon human brotherhood and its toboggan slide towards bankruptcy. It is only the fetich worshippers of steel and dynamite, the theorists who guess that though never having been attacked we probably shall be attacked, who fool us into paying six times

as much for our navy this year as we paid sixteen years ago. Let practical citizens use their own reason and refuse to be scared by vested interests and navy leagues. Let us again be leaders, not servile followers of world policies. Upon our sanity depends in large measure the progress of the world.

MRS. HENROTIN:

I now have the pleasure of presenting to you Mrs. Philip N. Moore, president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and I shall ask you to rise to greet her in recognition of the work she has done. (Applause.)

MRS. PHILIP N. MOORE:

MADAM CHAIRMAN AND LADIES: I fancy I am speaking to members of the Peace Congress, and I am the first one to bring the greetings of the General Federation to these members of the Peace Congress. It may not be out of place in bringing the greetings of this large body to you to show you how and why it is that we have not been actually members of the Peace Congress, national or international. We have been an organization that has been formed with the policy of doing anything that we choose to do individually. Every club is perfectly welcome to study any subject that may come to that club. Every state has the matter of state's rights clearly in hand, and can study anything that may come to that state. I am pleased to notice that there are so many representatives today from the different states to the Peace Congress. It means that they have taken up this subject as they ought to take it. We started out, the General Federation, with a very conservative body, and some timid, fearful bodies of women were always afraid that we would take up a subject that we could not endorse and we have been very careful in the different phases of it in the Federation to yield a little to those very conservative bodies. We have not taken up national subjects which national organizations naturally have considered their own. We have not taken up prohibition, we have not taken up suffrage, we have not taken up religious debates, we have not considered any of those as our special province because we are composed of women that wish to come together to study both sides of every question. If any state takes up the

subject of peace, I fancy you will find in that federation that they are studying in regard to this matter the disarmament of all nations, the statistics in regard to them and everything that pertains to the peace question, especially arbitration. You will find this body of women looking on every side to find out what has been done and what should be done in the future.

I have been very glad indeed that Mrs. Mead preceded me with her very fine address. You will understand that when she has for the last two or three or four years beseeched the General Federation to take up the subject of peace, that she has been absolutely imperative in that demand, and that we have quietly and persistently set it aside until we have realized—perhaps I might say we realized it first at the last Hague Conference—that our own people are deeply interested in peace and are going to do the very things that she asks for. (Applause.) We sent at that time to the Hague Conference our recognition of arbitration as one of the greatest principles for which we could stand, and now we are going to do still more and we are going to ask Mrs. Mead and a peace organization to give into our educational forces some lines of work which will show our women just what peace means in the world, what arbitration means, and will help us in an educational way, because I have to say right there that the great work of the General Federation is educational. We have taken up almost every subject of special interest to women, but we have always taken it up in an educational way because we have realized that you who are taking one subject alone of thought and devoting your whole time to it may not realize that we have taken up ten different lines of thought and have taken the subjects that those committees consider from the very best point of view. This has been our work in this great organization of 800,000 women. We do not stand back for any organization but we do wish to come forward and help any organization. There is no question that any of these organizations take up that we are not most anxious to help in.

We have decided in the General Federation that at the next biennial convention we will ask the Peace Congress to present to us both sides of the question. That is the only way that we can consider anything, and I ask you to present the matter of peace and arbitration. We shall ask you to present arguments in

regard to armament, and possibly we will not use the phrase "In time of peace prepare for war," because I think Mrs. Mead is absolutely right in her position in regard to that; but we want to know just why armament should be put on. We get statistics that come to us, remarkable figures, indicating the vast amount of money that is being spent upon armament. We also realize that sometimes it is necessary to be forewarned and forearmed in the same way. We want to know absolutely every side of the question, and I think you will never have a better chance to hear it than to come to Cincinnati on May 10 and hear the two sides presented.

I never realized so much what war meant as I did last night in hearing that masterly address upon biology of war. If you did not hear it I hope you will get the speech as it is printed and read it. It is one of the strongest arguments against war that has been presented to me in any way, because it goes beyond statistics, even the statistics of money that might be used for other purposes. We all believe that war should be stopped; we have believed that education would finally bring that about, but this biology of war brings the matter home in a new light and it shows why all these nations have had the decadence which we have recognized in the Latin nations, that their best men have gone to war, their best men have been destroyed by war, and the others have been left at home to give the next generation of weaklings to the world. That to me is one of the strongest arguments I can bring to myself; I believe it is one of the strongest arguments that can be presented.

It has been of the greatest interest to feel that we could send a representative to this Peace Congress, that we were asked to do so, and that the General Federation unanimously selected me to represent them at this time.

Madam Chairman, it is with great humility but with great earnestness that I tell you and the members who are here today that we are most desirous of looking carefully into this subject of peace and presenting it to our members. We believe that we may effectively do so, through the 800,000 members of our Federation. (Applause.)

MRS. HENROTIN:

Miss Mary McDowell will now address us.

Woman in Industrialism and Her International Interests

MISS MARY McDOWELL.

MADAM CHAIRMAN AND LADIES: I did not know when I began to think about this subject this morning—because I have not had time to think much of it and I thought I would just bring a little greeting—I had not thought how tremendously interested the working woman is in this whole subject of peace. We heard last night in the great meeting down stairs how interested the workingman was, that it is the workingman, the common workingman, who goes out to fight the battles. It is not the kings, it is not the capitalists, it is not our Secretary of War, or our President; it is the common workingman. It is the common workingwoman that has to feel that. I think it is brought home to you when you hear just one figure. I cannot give you the rest of the figures, I lost them, but this is one that I am sure of.

When you are in Bohemia and all through Austria and Hungary—you are shocked at the things the women do. You are shocked to see a woman nursing a baby and carrying mortar or brick on a well adjusted hod, that is adjusted so that she can still care for her baby and step up to some place to put the brick or mortar where it is to go. You are shocked to see women climbing up and down with these hods and doing all kinds of work. As you go on the railroads you see women flag the trains, salute the trains as they go by, instead of the men. All through Germany it is true, all through Austria it is true, and I am told in Russia it is very true also women are in the fields. They are compelled to do the heavy work that men have always naturally done.

Why is it? It is because the men are in the army and the women have to take their places. In Bohemia alone forty-seven and some hundredths per cent of the workers are women doing all different kinds of work.

There is another side of it, and a side that comes right home to us, and especially very close to me. In our neighborhood we

have found in the very last few years immigrant girls coming in almost in gangs, coming without the mother, coming without the father, coming generally to some woman or some man whom they had known in the little province or the little town they came from, coming to our neighborhood; one girl eighteen or twenty, unprotected, coming to work in the stock yards; because they are unskilled, they cannot speak any English and it does not make any difference, they can easily take hold of a knife and cut ice-cold meat from ice-cold fat, and that is all the skill they have to have; and so they have come in here. I asked a Lithuanian gentleman who was very intelligent why so many of these Lithuanian girls came. He said, quite seriously, not joking as Americans are apt to joke about girls getting married—he said: “It is a serious question in Lithuania. All the able-bodied marriageable young men are coming over here to escape the army. Because they have a horror of being drafted into the army, they are coming over here. Naturally the girls, who must have husbands, are coming after them, and settling in our district.” Every Saturday night and Sunday night there are many weddings because of this. That affects them very much. It also affects the industrial conditions of our own American working girl. It is pushing her, it is pushing the workingman, who has done this work before in certain departments, because an immigrant girl will work for any wages, so she is taking a man’s place.

You see today there is no such thing as a state living to itself, or a nation living to itself. We are commercially and industrially international, and there are no state lines in industry at all. There cannot be any state lines in labor. In that respect I am glad to give one hopeful touch. I represent the Women’s Trade Union League. We stand for the protection of the workingwoman and we stand for those who believe in the workingwomen looking after their own interests. We stand with them as allies with them.

Mrs. Henrotin, Miss Addams, Mrs. Robbins and many others of our Chicago women stand with these girls in the effort to look after their own interests, because we believe women must look after themselves and not be always waiting for some man to look after them. (Applause.)

In the industrial world a girl cannot afford to wait for some-

body to look after her. She must look after herself, and it is a tremendous problem—she is a tremendous problem. She never had the franchise, she is unorganized generally until she is skilled enough or gets wages enough to have a little leisure to think a little bit, and then she begins to see what her interest is. So we stand for the organization of women into trades unions to work with men and look after their own interests, and we stand for the investigation of conditions and for legislation to ameliorate those conditions.

All of this seems to me to have a very distinct relation to peace, this making the workingwomen who organize stand together to make contracts, and I wish we had the boot and shoe working young lady here today to tell you how they make their contracts which result in peace; and they keep their contract too. And I wish we had the glove worker girl here too to tell how that union makes its contract, and they have no war on because they do it. I could go on and tell you many others.

Then we come to legislation. The young women themselves are working for legislation. They are working for it in this state and trying to limit the hours, which have no limit now. A young girl can be made to work all day and all night if she wants to. We call that freedom of contract, and there is no such thing as a contract in the work of a young girl or young woman.

Now, a helpful touch is this. Labor's Hague tribunal is in Switzerland, and in Switzerland there is this office called the Bureau of International Labor Legislation, because the people of the different countries, especially in Europe, believe that it would be more fair and more just for all the countries together to work for certain labor legislation, because they see that there is no such thing as a line in industry, and so it has come to pass that in 1906, September 26, fourteen European countries, including the German Empire, Austria, Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, France, Great Britain, Italy, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Sweden and Switzerland, have signed a treaty prohibiting night work for women. Think of it! The plenipotentiary representatives from these governments signed prohibiting night work for women because they said it was so detrimental to the health of women that there must be some limit to the work of women. (Applause.)

The second great treaty that so many of these countries have signed—not all of them—just last year that at last Great Britain against her own business self-interest, because there was a fight there—they have signed against using the poisonous phosphorus in matches. There are two kinds of phosphorus. One is white and one is yellow, I think. One is very poisonous, and when used and used carelessly at all, a horrible disease which cannot be cured comes into the jaw through the teeth, or in some way, a most awful disease. Now, these countries have signed against it. Italy signed against it, France signed against it, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Luxemburg and at last England by parliamentary act in December, 1908, adopted the same principle.

So you see that all this works for peace. Anything, I suppose, that makes us think internationally, that makes us feel that the brotherhood and sisterhood is worldwide, that it does not belong to our state or our city, and that no one of us, either individually or as a club, or as a state or as a nation, can live any longer exclusively. We belong altogether to each other, worldwide, and so I think you will see how necessary it is that the workingwomen should be made to see that it is a world task that we are getting at this great meeting now. (Applause.)

MRS. HENROTIN:

We will now be glad to hear from Mrs. William T. Lewis, of California, who is a delegate to the Peace Congress. (Applause.)

MRS. WILLIAM T. LEWIS:

I have just come to represent the Ebell Club, of Los Angeles, from the Pacific Coast, where they are all wishing for peace, and today they are listening to what is carried over the wires to know what you are doing today.

As I came up the street this afternoon a gentleman said to me: "If there is anything done in this Peace Congress it will be done through the women." Now, there are women on the Coast who are willing to join hands with you in doing all that is possible, and when this Eleventh Amendment or this Educational Amendment is in your Constitution, as it will be at the next general federation, those ladies will be ready to do all they can to

study the subject, and will do everything possible, I know, to further the work. They have peace in the heart and in the home, and now we wish it in the universe at large. (Applause.)

MRS. HENROTIN :

We have the pleasure of having with us Mrs. Burdette, also of California. We must have a word from Mrs. Burdette.

MRS. ROBERT J. BURDETTE :

Mrs. Burdette has just one word to say. I believe in the Peace Congress. I believe peace is to be brought about, but I also know that it cannot be brought about except by your individual efforts. As with just the handful of disciples who were sent out with a little educational mission, so you must go home from this Peace Congress to carry the educational side of this to all with whom you talk, and talk you must because it means peace for your home, and as the home is the foundation of the nation it means peace in your home as well as for the nation. I simply might bring you greetings from the various portions of the state of California which I represent, but I want you to know that the state of California, while solving its own Chinese and Japanese problems in its own way, still believes in peace. (Applause.)

MRS. HENROTIN :

I shall ask Mrs. Mead to close the session. You know there are sessions this afternoon in the Peace Congress and this session was put for half-past 1 o'clock in order not to interfere with the other sessions of the Congress.

MRS. MEAD :

I have the privilege of introducing to you this afternoon a young school girl from New York who has been trained by her former teacher, Miss Pierson, and who belongs to the large number of boys and girls whom Miss Pierson, a school teacher of New York, has trained. Two years ago at the National Peace Congress we had in Carnegie Hall four thousand delegates from the grammar schools, each one coming with a notebook and pencil, prepared to go back and report to their respective schools what they learned. Those children from the private as well as from

the public schools sat there for three hours and drank in the words of the distinguished foreigners and other guests there. Among them, I believe, was this young girl who is to recite to you this afternoon a poem which I have not yet heard, but which, I believe, is called "The Anglo-Saxon."

(Miss Rae Goller, of New York, then recited a poem entitled "Oh, Mighty Anglo-Saxon.")

Mrs. Henrotin then read the following communication from Mrs. Hess, the delegate from the Arizona Federation:

"To this most noted gathering of most noted people Arizona sends greetings, and begs me to tell you in as few words as possible how earnestly her people, especially the Federation of Women's Clubs, are working for the principles of peace.

"While yet but a territory, in a short time we hope to become a state; and as a state we bring peace with us into the Union, for our big, silent, cactus-covered deserts, with their shimmering sands, breathe peace.

"Our balmy, orange-laden air sends forth a fragrance that speaks peace. Our towering, mist-covered mountains command peace.

"In the valley of the Nile of America, as the silvery Colorado is called, the different women's clubs are very closely united. Much good work is being done, and "Newer Ideals of Peace" is no stranger to our libraries, and we promise our heartiest and most earnest endeavors to further so worthy an object.

"May we all meet again at an early date and say in lusty tones as Friar Tuck, 'Pax Vobiscum.'"

MRS. HENROTIN:

I see Dr. Jenkin Lloyd Jones has just come in, and certainly no one could better close this meeting. He is always the firm friend of women, as he is of all humanity, and from him we have gathered much of the inspiration of the work we carry on.

DR. JENKIN LLOYD JONES:

I am very glad of you, sisters; I am very proud of you. You trouble me a lot, but you are the hope of the land and the promise of the future. The reserve corps of civilization is here

represented, the line without which the banners cannot be carried much farther forward.

Providence has been holding you against your will, and mine perhaps, in the camp of instruction. You have been in high training, although it may be enforced training, and now at last, as you have heard this afternoon, I am sure you have a platform upon which no one will deny you the right to stand. You have a cause which no one can challenge your right to work for, and, if need be, to die for. In this cause, in the interests of which you are here assembled, we find focalized the loftiest science, the noblest philanthropy, the profoundest economics of the world. There is a strange and perplexing paradox confronting us just now. Here all the lines of life bear toward the camps of peace. But still at this very time confronted by these inspirations, we meet the ghastly fact that the burden of the camp, the strain of the warship, the clamorous demands for appropriations, are more burdensome than ever before in the history of the world. How can you account for that paradox? I will not undertake to do it for fear I might spoil my evening's treat, Madam President (laughter); but it is certainly up to you more than the other sex, although I do not like to put it that way, for there are realms where sex must not and does not enter. But it is up to you more than the men to bring the powers that be, and they are the ones that seem insane on this matter, I mean the executive and legislative forces of the world, I mean that baneful something that is represented by the power with the capital "P" that coerces our legislators and intimidates them, and us.

Inasmuch as you are saved from their temptations and dangers, inasmuch as you are not subject to the demoralizations of congresses and of cabinets, of presidents and of kings, I say it is up to you somehow to solve this paradox. We all agree we have got to quit this shooting business and we ought to quit it right now; but while we all agree to that, we are not agreed that if we are going to stop shooting, what is the use of making shooting machines? What are guns good for if they are not to be used? What is the use of cannon if they are never to be trained on an enemy? What is the use of claiming that the fuss and feathers and the millinery of the military is necessary in order to enforce the high behests of judgment, reason and of science, in

order to make good our hypocritical claim of being followers of a Prince of Peace?

I know it is in bad taste to be in earnest at the end of a meeting. I think you hoped I would tell a story and get out of the way. I was trying to think of a story coming up, but confronted by this impressive company, remembering that many of you are not Chicago residents, knowing that in this little room at this present time is represented a fellowship that reaches from ocean to ocean, a fellowship that forgets the limitations of space and sections, I was knocked down into the subconscious realms of my life which by birth and training is given to the pathos of preaching. (Applause.)

The meeting then adjourned.

SEVENTH SESSION

THIRD ANNUAL INTERSTATE INTERCOL-
LEGIATE ORATORIAL CONTEST

Tuesday Afternoon, May 4, at 3 o'clock

MANDEL HALL, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

DEAN GEO. E. VINCENT, *Presiding*

PROF. VINCENT:

On behalf of the university I desire to welcome to this place those who represent the Peace Congress which is now in session in this city. It is appropriate that a university should harbor and give welcome to an association of this sort. If the university stands for anything it stands for progressive control of the mind over the passions. One who studies higher education may be at times a little skeptical about the rapid progress of this mastery, but at any rate the ideals of an educational institution represent this higher rational control, not only of the individual but gradually of the group and of the nation. International peace, so far as it is promoted—and it is hard to say how it can be promoted otherwise than by the aid of individual and collective intelligence—ought to be and it is to be hoped is furthered by the life of universities and colleges.

Moreover, scholarship represents one of these many international associations by means of which nations are knit together. The great empire of scholarship is co-existent with all lands and with all climes where research and truth and the ideals of the development of the individual and of the community prevail. So that on both these accounts the University of Chicago feels itself favored and counts it a privilege to be able to have this meeting held under its auspices.

The contest of this afternoon is held under the immediate charge of the Intercollegiate Peace Association. It is a contest

in oratory between five representatives of educational institutions in the Middle West. On the program you have the names of the speakers and the institutions from which they come.

The judges on this occasion are President David Starr Jordan, of Leland Stanford, Jr., University, Miss Jane Addams, Professor Nathaniel Butler, Mr. Jesse A. Baldwin and Mr. Franklin H. Head.

The first contestant whom I have the honor to introduce is Mr. M. L. Lowery, of Denison University, who will speak upon "The Significance of a Permanent Peace Congress." (Applause.)

(Mr. Lowery is now in Japan and it has been impossible to secure his manuscript in time for publication.)

PROFESSOR VINCENT:

The next speaker is Mr. Levi T. Pennington, of Earlham College, who will speak on "The Evolution of World Peace." (Applause.)

The Evolution of World Peace

MR. LEVI T. PENNINGTON.

In the progress of the world the dream of yesterday becomes the confident hope of today and the realized fact of tomorrow. As old systems fail to meet new conditions and new ideals they are discarded, and into the limbo of worse than worthless things is passing the system of human sacrifice to the Moloch of international warfare. For centuries world peace has been the dream of the poet, the philanthropist, the statesman and the Christian. That dream is becoming a confident hope. This generation should see it an accomplished fact.

There was a time when individual prowess determined the issue of every difference. Might made right, and the winner in any controversy was he who had the heaviest club, the strongest arm or the thickest skull. Man's inter-relationships multiplied as humanity advanced; with each new relation came new causes for quarrel; and for a time advancing civilization brought but an increase in murders and assassinations.

We know the process by which personal combat ceased;

how the duel replaced murder and ambush and assassination; how courts of law replaced the duel. The dreamer saw the day when personal combat should be no more; the thinker refuted all the arguments in favor of the duel of men; the constructive statesman of that early day instituted courts of law and equity. Men who had a difference insisted that it was their quarrel and they alone could settle it; but reason saw that two combatants inflamed by passion are least fitted of all men to see where justice lies. Many held that where honor is involved, no one can adjust the difficulty but those most directly concerned; but reason saw that a man's honor cannot be vindicated by killing his enemy or being killed by him. Men said, "If personal combat is abolished, courage and strength will perish from the earth." But reason saw that personal combat in a selfish cause does not bring out the highest type of courage, and that there are opportunities enough for the exercise of the highest and best moral and physical courage to keep valor alive forever. It was finally urged that there would be no power to enforce the decree, if personal differences were left to the adjudication of others; but reason said, "That power will come with the need for it." So courts of law and equity arose, based on the need of humanity; and when one man wronged another, that wrong was settled in court, by the power of the whole people, and not in personal combat with the bludgeon or the knife.

For similar reasons wars between states and tribes have ceased; and face to face with the inevitable logic of past progress stands the world today. Though humanity has been slow to see it, the truth has begun to dawn in the hearts of men, that international wars are no more to be justified than civil strife, tribal warfare or personal combat. Gradually the omnipotent power of right is overcoming the inertia of humanity, and the world is moving. One by one the awful truths concerning war are forcing themselves upon the consciousness and consciences of men. The mighty power of fact is beating down the opposition to world peace.

Men have begun to realize the terrible cost, the unbelievable wastefulness, of actual war and the preparation for possible war. When we read that the armed peace of Europe the past thirty-seven years has cost \$111,000,000,000, nearly as much as the aggregate value of all the resources of the United States, the

richest nation on earth, the figures are so appalling that mortal mind cannot conceive them, and they lose their force. When we remember that three-fourths of the national revenues of the United States are spent on wars past or prospective, the matter comes closer home. When we realize that the cost of a single battleship exceeds the value of all the grounds and buildings of all the colleges and universities in Illinois, the figures have more meaning to us. And when we reflect that the cost of a single shot from one of the great guns of that battleship would build a home for an American family, a comfortable home costing \$1,700, the common man realizes that the richest nation on earth cannot afford to go to war nor prepare for war.

But mere money is one of the cheapest things in all the world. The price of war can never be paid in gold. Not in national treasuries can you see the payment of that price, where smug, well-groomed politicians sign bonds and bills of credit. If you would see the payment of the price of war, you must go to the place of war. With all your senses open, step upon the battlefield. Smell the smoke of burning powder, the reek of charging horses, the breath of fresh, red human blood. Feel the warmth of that blood as you seek to stanch the wound in the breast of one of the world's bravest, dying for he knows not what. Hear the screams of the shells, the booming roar of the cannonade, the clash of the onslaught, the shrieks of the wounded, the groans of the dying, the last gasp of him whose life has reached its end. Such is the infernal music of war. See the victim of the conflict reel in the saddle and fall headlong. Cast your eyes on the mangled forms of godlike men, fallen in the midst of fullest life. Come in the night after the battle, and look upon the ghastly faces upturned in the moonlight. Gaze on the windrows of the dead, Mars's awful harvest, that impoverishes all and enriches none—and you know something of the cost of war.

And yet we have seen but little. Could we but enter the wasted homes, and see the broken hearts that war has made; could we go to the almshouses and soldiers' orphans' homes, and see widows and children by the thousands suffering the doled-out charity of state or nation, because war has robbed them of their rightful protectors; could we but realize the agony of the broken

home, a thousandfold worse than the agony of the battlefield, then might we know more of the real cost of war.

And still our idea would be inadequate, though we realized the full measure of every groan and heartache. Earth's most priceless treasures are still more intangible things, the treasures of justice and kindliness and love. In that higher realm the cost of war is most terrible and most deadly. The spirit of war in the soldier sets aside the moral law, makes human life seem valueless, human suffering a thing to be disregarded, human slaughter an honorable profession. The war spirit perverts the mind of the statesman, till wrong seems right, folly seems expediency and the death of thousands seems preferable to the life and happiness of all under terms of peace not dictated by his own will. Justice is dethroned, and Revenge takes up the iron scepter and lets fly the thunderbolt. The war spirit perverts the mind of the publicist, till the achievements of honorable peace sink into insignificance, and the press clamors for the war that means money to the publisher but death to innocent thousands who can have no possible interest in the conflict. The war spirit takes possession of the pulpit, and the minister called to preach the loving message of the Prince of Peace stirs up the spirit of contention and animosity, of hate and murder. Could we but draw aside the curtain, and back of the tinsel and gold braid see the crime, the hate, the moral degradation that war always brings and leaves, never again would a friend of humanity ask for war.

The eyes of the world are opening to the fact that the cost of war is far too high in money and in men, in suffering and sacrifice, and in those higher values of justice and kindliness and love. And as the thought once grew that personal differences might be settled without personal combat, so men are looking toward the settlement of international difficulties without recourse to the sword. They have seen that every argument against the duel of men applies with still greater force against the duel of nations. And the world has moved farther toward world peace in the past twenty-five years than in all the centuries of history that have preceded. World peace is the task whose accomplishment is set for the men of this generation.

One by one the obstacles to world peace are being broken down. Commerce has destroyed much of international prejudice.

Community of interest has obviated many former causes of quarrel. The sophistical arguments of the friends of war are being answered by the logic of hard facts. Warfare has been ameliorated by international agreement. Vast reaches of territory have been neutralized. Unfortified cities are no longer to be bombarded in any country. Actual disarmament has taken place between the United States and Canada, between Chile and Argentina. Norway and Sweden have separated peaceably. Bulgaria has achieved her independence without bloodshed. The Dogger bank incident, which a century earlier would have plunged England and Russia into war, has been adjusted amicably. Two Hague Conferences have advanced tremendously the progress of international amity. Over eighty arbitration treaties are now in force. We already have a permanent high court of nations, to which are being referred questions that would once have resulted in certain war. And we are nearer than the dreamer of the last century dared to hope to "the parliament of man, the federation of the world."

But not yet has the millennium dawned. In the face of all this progress, armies and navies are stronger and more burdensome than ever. The United States spends more on wars past and prospective than for all educational purposes, and England, France, Germany, Russia, groan under the burdens of the armed peace of Europe. Armed to the teeth, the nations of the world lie watching one another. The mind of the world is convinced that war is futile and terribly wasteful. The heart of the world is convinced that war is cruel and inexcusable. The conscience of the world has admitted that war is wrong, and morally unjustifiable. And still the preparation for war goes on, and unless conditions are changed war is inevitable. What is to be done? The world's will must be moved, and men must be led to do what they have already admitted is right and just and expedient.

As we have led in other days, so must America lead today. As the light of republican government and complete justice to the individual first saw full dawn in the United States, so the eyes of the world are turned toward us to see the dawn of world peace, and full justice to all the nations. It is ours to lead. The example of the United States will do more than a century of

argument and conference. America should begin the disarmament that will eventually mean the triumph of world peace.

We have naught to fear. We are far distant from the storm-centers of the world. We have no foes within that demand a large standing army, and there are no enemies without that are anxious to try conclusions with us on land or sea. Then away with war talk and war scares and "jingoism." In time of peace let us prepare for peace, that all the world may enjoy peace. American disarmament will be a tremendous stride toward the accomplishment of the world's desire—the cessation of international warfare; a great world's court, to settle all international differences; an international police force to give effect to the decrees of this court; and the end of the burdens of armies and navies under which the whole world is groaning. Let heart and voice and pen, pulpit and press and platform, soldier and statesman and private citizen ask for peace, and not for war.

This is a part of the world's larger hope. Pessimists there are who say that human nature is belligerent, and that war will never be abolished. But international warfare has already seen the handwriting on the wall—Mars has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. The fruitless slaughter of the millions is not to be forever nor for long. Let us hasten the day when the rolling war drum will be hushed forever, the bugle-note no longer call to carnage; when "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." Love shall take the place of Hate, and Justice sit on the throne instead of Greed. Some day in the not distant future the nations that have all these centuries bowed before the god of war shall own eternal allegiance to the Prince of Peace. And "of the increase of His government and of Peace there shall be no end."

PROFESSOR VINCENT:

Mr. A. H. Reynolds, of the University of Michigan, will speak upon the subject of "Justice and Peace." (Applause.)

Justice and Peace

ALBERT H. REYNOLDS.

Our ideals of peace are gradually growing broader and higher. The cry of peace for the sake of peace, for the mere absence of conflict, is no longer heeded. The doctrine of non-resistance is no longer seriously considered. The causes of war are no longer overlooked in the struggle to make its effect more tolerable, and thoughtful men of today have looked deeper into the real problem of peace. They have discovered that men no longer make war for the mere love of bloodshed, but to satisfy their own greed, or to defend themselves against injustice. With the conviction that the spirit of injustice born of selfishness and greed is the great obstacle to international peace, the advocates of peace have become champions of justice. United in one great brotherhood, it is their purpose to overcome the selfishness and greed that lead to war by the spirit of mutual helpfulness, and to substitute for war a peaceful means of settling international disputes. On the irresistible strength of this double purpose the dream of permanent and righteous peace must depend for its realization. In it there is the motive power that leads to victory, for every man and every nation with a patriotism as broad as humanity can cry out with a passion equal to that of Webster, "Justice and Peace, now and forever, one and inseparable."

In carrying out their purpose the advocates of peace direct their efforts along two great channels. One leads to adjustment of disputes without an appeal to arms, and seeks to lessen the horrors of war when arbitration is abandoned. The other leads to the universal love of justice, and seeks to hasten the reign of peace over a world in which no cause for war can be found. One strikes a blow at war itself, the other at its cause. One tries to stop it, the other to prevent it. The former is often successful, but at best it is only a remedy. The absence of war is not always a condition of true peace. The oppressor is often so powerful that resistance is impossible and the injury to his victims so great that arbitration would be unjust. This may be peace, but such peace is worse than war. "Peace on earth" is angelic as a song, but it does not always mean "good-will toward men." We have

sung and quoted it too long with emphasis on the first part. When the world has learned the lesson of "good-will toward men," there will be the kind of "peace on earth" that is linked eternally with Justice.

Today the world is rapidly approaching the goal of peace along the road of arbitration. Greater success than men could reasonably expect has crowned their efforts to secure peaceful settlements. Nations have adopted the court of arbitration as a permanent institution and the appeal to arms is already exceptional. But there is evidence that the world has neglected to lay the foundations of lasting peace and that the nations have failed to protect the victims of injustice. Crimes against humanity that stagger the imagination have gone unpunished. Unspeakable outrages still exist to blacken the history of the twentieth century, while civilized nations, content to boast of arbitration treaties and temples of peace, are idle and indifferent. Had the conscience of the nations been alive to a sense of justice, and their courage stirred to action, the world would now be much nearer the true ideal of peace. The same opportunities await us today and no greater, nobler work can be done in the name of peace than to break down the walls of selfishness and greed which shut in our sympathy and "let justice roll down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream."

Rousseau once said, "War is the foulest fiend ever vomited forth from the mouth of hell." But had he lived to witness the unspeakable butchery of helpless men and women that for years has been going on in the heart of Africa under the instigation of King Leopold, he must have said, "Fouler still, by far, is the fiend that crushes out the life-blood of an innocent and defenseless people." This Leopold is still at work among the natives of the Congo Basin. He has stolen their land and given it to private companies to be exploited at their will. He has forced them to labor incessantly in gathering rubber to pay impossible revenues. He has refused to listen to their appeals for justice and has hired a force of cannibal soldiers to torture and destroy them. You are already familiar with that tale of unparalleled atrocity. You know that the nations who more than twenty years ago entrusted the welfare of that helpless people to the Belgian King, like spectators at a bull fight, have watched the slaughter for the last four years;

they have allowed Leopold to give the Congo Free State to the Belgian people under stipulations which guarantee the perpetuation of his brutal system of exploitation. And yet the nations hesitate to intervene! You are well aware that the most atrocious crime, the most damnable cruelty, the foulest treachery of any age is being perpetuated today in Africa. And yet we talk of peace! We "shut our eyes against the painful truth" and "indulge in illusions of hope!" Must we hear the groans and shrieks of dying men, the wails of little children, the report of the rifle and the crack of the sentry's lash; must we scent the odor of human flesh as the cannibal soldier prepares his evening meal; must we walk among the skeletons that lie thick upon the scene of a once peaceful village, before we awake from our lethargy to restore justice and punish the criminal? Is it peace these helpless people want? Somehow it seems as if the silent lips of those Congo natives whom death has granted peace cry out for justice. How they would fight for justice if they were alive! and how righteous would be their cause! But the nations remain in idleness. Will they never learn that injustice is the cause of war; that if war shall cease, injustice must cease? Will they never shake off the selfishness and greed that blind their vision and distract their sympathy, and act together in the cause of righteous peace whose end is always justice? Verily, they have abandoned the cause of suffering humanity, and like the Priest and Levite of the parable, have looked on the afflictions of their neighbors, but have passed by on the other side.

Today we are assembled to further the interests of worldwide peace. With one accord we have come to worship at the shrine of peace and lay our offerings on the altar of justice. All that can be done, all that ought to be done to promote this sacred cause it is our duty to consider. But what matters it to us that millions of our brethren in that portion of darkest Africa, now drenched with blood and rendered hideous with slaughter, are still beggars and slaves in their own country? What matters it that from every corner of the earth the cry for help, the cry for mercy, goes up unheeded? Is it for us to heed the despairing appeal of the long-suffering Jew, driven by injustice about the earth? Must we listen to the cry of millions of Russian peasants enduring the brutalities of despotism or the horrors of exile on the

frozen steppes of Siberia? Can we endure in silence the unutterable atrocities practiced by the Turks upon the helpless Armenian? Shall we be moved by the stifled sobs of the children in our own mills and factories, oppressed by the unrelenting hand of capital? If we are true to our manhood and to the holy purposes that guide our thoughts and actions, there is but one course for us to pursue. We must intervene by diplomacy if possible, by force if necessary. Every injustice tolerated by the nations is a mockery of peace and a challenge to its advocates. When such horrors exist in the broad daylight of the twentieth century, when barbarism breaks loose under the bright sunlight of Christianity and the nations that trust to arbitration are guilty of such destructive inactivity and awful delay, every advocate of peace should hang his head in shame. There are greater obstacles to surmount, greater conquests to be made than men have dreamed of. It is not so much the love of fighting as the lust of power and the greed for gold that we must overcome. It is not so much the willingness to arbitrate as the consciousness of human interdependence embodied in the spirit of brotherhood that we must seek to cultivate. The eternal demands of justice challenge the peace-loving nations of our day to act in defense of an outraged humanity and stop forever the shedding of innocent blood. What greater conquest in the name of peace could be achieved? Having labored together in restoring the rights and liberties of down-trodden peoples, the nations must henceforth be bound together by eternal cords of sympathy and a common love of justice.

On the highest accessible peak of the Andes where they mark the boundary between Chile and the Argentine Republic may be seen a colossal statue of Christ. The words inscribed on a bronze tablet at its base tell us the story of its erection: "Sooner shall these mountains crumble into dust than Argentines and Chileans break the peace to which they have pledged themselves at the feet of Christ the Redeemer."

It is indeed a fitting memorial of the day when the people of those two republics laid aside the swords, laid aside all bitterness and distrust, and solemnly pledged their mutual friendship and good-will. But it may be something more than a memorial of that happy day. It may be the sublime prophecy of other statues of Christ that the future must unveil. When the nations

acting together in response to the cry for mercy have arrested the slaughter of the Congo natives, proclaimed the liberty of the African slave and atoned for the monstrous crimes of their agent Leopold, a colossal statue of Christ will commemorate the return of Justice to its divine mission of peace. With the dawn of that glorious day the sword of injustice will be wrenched from the oppressor's hand, a tribunal of the nations will pronounce his condemnation; the cruelties of the "unspeakable Turk" will cease forever; Gentile and Jew, prince and peasant will share alike in the priceless heritage of a civilized world. The Christ of the Andes stands as the emblem of friendship and good-will. The Christ of the Congo will stand as the emblem of mercy and justice enthroned in the hearts of the nations. It will stand as a sublime prophecy of a better age when internationalism shall respond to the dictates of a quickened conscience and assume its responsibility for the kind of peace that only justice can secure.

PROFESSOR VINCENT :

The next speaker, Mr. William Clancy, of Marquette University, will speak on "International Arbitration." (Applause.)

International Arbitration and Peace

WILLIAM CLANCY

In treating the subject of International Arbitration, it is not my intention to rehearse the horrors and miseries of war, together with its accompanying evils and deplorable effects, as a potent argument for the abolition of war and substitution instead of a peaceable method of adjudicating dispute among nations. Rather it is my purpose to bring home to you the fact that our understanding of the undying and unalterable principles of righteousness is in direct opposition to the very idea of a settlement of international controversies by forcible means.

True, I might depict to you the terrors and ravages of war; I might take you to Thermopylæ and there show you Xerxes, arrayed in ranks of death, a million able-bodied soldiers; or again to the battleground of Pharsalia to witness Cæsar giving over to slaughter the flower of Roman citizenship; I might point

to the plains of Austerlitz, where armed Europe met in that universal struggle when the joined chivalry of militant France, clad in shining steel, armed with those terrible death-dealing implements, met the combined forces of Austria and Germany; where the bodies of the unfortunate victims lay in veritable heaps—a sumptuous banquet for the carrions on the morrow.

Yea, I might picture to you the charge at Lodi, where the ravage and loss of life was so horrible that human flesh formed a span across the seething waters in the mountains of death; I might picture to you the work of destruction that is carried beyond the battlefields to the many millions of homes decimated and left desolate; I might ask you to consider the almost irreparable losses every nation sustains as a direct result of war. I might bring before you statistics and prove that, not satisfied with having spilt a nation's best blood, the monster war penetrates into the very heart of both national and commercial life; that the cost of war is steadily progressing and assuming proportions which fifty years ago would have appeared well nigh incredible; that Napoleon's war drew from the coffers of France three hundred million dollars a year; that the Crimean War, although shorter in duration, with smaller enlistment of men, reached the sum of seven hundred and fifty million dollars a year; that the Civil War drained the United States Treasury of one billion five hundred million dollars a year.

Still, ladies and gentlemen, all these horrible examples of carnage and ruthless forfeiture of life, these pictures of desolation, misery and destruction, these undeniable facts proving the reckless expenditure, the enormous cost incurred in the preparation and maintenance of war, never deterred nations from a continuance of arbitrament by the sword.

Therefore I shall not deal in statistics. I maintain that the striking solution of this great problem of abolition of war rests in a nation's realization that in cases of international difficulties it is against the very essence of right to resort to war, unless all other means of settlement have been tried and have failed.

What is our unbiased and unprejudiced understanding of the law of righteousness? What is right? What is the definition of right? Right is an inviolable moral power belonging to the individual, which therefore all other men are bound to respect. It

tells me, and Pagan and Christian philosophy alike bow to the dictum, that I must do no more injury to my aggressor than will insure my own safety.

It tells me that I must not take my aggressor's life if my safety can be assured by maiming him. It tells me that I must not maim my aggressor if my life and property can be secured by other means, viz., a court of justice. This is the undeniable and universally recognized law governing the individual; this is the binding law exercised in family ties; this is the indisputable law, obligatory for states to obey. And I maintain that these principles of right, dictating to me, to you and every individual, apply with even greater cogency to nations. Unlike individuals, who flare up and fight in a moment of passion, they coolly take time to prepare for the slaughter, and therefore are more blameworthy than individuals suddenly attacked and taken unawares.

A thief enters my private abode, intent upon appropriating my personal property and goods. I discover him in the act of escaping. The law of righteousness demands that I have a right to defend my property even at the risk of my aggressor's blood. The thief in his efforts to escape no longer assumes the part of an aggressor and I have no moral right to take his life, as my safety can be secured, my property assured, by other lawful means—a court of justice.

As with individuals, so with nations, which are but aggregations of men. A government is no more required to do wrong than the individual. The right governing the individual should be the right guiding the nation. And therefore one country discovering another people encroaching upon its domains has not, according to the principles of righteousness, the moral power to demand the blood of the trespasser, if it can obtain justice by recourse to arbitration.

Years ago men of honor and self-respect, such men as Alexander Hamilton, Henry Clay, Daniel O'Connell, considered it honorable and right to engage in a duel to settle personal controversies and disputes. What a storm of protest, ridicule and opposition would arise on every side if statesmen of today, men of unquestionable moral standing, men of integrity, foresightedness and honor, should attempt this earlier form of adjusting personal differences! Yet one would think that in instances of

international controversies there would be some court of appeal other than the battlefield; one would think that nations, mindful of the ideas of righteousness, would not engage in blind conflict of force to establish the justice and supremacy of a claim.

Therefore should not the ridicule, the opposition, the punishment that would be encountered, were individuals to settle personal disputes by the sword, be applied to nations who, deplorable as it is true, continually invoke the power of the sword, that mockery of justice, to settle international difficulties?

Ah, what barbarous recourse for the adjustment of international contentions! How repulsive to the nobler instincts of mankind! How incontestably at variance with the higher ideals of civilization! That civilization which teaches man to put down his animal appetites and obey the higher dictates of his reason; that civilization which induces a nation to deal honestly with his brother; that civilization which is virtually the foundation of all government; that civilization which impels nations to smother within themselves the fighting spirit, the inclination to declare war at the least provocation.

Go back to the cradle of the human race, to the family of the first man. Realizing that in taking his brother's life he was acting in direct opposition to the law of righteousness, Cain slew Abel. This was murder. Because of this act, he incurred the condemnation and curse of the infallible Judge, and he was cast forth a wanderer upon the face of the earth. No man challenges the justice of this Divine verdict.

As families grew and multiplied and the human race was divided into shepherd tribes, when Lot and Abraham pitched their sheltering tents upon the sunny pasture fields of Mesopotamia, this unalterable law of righteousness still remained binding, and one tribe, on the plea of alleged wrong and aggression on the part of a neighboring tribe, had not the moral right to demand forfeiture of life as a punishment and method of retaliation. So when civilization assumed larger proportions and the nations of Babylon and Memphis appeared on the banks of the Nile and the Euphrates, the binding force of this unchangeable law still remained, strikingly, a necessary concomitant of justice.

Therefore, originating in the family of Adam, sustaining its binding principles in the later evolution, the tribes of Lot and

Abraham, unaltered in the affairs of the nations of Babylon and Memphis, the law of righteousness comes down to the present age, still binding, unchanged, unaltered, the handmaid of Justice, the moral teacher of the militant nations of today. Instructing them, as it does, that it is wrong for an individual to seek his aggressor's life unless his own safety be in jeopardy, right, explicitly and implicitly, in like manner forbids the nation to engage in conflict of force to revenge an alleged aggression.

It is my earnest and fondest belief that this age is ready for great achievements, and if we are loyal workers in the cause of international arbitration our lot is cast amid hopeful surroundings. In the course of history Providence selects one nation to be the guide and exemplar of humanity's progress. When the Christian era opened mighty Rome led the vanguard, and it is my firm conviction that a great era, the like of which has never been seen, is dawning upon the horizon. It is my firm conviction that Providence in his wisdom will choose a nation to guide the destinies of mankind, inculcating into it the realization of the necessity of application of the principles of righteousness and reason to national life.

The chosen nation! I see her in my dreams! She is ever before my soul's vision! A mighty continent, whose shores two oceans lave, touched on the north and south by lands of prosperity and freedom, inbosoming precious and useful metals, fertile in soil, self-sustainable, in no fear of sudden attack and invasion, she stands pre-eminent, the teacher of coming ages, to gather in civilized humanity, under the sheltering wings of Peace and Prosperity. The nation of the future! Need I name it? Your hearts quiver loving it!

"My country, 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing!"

It is the United States of America!

To her, I say, I am firmly convinced, will be intrusted this ennobling task. And rightly so. She it is, I believe, shall be first and foremost to expound to those who persist in clinging to war

the truth that a controversy which is not settled according to law of righteousness must necessarily violate the law of justice, for until the nations of the world can, by force of self-interest, be surely convinced that our understanding of the principles of righteousness demands substitution of peaceful arbitration for the murderous sword, we can never hope to realize a cessation of war.

My country, I hail thee this day! I hail thy future work and thy future triumphs! Gird thyself well! Put forth thy greatest energies! "Our hearts, our tears, our hopes of future years are all with thee, are all with thee!"

And when the establishment of peace, the confirmation of universal friendship is effectuated and the brotherhood of mankind and the increase in security of each nation is realized, the war clouds of discontent, suspicions and hatred shall fade, and then we shall behold the spotless dove of Peace, resplendent, triumphant, a glorious substitute for the bloody sword of war; then shall dawn upon the brightened horizon the era of God's workmanship, the era governed not by hatred, violence and might, but by love, justice and right—yea, the era of true patriotism and true civilization.

PROFESSOR VINCENT:

The last address of the contest will be made by Mr. Harold P. Flint, of Illinois Wesleyan University, who will speak upon "America the Exemplar of Peace." (Applause.)

America the Exemplar of Peace

HAROLD P. FLINT

No influence is more powerful than environment. There will be problems to solve and controversies to settle so long as men dwell in different surroundings. From the beginning of time might has made right, the man of physical force has been master of all situations, and as the result history ever revels in the rich warmth of wasted human blood. We read of Greece, and see Alexander and his campaigns; of Rome, Cæsar and his mighty legions; of

France, Napoleon and his empire of steel; of America, we see Washington and his Yorktown, Grant and his Appomattox.

I would not stand here to question the mighty movements of the past. We all know the position defensive warfare has held in human progress. The armies of the ages have only been the vigils of necessity guarding human liberty until it has spread and encompassed the nations of the world. We still erect edifices in memory of the great heroes of war. We visit those old battlefields of the Southland where lives have consecrated their last measure of devotion, and there, with our hearts full of reverence, receive a quickened realization of the reality of the awful struggle. I believe if ever a man was tempted to turn his face toward the blue canopy of heaven and decry the existence of a just and all-wise God, it was that worn, haggard, torn Confederate soldier. War had ruined his home, his friends, his family and himself; no glad hearts to greet him on his return, no helping hands to dress his wounds, no generous government to open its pocket-book for his support—nothing but ruin and desolation everywhere. Yet we love our Stars and Stripes the more because our fathers have dedicated their lives that those stars might remain in the same blue field forever. Today were you and I Russian peasants struggling under the despotic heel of a brutal and parasitic aristocracy, we would have one breath of freedom even if that breath must be gained standing in a torrent of human blood. But there is something deeper, purer and nobler. War has had its just allotment and we would not remove one luster of its glory. Today, as the result of the growth of Christianity, nations are attaining that state of unselfish benevolence for which they long sought; not for the pageantry, devastation or spoil of war, but for the utilization of all human energy for the benefit of mankind. Thus by an observation of facts, in the study of American ideals and their development, we must admit that a world organization based upon the principles of democratic brotherhood as they are exemplified in this our own peaceful and prosperous republic, is the one absolutely sure method of obtaining universal conciliation.

Every attempt to trace the current of American expansion must begin at Plymouth. Renouncing the oppressions of a government in which they had no voice and which was hostile to

their religious principles, our Puritan forefathers braved the wilds of America where they could dwell in peace, serving God according to the dictates of their own conscience. In the perpetuation of the other colonies special inducements were offered to immigrants. Consequently the Puritan was followed by the downtrodden outcasts of every nationality in Europe, who, aside from the desire to gain a new start in life, came chiefly to escape the terrible scourge of war. After a time the mother country began to realize the possibilities of her children across the sea. When she began to show the same disregard for the rights of the colonists that she manifested when they renounced citizenship in the home land, it was only natural that she should meet with serious opposition. The colonists hated war, but liberty was dearer to them than life. Accordingly they rose up, and after eight long years of what General Sherman afterwards appropriately called "hell" established the most momentous doctrine the world has ever known—the right of men to themselves and to their God-given liberties.

The termination of that struggle produced a gigantic governmental problem. The colonies were free. They were sovereign in their relations to one another and to the entire world. The confederation was formed under which the states retained their sovereignty and under which they then experienced approximately the same difficulties in the regulation of their affairs that nations experience now. These experiences taught them that local prejudice is hostile to the formation of any successful union; that as long as it existed they would suffer from constant reverses in prosperity and disturbance of peace. After eight years of miserable existence, they recognized the folly of their ways and abandoned forever their local animosities by establishing the Constitution.

Today this nation is composed of forty-six states, each a government in itself, but all subjected alike to a government of the whole. Our states cannot wage war with one another; they cannot even encroach upon the rights of another. It is true that the great civil strife occurred, but it was caused by a recurrence of that old spirit of local prejudice animated by a violation of that law of human right that man cannot hold property in man. But civil war between individual states is impossible although they

may often have diverse interests and antagonistic opinions. The political machinery is built for the settlement of all differences according to forms of justice which are alike in all parts of the country. Yet these peaceful and prosperous relations have not been secured by any direct agreement between the states individually. Our own Illinois has no industrial or political treaty with far-off Texas, nor even with Indiana. Massachusetts has not carried fire and sword into South Carolina in order to invest her capital there in cotton manufactures. New Hampshire did not desolate the plains of Kansas with the smoke of burning homes and the slaughter of innocent women and children in order to secure the safety of her investment in western farm mortgages. Such disorders cannot take place because the states must recognize the superiority of the Union.

Nations have today reached virtually the same point in an organization for the amicable adjustment of their differences that the American colonies had reached when they formed the Confederation. There exists at The Hague a tribunal, composed of the best statesmanship of the entire civilized world, whose purpose is to prevent war and secure international justice through parliamentary action. Yet, regardless of the fact that this court has already substantially proven its efficiency, nations carry on, with undiminished zeal, stupendous preparations for war in times of peace. Thus we are forced to ask ourselves the question, Is national prejudice now a hindrance to international peace, as local prejudice was detrimental to national peace in America one hundred and twenty years ago?

There is but one answer. This old world is a battlefield strewn with the wrecks of creeds and of theories, of governments and institutions, all because men would not conform to the divine law of the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God. War, with its enormous consumption of money and property, its waste of human energy, genius and brains, and its long trains of broken ambitions, broken hopes and broken hearts, is difficult to vindicate. It is the destroyer of commerce, the ruination of morality and the condemner of God. It has done more to defeat justice than any other form of sin this world has ever known. Through a blood-soaked history of international afflictions comes the long, clear call for indemnification. Which shall it be, war or

arbitration? War—attempting to degrade humanity? Arbitration—striving to uplift humanity? War—brute force and destruction? Arbitration—reason and construction? War—ignorance and disrespect for the law of God? Arbitration—intelligence and reverence for the teachings of the Prince of Peace? The contest between these two radically antagonistic principles grows more intense as the days go by. Let us be assured that the millennium for which we plead can only come through the principles of international justice and love secured only by the elimination of international prejudices.

Therefore, if war is to be eradicated, we, the common people, who bear the brunt of battle, must resolve first to conquer the pride and passion in our own lives, for these are the two great war-makers. Secondly, we must employ every means at our command as citizens of this country to secure the extermination of international prejudice by an application to the nations of the world of America's example as a peaceful and prosperous republic.

Aphoristic Emerson said, "As goes America, so goes the world." It was prophesied, at the time of the modern extension of printing, that this nation would become the seat of the most universal education and intelligence. This became true. When the Bible was unchained, and man was brought face to face with his Maker for the settlement of the great issues of life and eternity, it was said that this nation would be the home of the most universal religion, and that has become true. Now it seems that if any people are obligated by efficiency to lead in the perfection of this great organization for the obliteration of war, it is we of the United States.

There are many conditions that fervently call us to this mission, but only three may be mentioned here. First, we stand, by the very composition of our people, as the conciliator of the great races, making it therefore impossible for us to wage war against any people lest we do so against ourselves. Secondly, no other nation is so familiar with the process of federation and its difficulties as we. Consider what a task it was to successfully federate the original thirteen states. More than once the Constitutional Convention of 1787 was almost rent asunder because of the prejudices which animated its constituency. How much greater then must be the attempt to harmonize the relations of the fifty nations

of the world with all their varieties of race, language, religion, law, government and prejudice! Thirdly, we are the greatest Christian nation in the world. Christianity destroys the prejudices of nationality and teaches universal love, regardless of race, rank or merit. It warns us against cruelty by holding before our eyes that simple decree of the Master—"for inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me." "Thou shalt not kill," is a fundamental law of God. Therefore, it is a reproach to the nineteen centuries of Christianity and ought to be a thorn in the flesh of every patriotic American citizen that nations still resort to the unchristian method of war for the settlement of their disputes. Our country's policies must prevail—love, justice, manhood, the cardinal principles upon which we build from the beginning must permeate the political and social fabric of all Christendom. This nation must teach the world the possibility of universal peace through its example as a harmonious union of states based upon the God-given principle of the brotherhood of all men.

At the conclusion of the speaking, the Chairman said:

"The committee will now secure from the judges their ratings, and while these ratings are being collated and the decision reached—a decision which will be announced by President Jordan—we shall listen to an address on 'The Cosmopolitan Clubs,' by Mr. Louis P. Lochner, of the University of Wisconsin." (Applause.)

The Cosmopolitan Clubs

LOUIS P. LOCHNER

Internationalism is the spirit of our age. In no sphere, perhaps, is this more conspicuously true than in the scholastic world. Cecil Rhodes has rendered an inestimable service by establishing scholarships for German, American and colonial students. His example was emulated by the German Emperor, who instituted a policy of exchange professors and fellows. Other countries followed. During the past year two hundred and seventy young Chinese were sent to the United States, chiefly upon the encouragement of the imperial government. The Filipino government

annually offers one hundred scholarships. The number of students from Central and South American countries enrolled in the colleges and technical schools of this country is estimated at several thousand. At the University of Wisconsin, which I represent, the number of foreign students has risen from seven in 1899 to ninety-six in 1909. The complexion of the American student body is thus assuming an entirely new character, and the question becomes pertinent, What is there being done to meet these new conditions? I believe that we shall find a partial solution of this problem in the work of the Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs, whose aims, purposes and ideals I shall endeavor to present to you tonight.

This association is composed of international and cosmopolitan students' organizations at nineteen leading universities. The total membership is about fifteen hundred, and almost sixty countries are represented. The purpose of these clubs is to bring together college young men from different countries, to aid and direct foreign students coming to America, to eliminate racial prejudices, and to establish international friendships.

That this movement is not merely a passing feature of American college life may be seen from the phenomenal growth of the central body and of the individual chapters. In 1903 there was but one such organization in existence at an American institution of learning—the International Club of the University of Wisconsin, having a membership of but nineteen. A year ago, when the first annual convention was held at Madison and a national organization perfected, eight clubs were in a flourishing condition and were represented by delegates. During the one year of united work which followed the number of chapters has been more than doubled, and the prospects are the very brightest that soon every large institution of learning will count such an organization among its valuable assets.

The activities of the Cosmopolitan Clubs are numerous and varied. Lectures on international topics, discussions on subjects of foreign interest, and occasional social functions are some of the forms which these activities take. But most conspicuous are the so-called "national nights." In these the members of one nation, if possible on the evening of their country's holiday, describe the history and institutions of their fatherland, play

music by their native composers, project on the canvas pictures of their native land, and discuss the relation of their state to other powers. At times they also recite masterpieces of their country's literature, thus affording the members an opportunity of hearing many different languages. In the course of these national nights the members get a better insight into the mode of living, customs and viewpoints of people of different race than they can ever gain from the colored accounts of travelers in foreign lands. This broadening influence has taught them to have sympathy with their fellowman's religion, however divergent from their own, with his political opinion, however contrary, with his social rank, however unequal, with his nationality, however different.

A significant step was taken by the association at its second annual convention last Christmas, when it decided upon an affiliation with the International Federation of Students of Europe, better known as *Corda Fratres*. This organization, which has a membership of sixty-three local chapters or consulates representing fifteen thousand students, aims to do for college men at European universities what the Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs endeavors to accomplish in America. By the proposed affiliation the nineteen chapters of our association will join the sixty-three consulates of *Corda Fratres*, and the same rights and privileges that are now accorded members of the one organization will be extended to members of the other. The work will thus be on an international basis, and the possibilities for effective co-operation unlimited. This summer an international convention of students will be held at The Hague. Members of *Corda Fratres* and of our association will then unite in formulating a program by which the universities of the Orient and of Latin America may be interested in the movement. Thus the day is not far distant when we shall have branch societies in every civilized country in the world, when a student can travel to what large university he will, and yet be sure of meeting sympathetic friends, of finding men filled with similar high ideals of the brotherhood of man.

The association is beginning to assert itself in other ways. Recognizing the fact that the foreign student is usually at a loss as to what he may expect at American universities, and what particular institution will be best suited to his particular needs, the

association recently petitioned the Bureau of Education to issue a pamphlet of information regarding American universities, to be distributed among prospective foreign students through consuls and in whatever other way practicable. If this bulletin is issued—and from correspondence with the Bureau it appears that the petition is likely to have the desired effect—it will contain a tabulation of such items as the cost of living, tuition fees, entrance requirements, opportunities for self-support, and special advantages of American universities. It will do much toward advertising the educational facilities of this country. At the suggestion of the Bureau of Education a committee of the association is now working out the details of such a publication.

In order further to disseminate correct information concerning the land of their adoption, many members in the association have pledged themselves to give accounts in their native papers and periodicals of American universities and American life, thus removing erroneous impressions which are prevalent abroad concerning this country and its educational institutions. What a loyal tribute from these men from foreign lands! At all times they are willing and glad to extol the praises of our nation and its educational systems. There never was a more loyal son of an alma mater than the foreign student. American college men are at times prone to look down upon the foreigner as an undesirable addition to the university community. "They are mere foreigners—what do they know?" was an expression actually used by a group of students of an enlightened western university at a recent national night of the local chapter—and that, too, after they had listened to a program and accepted the foreigners' hospitality, extended with a liberal hand and a cheerful heart. Americans forget that they can learn quite as much from the foreigner as the foreigner acquires from the American. Through our foreign students not only the great flourishing republics of Latin America but also the venerable and highly civilized nations of the Orient have, in spite of the differences which would mark them off from ourselves, been brought within the range of our sympathetic knowledge and of our friendly appreciation. Consider what an unparalleled opportunity we have of absorbing the high ideals of the representatives of the nations! The foreign student is here not merely to get a degree, and to acquire labori-

ously from books written in a language not his own what he might with less difficulty learn from texts or translations in his mother tongue. He is here to give as well as to receive; to contribute his own knowledge as well as to absorb ours. His migration to a foreign soil sprang from a desire to become a citizen of the world. His patriotism led him to disregard family ties and the associations of his youth and to go abroad among strange peoples and strange nations so that he might return a better citizen and a more useful member of society. The presence of the foreigner is thus a source of inspiration to the American. His example is well worth emulating. One cannot but be impressed by his lofty ideals, his steadfastness of purpose, his broad-minded conception of his mission. It is incredible to think that we have men with such diversities of life, creed and customs in our midst without taking advantage of the opportunity to learn something about them, to form a first-hand opinion, and to broaden our minds and views.

But the Cosmopolitan Club movement has a deeper significance. In the words of the well-known secretary of the American Peace Society, Dr. Benjamin F. Trueblood, "As an agency for promoting the final establishment of permanent peace among the nations there is nothing in the educational sphere likely to bear richer fruit." Close personal contact between peoples of different race is a necessity in order that they may understand each other. It is a fundamental prerequisite to any movement for world peace. National antipathies or prejudices in a large part rest on mutual ignorance. In the Cosmopolitan Clubs young men from sixty countries are brought in contact with each other. They learn to understand each other; they learn to respect each other; they learn to admire each other; they learn to love each other. They cannot help but carry home with them the message of "peace on earth, good-will toward men." The foreign students are for the most part representatives of the flower of their nation, men coming from the very best of families. Many are sent by their governments. They will occupy positions of trust and honor in their respective communities. They will become the leaders of public opinion and even of the political spirit and policies of their nation. In proportion as they are brought in contact with their fellow students of different nationality, in proportion as they learn to understand each other, in proportion as they realize that they

are, after all, members of one large human family, and that war and hostility are thoughts unworthy of the rising generation, will the hopes for the realization of world peace be increased. Thus the Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs will join in rearing upon foundations already laid the superstructure of a world state in which the intelligence and civic virtue of every race shall be associated for the common weal of men. It will swell and strengthen the every increasing ranks of those who, not content with idle contemplation, are seeking by conscious endeavor to bring into reality the millennium of Tennyson, when—

“The war drum throbs no longer,
And the battle-flags are furl’d
In the parliament of man,
The federation of the world.”

PROFESSOR VINCENT :

From the five contestants, two are to be chosen, the first honor involving an honorarium of seventy-five dollars and the second honor involving an honorarium of fifty dollars. The decision of the committee will be announced by President Jordan.

PRESIDENT JORDAN :

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN : The members of the committee have felt very much gratified at their opportunity to hear these orations, and they are very firmly convinced, after hearing them all, in their opposition to war. I have to say that the decision is not quite unanimous, but it stands as follows :

For the second prize, Mr. Harrold P. Flint, of Illinois.

For the first prize, Mr. Levi T. Pennington, of Indiana.

After the awarding of the prizes, the audience was dismissed.

EIGHTH SESSION

NEXT STEPS IN PEACEMAKING

Tuesday Evening, May 4, at 8 o'clock

ORCHESTRA HALL

PRESIDENT DAVID STARR JORDAN, of California, Presiding

DR. JORDAN:

We meet tonight to discuss the next steps in peacemaking, and we can be very sure that those next steps are not preparing for war. The old idea that "in time of peace one should get ready for the next fight" does not belong to our civilization. (Applause.) I have been told that a great navy of Dreadnoughts, great battleships, are the best guarantee of peace. It seems to me that if we have no better guarantee of peace than those great ships, we are very hard up at this time. (Applause.) I do not think that we need spend any money to amount to anything in preparing for anything that may come to us by way of attacks from outside countries, but if it should be necessary I feel very sure—I haven't worked it out entirely, but I feel very sure that for the cost of a single Dreadnought we could insure in the insurance companies of England, Germany and France all our seaboard towns. And if those towns were paid for in Europe, certainly Europe would let us alone.

I have never been able to see why warships were needed in the Atlantic, when there is no possibility in any way, outside perhaps of the Mediterranean, of there being any occasion for the police use of ships. The lanes across to England are as safe as the streets of an ordinary city. It is proposed to line them on each side with advertising floats, Jardinelli's chocolate and Fairy soap and so forth. If there is any need whatever of battleships at all, it is not between here and Europe, it is not between our Pacific Coast and Japan; but it would be around the outlying islands, between India and Samoa perhaps, there would be a possibility of there being freebooters, if there were no means of preventing it.

We have tonight a discussion of possible steps towards peace,

not connected with the building of battleships, and for reasons sufficient unto ourselves the third address is to be given first and the first address is to be given third.

I have pleasure in presenting Mr. Edwin D. Mead, of Boston, who will speak on "The Arrest in Competitive Arming in Fidelity to The Hague Movement."

The Arrest of Armament in Fidelity to the Hague Spirit

EDWIN D. MEAD.

With the meeting of the First Hague Conference in 1899 there opened a new era in the peace movement and in human history. The reason why that Conference was called was because the Russian government felt, and every government to which its invitation came recognized, that the burden of the world's great armaments, the cost of armed peace, had become so monstrous and intolerable that things could not longer go on as they were; it meant universal bankruptcy and ruin. It was expressly to deal with the question of disarmament that the First Hague Conference was called. "A Conference on Disarmament" was what was proposed; that was the first official title, afterwards changed to that of the Peace Conference. It was to be, "above all, an international discussion of the most efficacious means of putting a limit to the present progressive development of armaments;" and the commanding necessity of this limitation was never stated more forcibly than in Count Mouravieff's circular in 1898. We need to remind ourselves of his memorable words more urgently today than ten years ago:

"Financial burdens which are increasing affect public prosperity at its source. The intellectual and physical energies of peoples, as well as labor and capital, are for the most part diverted from their natural application and unproductively consumed. Hundreds of millions are employed in acquiring frightful engines of destruction, which are considered today as the acme of scientific invention but tomorrow are destined to become valueless in consequence of some new discovery in the same domain. National culture, economic progress and the production of wealth are paralyzed or warped in their development. Furthermore, in proportion as the armaments of each power increase, they respond less

and less to the end which the governments had in view. The economic crises due in a great measure to the régime of armaments and the continual danger which lies in this heaping up of war material transform the armed peace of our time into a crushing burden which peoples find it harder and harder to bear. *It therefore appears evident that if this state of things is prolonged it will inevitably lead to precisely that cataclysm which we seek to avert, the thought of the horrors of which causes the mind to shudder.* To put an end to these incessant armaments, and to seek a means of averting the calamities which threaten the whole world, is the supreme duty which today imposes itself on all states."

That was the "intolerable" situation of ten years ago. The First Hague Conference met. Two years ago the Second Hague Conference met. Both Conferences approached anxiously this greatest of the problems before them. The First Conference discussed it seriously, but without results. The Second Conference hardly discussed it at all, but after long agony passed pious resolutions upon the urgency of the problem. Why did it not grapple with the problem? Because of the conflicting policies and selfish ambitions of two great powers, so uncompromising and irreconcilable that to these the welfare of the world had to be postponed.

Meantime how has the world fared? What has the "intolerable" burden of ten years ago become today? Let us consider simply Great Britain, Germany and the United States. It is unnecessary to go further, because these three nations control the situation, and they are the chief sinners. If these three nations began today to act, with reference to armaments, in accordance with the spirit and purpose of the Hague conventions, the peace and order of the world would be assured tomorrow.

In 1898 Great Britain spent on her navy \$124,000,000, Germany spent \$29,000,000 and the United States spent \$50,000,000. Last year Great Britain spent \$170,000,000, Germany \$83,000,000 and the United States \$104,000,000. The increase in precisely the ten years when there should have been decrease was enormous. Our own army expenses last year were as great as our navy expenses. Our navy expenses this year will be \$30,000,000 greater than last year. We are today paying for expenses of past wars and preparations for possible wars sixty-five per

cent, practically two-thirds of our total national revenue, leaving barely one-third available for all constructive purposes. What would Washington and Jefferson and Franklin say to this? We know what they did say about things of this sort. They would say today that the Republic was standing on its head.

This is what has come about in ten years in these three nations because the Hague Conference in 1899 did nothing about the reduction or arrest of armaments. As we now look back, we see that it could not do much directly at that time. The war system of nations could be supplanted only by the gradual development of a system of international law and justice to take its place. When the First Hague Conference created the International Tribunal it did indirectly the most, probably, which it could do in behalf of the reduction of armaments, because it took a long step in furnishing the nations with such legal machinery for the settlement of their differences as makes recourse to war machinery more and more unnecessary and inexcusable. It has been in the line of this thought that the international lawyers have had their hopeful assurance. Develop the legal machinery, they said, and the armaments will perforce crumble of their own dead weight.

The continued and rapid development during the decade of provision for the peaceful settlement of international disputes has been something unparalleled in history. The leaders of the movement for international justice are sometimes reproached with being dreamers. The only trouble with them in the last ten years has been that, so far as the development of the instruments of international justice are concerned, they have not been able to dream daringly enough or fast enough to keep up with the facts. If we had been told in 1899 that we should see in the world today an International Tribunal, with half a dozen cases already successfully settled by it, an International Prize Court with such a code as that just agreed upon in London, a Court of Arbitral Justice decreed and the appointment of its judges a thing of the near future, and eighty arbitration treaties ratified between different pairs of nations pledging reference to arbitration of all disputes not settled by regular diplomatic negotiation that are likely to arise between them—I say that if we had been told in May, 1899, when the First Hague Conference met, that we should

see all this achieved by this May, 1909, we could none of us, the most optimistic of us, have believed it. Yet all this we see.

What of it? What is the logic of it? The logic of it, the thing clearly prescribed, is the gradual decrease of the machinery for the settlement of international differences by war corresponding to the steady and now so wonderfully great increase of the machinery for their settlement by arbitration and the courts. This is perfectly clear. The wayfaring man, though a fool, cannot err in this. And the wayfaring man does not err. It is so clear that, seeing the nations do not respect the logic, he promptly pronounces the Hague conventions waste paper and the whole Hague movement a humbug. In this he does err seriously; but it is because he does not take into account the extent to which vested interests, commercial greed, selfish national ambitions and the pride and pervasive influence of entrenched military classes hinder straight logical operations. The sophisticated politician is reckoning with a mass of premises not down in the books of the plain people.

The plain people are right on the main point. The failure to decrease the machinery of war as we increase the machinery of law, above all the actual enormous increase of armaments at such a time by the very nations party to the Hague conventions, is rank infidelity to the spirit and purpose of those conventions. One thing alone could justify or excuse it—some obvious new danger. Is there any such new danger? We need not now meddle with other people's affairs. How is it with ourselves? Our increase in naval armament in these ten years has been something portentous. No nation has a worse record; perhaps no other has so bad a record, since we, unlike England and Germany, have no provocation or excuse. We have no jealous neighbors, no great merchant marine to guard, no concern about food supply, no exposure to invasion or attack—we are in no danger whatever if we behave ourselves. There is none from Europe; there is none from Asia—the periodic trumped-up visions of Japanese armies advancing through the mountains upon Salt Lake are worthy only of the type of Englishmen whom Cobden dealt with in his "Three Panics" and who are thrilled by Du Maurier's cheap melodrama. At this very time Japan is cutting down her naval budget while we are pushing up ours. And South Amer-

ica—she needs our help no more. Ten years ago our loudest apology for battleships was that they might be needed down there in behalf of the Monroe Doctrine, to stop some despotism in collecting debts. But the last Hague Conference made all that forcible collecting of debts henceforth illegal and impossible, removing at one stroke half of our hitherto professed occasion for a big navy. Does all this have any effect on the Navy League or on the people at Washington who settle these things? Not the slightest. Why? Because the plain people are asleep and have not spoken.

The plain people read the newspapers. They have plenty of opportunities to know what the positive damages are which our own present naval excesses are doing to other peoples. They know what impulse they have given to similar furore in South America and in Australia; they know that they have furnished arguments in the French Senate for the increase of the French navy; they know what bitter disappointment and setback they have given to the brave champions of international reason and justice in every European nation, working at such terrible odds against the appalling and increasing burdens there. Mr. Birrell, of the British ministry, spoke for all that is enlightened in Europe when he exclaimed concerning the "words of doom," as he called them, in the section of Mr. Taft's inaugural relating to this subject: "They have shattered some of the best hopes of humanity. It is a miserable pity, it is a miserable pity that these hopes should be shattered and that we now have to deal with the United States as a fully equipped military and naval nation." He might have added that the most pitiful fact of all is the fact that in the present year the United States, hitherto boasting that it but followed the lead of England and Germany in building Dreadnoughts, and that its anxiety was to limit the size of battleships, now takes the lead in building larger ships than any now existing, thus forcing up the standard for all nations.

That an English minister, a conspicuous friend of America, should have to speak a word like that of Mr. Birrell about us today seems the veriest irony as we hark back thirty years to a speech about us by John Bright, our most eloquent English friend of the last generation. It was exactly thirty years ago, on a Fourth of July, our natal day, that in a powerful speech in

Parliament, arraigning the great and growing burden of European armaments, with the mounting debts and drain on national resources, John Bright turned to the United States to point out the contrast: "She has practically no army nor navy, her war debt is now insignificant, her taxation is light, her resources are exhaustless, her people are prosperous and contented. How Europe, handicapped by its present burdens, can expect long to compete successfully with her in industry and trade is hard to imagine. If she perseveres in her present wise and noble policy for twenty years, she will force Europe to disarm in sheer industrial self-protection." This is the advantage—advantage to ourselves, advantage as a friend and servant of the nations of Europe—that we have recklessly thrown away; we have come down to their level instead of lifting them to ours. Sir Edward Grey, the English Foreign Secretary, in a debate in Parliament just a month ago, said truly that the vastness of the present expenditure on armaments is a satire on civilization, and if it continues must lead Europe into bankruptcy; and he added no less truly that nations which are preparing themselves at the present rate to protect themselves from possible outside attack may be preparing themselves for internal troubles of the most disastrous and radical kind.

No Englishman foresaw all this more clearly than Gladstone, the great statesman who by his part in the Geneva arbitration with ourselves, the most important arbitration case in history, did so much to prove that there are no matters of "honor" or "vital interest" so grave that two great and self-respecting nations cannot afford to settle them peaceably rather than go to war about them. It was because Gladstone refused to be identified with or responsible for the new policy of greater armaments into which England was advancing—let us never forget this great fact in his great career—that he finally retired from public life.

I say the plain people read the newspapers. They therefore know that any respectability or plausibility that ever attached to the silly contention that the way to promote peace is to prepare for war has been effectually disposed of by the present situation between England and Germany, in their mad race in building rival battleships. So far from each new Dreadnought proving

an added bond of security and peace, according to the theory, each one on either side proves a new menace, a new source of suspicion, enmity and danger. So it is everywhere and always. Nations are like men. The unarmed gentleman is safe; the cowboy with his pockets full of pistols is always in danger. The present question is, How soon will the nations act like gentlemen, in mutual trust, and so be safe?

The plain people read the newspapers; and so they have read frequently that it is a great thing to have big navies to send about the world, because they elicit tumultuous expressions of friendship and affection from all sorts of people, in Rio Janeiro and Tokio and elsewhere, and so add to the fraternity as well as the gayety of nations. Well, they have not forgotten that one simple American statesman named Elihu Root elicited vastly more impressive expressions of friendship in every South American capital, and accomplished things of a vastly more constructive character, than all the sixteen noisy battleships that by and by followed him. And they wonder why, since Japan by her overwhelming demonstration so unanswerably proved her friendship, it was or is so necessary as the jingoes prate to display great squadrons to keep her well scared into good behavior. It was not battleships that Tokio was welcoming so tumultuously the other day; it was Americans. Had it been a single ship, without a single gun, bearing the duly accredited American emissary of good will named Elihu Root, or named Jacob Dickinson, it would have been just the same. Indeed it would have been much better—and I suggest to the gentlemen of the Chicago Association of Commerce and other chambers of commerce that, like all policies of the gentleman as over against the policies of the cowboy in national affairs which we are here considering, it would have been vastly cheaper.

Just before I left Boston I read in a Chicago newspaper an account of a banquet given by your Association of Commerce in honor of two visiting commissioners of the Japanese International Exposition; and I was much impressed by a word spoken at that banquet by Mr. Harlow Higinbotham, of your city. "I would rather," said Mr. Higinbotham, "send sixteen members of this association around the world, advancing the condition of this country, than twice that number of warships, as a peace measure.

The effect would be more salutary. What we want is more exposition and less warships."

Well, that is what I call statesmanship. I wish that Mr. Higinbotham were in Congress. He has stated precisely the issue of the hour—friendship versus battleship. Which does true statesmanship prescribe? Which ship does America wish to float—statesmanship, friendship, or the battleship? The Hague conventions, in their whole spirit and purpose, command the one; the old Adam of false patriotism and national greed and pride will struggle to thwart that purpose to the last. There can be but one issue, for this is a world of growing reason and humanity; but it is for the reasonable men of this safe and strong republic to lead the world in hastening the era of justice. We must be unremitting in pushing to farther perfection the legal machinery. We must insist upon arbitration treaties so broad as to pledge reference to The Hague of every dispute whatever not settled by regular diplomatic negotiation—thus leaving no loophole for the mischief-maker's talk about "vital interests" and "honor." But we must face the fact that our chief problem now is a moral one. All the conventions in the world are good for nothing unless the parties to them are in earnest unless they trust each other, unless they seek together to translate the spirit of their conventions into life. The implication and imperative of the Hague conventions are clear; the question of how and when we shall respect them is now a question of national character.

THE CHAIRMAN:

Some time ago I had a letter from a friend in Boston who was very much worried lest the advent of the fleet in San Francisco was going to stir up the trades union people and other people in San Francisco and cause them to make attacks upon the Japanese. I thought that that would not be one of the forms which the armament agitation would assume, and I was quite sure of that, for when the great white pageant of ships in San Francisco Bay took place the trades union people were just as happy over the arrival of the ships as anybody else, and the Japanese were shouting "Banzai" and other things without any display of enmity whatever, because there was no enmity except

the enmity that politicians and some newspapers tried to stir up for their own purposes. The people were all anxious to see the ships. It was a mixture of curiosity and statesmanship, and the trades union people and all other people had the same feeling at that time. The irritation of armaments comes from those who have the armaments and want to use them on something. They are not satisfied to shoot cannon balls that cost probably three hundred dollars at rocks in Magdalena Bay. They want to hit something, to see it wiggle. We had an example of irritation of this kind in Samoa some years ago. You may remember that an American battleship and a British ship lay in that harbor and had nothing to do, while Dewey and his ships were having glory over in the Philippines. Finally the American and English battleships shelled the town of Apia, and the matter finally went up for arbitration to Europe. These two great nations, Great Britain and the United States, were compelled by the Court of Arbitration to pay for all the damages inflicted by them. They were treated, in fact, just as any other marauder would have been treated. They simply presented their case, paid their bill and went home, sadder and more or less wiser, and they would have been wiser still if the newspapers had exploited it. I haven't seen as much anywhere as I have said tonight.

I do not mean to present the next speaker. There is only one Jenkin Lloyd Jones, and he is in Chicago.

Armaments as Irritants

JENKIN LLOYD JONES

"A fig tree looking upon figs becomes fruitful," says the Arabian proverb. "The sheep thirsteth whenever it sees water," says the Welsh proverb. "A soft answer turneth away wrath, but a grievous word stirreth up anger," says the Hebrew proverb. "Like produces like" is a fundamental axiom of science. The Greek matron haunted the places of noble statuary, spent hours in contemplating the benign features and manly proportions of Apollo as carved out of spotless marble by the chisel of the master, that her unborn child might take on the matchless form and the perfect countenance.

This fundamental law of psychology is as true of communities as of individuals. It is as easily verified in the experiences of a nation as in those of a youth. No more surely does the blood spilled upon the pasture madden the bullocks until they gore one another to death than does the violent word and the initial blow put murder into the heart of the incipient mob. Every seed of violence breeds violence.

"There is not a crime wrung upon the counters of this world
But takes its proper change out still in crime.
Let sinners look to it,"

says Mrs. Browning. His life is most in jeopardy on our streets who carries a loaded pistol in his hip pocket; not only, as is amply proven by statistics, because the overwhelming probabilities are that when that pistol goes off it will go off at the wrong time, in the wrong place, and hit the wrong person, but because it is the provocation that will draw the other pistol out of that other side pocket that will go off at the wrong time, in the wrong place, and wound the wrong person.

As with individuals, so with nations. Every cannon inspires another cannon; every shot belched forth from its unholy lips is an appeal to barbarism, a call of the brute that inspires the brutal. The roar of the cannon, like the surly growl of a bull dog, sets all the kennel a snarling.

I am but hinting at an unquestioned law of psychology; a principle verified over and over again in the home, in the church and in the state; a principle established in the experience of every wise parent, teacher and ruler. With the retirement of the rod the discipline of the school has improved; by the reduction of capital offenses the morality of the community has been increased. When stealing was punished by hanging, thefts were more numerous. When the lash was taken from the foreman's hand, the output of labor was increased.

Only in the realms of national administration, in the so-called "departments of war," is this principle defied and the counter-statement glorified and applied with an ever increasing expenditure of capital, time, labor and intelligence.

It is not true that the perfection of weapons and the increase

of armament has reduced the perplexities, the atrocities or the devastations of war. Quite the contrary is true. Every contribution of science to the arsenals of the world, from gunpowder to Maxim guns, has been inflammation to the imagination, aggravation to the nerves political, a debauchery of the sober reason and the sound judgment that has contributed to what, in the polite phrase of diplomacy, we call the "war spirit"—patriotism, chivalry, loyalty to a flag or sensitiveness to the honor of a country—which, in plainer English, in the unvarnished terms of ethics, is simply the spirit of barbarism, the brute in man forging to the front, the bully supplanting the philosopher; the pugilist crowding out the prophet, the captain supplanting the statesman. The appeal of the one is to might; that of the other is to right. The sword, however daintily chased, and however polished the Damascus blade may be, is but an extension of the fang, as the bayonet is a human appropriation of the claw and the musket a scientific refinement, an increased malignity of the club. Every increase of armament is a confession of moral weakness, an admission of faithlessness in the right, a distrust of the potency of mind and the conquering power of love; consequently an appeal to might, which, however expressed in armored ships, smokeless powder and Krupp guns that can send their screeching messengers of death flying through fourteen miles of space, charged with death, terrible, unrelenting, indiscriminating death, all the way, is but the tiger in the man asserting itself over the angel. Anger, hatred, vengeance and the fell brood of harpies that follow in their wake are incubated in the hatching beds of fortresses or stowed away in the bunkers of battleships, and no burnishing of weapons, garlanding of masts, polishing of gun-wales or embellishing of uniforms with gold lace, brass buttons and ostrich plumes will make them anything other than implements of butchery, human butchery, butchery by order, butchery all the same, and all the more inexcusable because entered upon by order of kings, presidents, parliaments and congresses.

It is time to dispel the illusion of the war office. It is time that presidents, kings, czars and kaisers should learn what every nursery maid and kindergartner already knows—that persuasion is better than intimidation; an ounce of argument is better than a pound of terror. One woman with a swill pail will lead twelve

pigs into a sty in less time than twelve men with whips, stones and clubs can drive one pig into the same sty. The farmer no longer breeds long horns in his herd for the sake of peace in the barnyard. Rather does he dehorn the herd of their superfluous appendage, necessary for the preservation of life to the primitive wild herd, but a menace to the life of the civilized cow, a constant source of waste to the keeper of the herd.

While the horns remain, survivals of an ancient regime, a menacing reminiscence of a lower, outgrown order of life, like the vermiform appendix in the human body, the political economy of the barnyard can never be other than that of a strained "armed neutrality" at best. The best that can be achieved under such conditions is an uncertain balance of power, where comparative peace reigns until some wayward steer, on some slight provocation that could not be anticipated, begins to hook; then there is hooking all along the line; terror reigns in the barnyard and not the wickedest, but the weakest receives the death blow and the innocent expiates with its dying breath the insolent lawlessness of the aggressive stag whose credentials to primacy lie in the strength of his horns, the arrogance of his claim and the beefiness of his bulk.

The political economy of the barnyard holds true in the navy yards of the world. There is one psychology for bulls and for armies. Oh, how much longer will sensible men, representatives of civilized governments, and oftentimes would-be followers of the Prince of Peace, preachers of righteousness, representatives of religion, flatter themselves that in multiplying the enginery of war they are advancing the kingdom of God on earth? They little understand human nature who think that it is made of such craven stuff that it can be frightened out of war, scared into peace. They reckon not with history who think that prudential reasons of costliness, of expense, can hold in check the rising blood or turn aside the arrogant. Human nature is made of too plucky a stuff, it is too full of reckless adventure, thank heaven, to be browbeaten or to mistake cowardice, cravenness and greed for brotherhood, righteousness, progress, which alone are the incentives as well as the rewards of peace. Hobson's achievement in Santiago Bay is a cheap type of heroism; "Tommy

Atkins," the degenerate English soldier, is equal to that kind of thing.

But the modern armament, particularly of the United States, irritates chiefly not the belligerent spirit but rather the competitive. Our remoteness from all possible foreign enemies, the pacific nature of our history, the confidence based on the inexhaustible resources of our country, the intelligence of our people, the ease and safety with which we have preserved the longest international line on the globe, reaching from Quebec to Vancouver, without ever a fortress or a battalion to guard the same, makes any real apprehension of danger from abroad almost an absurdity. One must indeed be deeply immersed in the technicalities of the war office and the maps of the navy department before he can take such a remote possibility very seriously.

But armaments irritate our pride. Not jingo, but buncombe inflames our imaginations and makes fools of our legislators. The psychology of our naval recklessness is paralleled by the football craze of our universities, where we see shrewd trustees, stately dons and sage professors lavishing 90 per cent of their athletic funds on perhaps 9 per cent of their student body, and in periodic fits of madness abandoning their robes and their sanity and spending hours on the exposed "bleachers" in inclement weather, rendering themselves hoarse over not the nine brainiest or the nine noblest, but the nine beefiest representatives of that institution of learning; not because these things contribute to the sanity of the university; either of body or of mind (even college professors and trustees know too much to be caught in such foolishness), but because they want to win; they want to be first in the race; they want to beat. If they win they shout themselves hoarse over the discomfort of their rivals, and if they are beaten they go away with sullen determination to strain more points, spend more money, dive deeper into the diabolism of rivalry, in order to regain their lost honor, recover the captured banner.

"Did Pete Smith accomplish that great feat you tell me of?"

"Yes, indeed; he did it gloriously!"

"Then I'll be bound I'll have to overlook his English and let him pass."

This is what I overheard in the confidences of a little group of professors who sat at luncheon after a great field day.

This suggests one of the real irritants that go with armament. Even our President pleads for a "respectable" army, by which I suppose he means one commensurate in size with our wealth and position. Talk of the United States having "risen to be a world power!" It has fallen into the base competition, yielded to the insidious pride of parade. Even now the capital "P" that belongs to the United States among the powerful nations, measured by its armament, must be written very small. In printer's phrase, we must put the "P" in small caps.

Some enterprising journal has recently shown the relative military strength of the powers of Europe by drawing the typical soldier to a mathematical scale. In this line the Russian soldier towers above the rest, a mighty giant. Next to him stands the German soldier, a lusty companion. Away off at one end stands the little American soldier, a Tomb Thumb in the line. I pity the American who is so un-American as to blush over this diminutive Yankee soldier. The true American glories in the insignificance of his army, rejoices in the fact that small as he is, he is a superfluity. For the nation that rests in intelligence, whose rule is of, by and for the people, is its own soldiery, and is ready for any emergency.

But more than the competitive irritant, let us sadly confess that the charm of the army and the pride of the navy practically rest in the still more humiliating psychology that is best revealed in the show windows of the milliner. Strip the army of its fuss and feathers, supplant the brass buttons with hooks and eyes, tear off the gold lace, clothe the private soldier in blue jeans and the officers in plain cut-away business suits of neutral colors, and you instantly make a standing army in time of peace impossible, congressional committees would promptly cut down their appropriations, and if appropriations were made the number of foolish young men who would be attracted from the more stimulating walks of civil life would become hopelessly small, and the number of foolish young women who would shower the same with bouquets and kisses would be hopefully reduced in the same proportion.

Much of the army regulation of all nations, consciously or unconsciously, rests upon the psychology of the peacock. When a soldier is to be degraded they cut off his buttons; if an officer is

to be humiliated he is deprived of his sash, belt and sword. It is probable that the philosophic historian, writing from an adequate distance of the decline and death of the standing army in England and the attendant growth of English power and leadership, will date it from the time when the red coat was supplanted by the khaki, for the added danger springing from its conspicuousness was more than compensated by its irritating power, on lines that the philosopher draws from the strut of the turkey gobbler in the barnyard to the wild, extravagant display of Easter bonnets in Christian churches.

Do not suspect me of dealing either in extravagant rhetoric or humorous illustration; I deal with the cold, hard realities; I appeal to the scientist rather than to the poet in this argument; I hint at facts which only the philosopher, the psychologist, the economist, disciplined to rigid lines of thought, have a right to challenge or are prepared to adequately estimate. My contention is that armaments serve as irritants on belligerent, competitive and display lines. They tend to make nations more belligerent, increase their sense of rivalry and contribute to the primal love of show, the barbaric passion for ornamentation. To increase our armament in order to enhance our security is a vain hope, for if we add four Dreadnoughts to our navy this year, England will add eight and Germany sixteen; even little Japan will match us the year following. When the inspirations of fear end, then the inspiration of competition, the desire to keep up with the procession, to make a respectable showing on the fields of Mars, enters into the committee rooms and debauches the council chambers, even of republics.

I have read in a book written by a Confederate officer and published in the South, that when General Stephen D. Lee, than whom no more fearless or loyal son of the South ever drew sword, was asked why the officers of the Confederacy so persisted in the hopeless and cruel contention after every shadow of a chance for ultimate victory was gone, he replied promptly: "Because the women of the South would not let us stop."

If there are any corners in the South still unreconstructed, if there lurks in any heart still a feeling of bitterness and a wild hope that somehow the mad attempt to break the Union will be vindicated and the tables turned, it is to be found in the fond

hearts of that enthusiastic order known as "The Daughters of the Confederacy." These dear sisters, valiant as they are, do not exceed their brothers and their fathers in courage and loyalty to an ideal, but there are some things that their fathers and brothers learned that they can never know. The men have learned the debauching side of war, the futility of trying to solve ethical questions by physical force. They have learned what the sisters and daughters cannot learn—that valor on the field of battle is easy and cheap compared with the higher demands of peace. Once perhaps in far-off mediæval days chivalry and knighthood, as interpreted in terms of intelligence and morality, needed the sword and did carry the bayonet, but that time has gone by. Brother Burdette notwithstanding, it does not take much of a fellow to make a good soldier nowadays. The private in the British army cannot hope to find a more sympathetic or intelligent champion than Rudyard Kipling, and his "Tommy Atkins" is a degenerate.

President Roosevelt's administration found it hard to find "Jackies" enough to man their new battleships; and desertion, both on land and sea, is a real problem which baffles the departments at Washington. A thousand "Jackies" were reported to have deserted the navy on the Pacific slope during the humiliating junketings at those ports. For no wonder—drunkenness and licentiousness represented the entertainment extended to the enlisted men, and more than one commissioned officer had to be shielded from his indiscretions for the honor of the buttons. The savage has in the past proven and may again prove an equal to the civilized man on the low levels of the battlefield, as our struggles with the Indians and England's sad experience in heathen lands indicate.

"So 'ere's to you, Fuzzy-Wuzzy, at your 'ome in the Soudan;
You're a pore benighted 'eathen, but a first-class fightin' man;
An' 'ere's to you, Fuzzy-Wuzzy, with your 'ayrick 'ead of 'air—
You big black boundin' beggar—but *you broke a British square!*"

Others will speak at this Congress of the waste of money and the atrocities of battle, but not dollars nor yet quivering nerves and rivers of blood represent the ultimate burden of the

army and the final argument against militarism, the horrible logic of selfishness involved in war, the subordination of jurisprudence, science and religion to the clamor of the barbarian. I have some right to speak for the soldier, for three precious years of my life were spent under orders as a private in the noblest army that ever was gathered, doing service for the highest cause for which ever an army was marshaled—the cause of the slave, the rights of a despised race, and still, under such exalted circumstances, I must bear witness to the degradation, the spiritual contamination, the intellectual indolence, the vulgarity of speech, the filthiness of imagination, the fell harpies of sensualism, profanity, gambling and inebriety that in one way or another brought forth their kind here as always in the camps of war.

The student of history knows that every great war has been followed by some form of moral pestilence, spiritual degradation, the malignity of which is beyond computation. No one knows this better than the soldier himself. Napoleon, the greatest captain of modern times, said, "War is the trade of barbarians." Said the Duke of Wellington, "There is nothing more horrible than victory except defeat." Said our own Sherman, "Gentlemen, you think that war is all glory; I tell you it is all hell!"

Severe as was the strain upon our national life from 1861 to 1865, it was not so severe as the strain of corrupt politics, rampant greed and low commercialism that followed that war as the direct result of that recklessness and lawlessness that belong to war.

It is useless, then, to hope that war will put an end to itself; that guns can be silenced by the manufacture of more guns. Lecky has said that all the wars of the last thousand years have either been in the interest of the gods, trade, or something called "honor." In other words, modern wars have been inspired either by religious, economic or patriotic ends. More religion and a better appreciation of economic laws, and a truer patriotism alone will end war.

Emerson quotes the good Christian Cavendish, who wrote in 1588:

"It hath pleased Almighty God to suffer me to circumpass the whole globe of the earth. I have discovered rich places of the world which were never discovered by Christians. I navi-

gated along the coasts of Chili, Peru and New Spain, where I made great spoils. I burned and sunk nineteen sails of ships, large, small and great. All the towns and villages I ever landed at I burned and spoiled."

All this he did under the "sanction and to the glory of God Almighty," as he thought.

I hope we are through dedicating fields to religion or distributing Bibles at the cannon's mouth, shooting the gospel into lonely islands.

The financiers of the world are beginning to have a realizing sense of the wastefulness of war. The great inspiration of the warrior is still his "flag," something he calls the "honor" of his country. It ought to be the mission of this body to show that there is no sanctity in a piece of bunting when it floats over a wrong or when it ceases to represent the ideal. Political conceit and national self-glorification is an indignity to the nation.

George Eliot was right when she characterized such patriotism as "The virtue of narrow minds."

He disgraces his country and is treasonable to its highest interests and truest glory who nourishes in his heart a hate against any child of the living God, or who lives and dies under the mad delusion that the God of the Universe delights in his narrowness and glories in his prejudices.

What are we going to do about it? Enter upon a campaign of education. Begin with our children to instill in them an abiding faith in the power of ideas, the supremacy of things noble. Study with them the awful and truthful pictures of battle in Carlyle's "Sartor Resartus," Book II., Chapter VIII. Read Emerson's great essay on war where he says:

"War is an epidemic of insanity. * * * The excitement demanded by idle and vacant minds. * * * War is on its last legs. Universal peace is as sure as the triumph of liberal government over feudal forms."

Let our college classes and women's clubs, even if our legislators are too busy, study Channing's mighty deliverances, clear with argument and hot with righteous indignation; Henry George's "Law of Human Progress," Chapter III., Book X, in his "Progress and Poverty;" Charles Sumner's "True Grandeur of Nations;" John Fiske's "Destiny of Man;" let us not forget

one of the great world philosophers, Emanuel Kant, who wrote the best peace tract of his century, "Perpetual Peace;" let us consult our poets—Longfellow, Lowell, Whittier—then doubt if we can that Victor Hugo was right when he said—

"The time is coming when the cannon will be found only in our museums, and they will be studied with as much curiosity as now we study the rack, the wheel and the instruments of mediæval torture."

Yes, it is coming. Why not believe that it is coming now?

"If there is to be war," said Captain Parker on the Lexington Green, "let it begin here." In his name and as his loyal representatives, let us say, If war is to cease, let peace begin here and now. Too tardy has the United States been in this mission. It was laggard at the Geneva Congress that made the wounded man international and neutralized the surgeon and the ambulance. The picture of our Senate refusing to close a beneficent treaty between England and the United States that would make its tribunals permanent is at least fresh in the minds of many of us. Our country appeared tardily at the First Hague Conference and it appeared there with red hands and shamefaced, with its "It won't work," and "They don't mean it!" What if they don't mean it? Let us mean it; let us make it work.

Oh, but this is "sentiment!" "emotion!" "impractical humanitarianism!" Has it come to this, friends, that this nation must curb its highest inspiration, split its vision, qualify its convictions, in order to command the respect of its neighbors? Has it come to this, that we must reason out of the baser side of our lives, survey the shorter line of expediency, in order to be regarded practical? Is that alone practical that compounds with felony and murder? If so, let us plead guilty to the soft impeachment and believe with George Eliot that "Sentiment is the better part of the world's valor." Friends, the principles of heaven are none too good for earth.

As for myself, I would say, call me traitor, let sect, party and country disown me, only so that in some way I may deserve the right to the title of "philanthropist," the lover of man, and I will be content. I will still be a humble member of the church of Abou Ben Adam, a citizen of the world, a voter in the federa-

tion of humanity, where war and lawlessness, an indignity offered to the least in this federation of man, is treason to all.

I believe the redeeming power of the bullet and the bayonet are gone. I would convert every great battleship in the world into a university, and there is money enough in any one of them to make a noble foundation; I would dismantle, if I could, the grim fortresses of the world and remand to the fields the supple youths who now people them.

Every peasant left in the field is now compelled to carry on his back as a dead weight, not the one soldier of the old computation, but two soldiers, while he hoes the corn, trims the vine and directs the lathe.

The history of our country has shown that many who won honor with the bayonet have won dishonor with the ballot. We must rise to this higher history; believe in the universal brotherhood, the divine in every man and the sacred right of every soul. It was the cross and not the sword that Constantine saw in the heavens, by which sign Europe was conquered. The widest known, perhaps the best beloved man on the footstool today bears no crowns, wears no epaulettes, directs no railroads. He is rather the peasant prince who has been foolish enough to take Jesus at his word and who believes that the Golden Rule is workable—Lyof Tolstoy, in far-off Russia. Perhaps the head that wears the most regal crown in the estimation of the world today is the little Queen of Holland, who invited to her palace city the nations of the world in the service of Peace.

Let him, then, who would honor his flag rim it with white. Its center may well represent his chosen nation, but its circumference will stand for humanity. He can love his own country only when he loves all its boundaries, when he recognizes that it is but a noble fragment of a greater and a nobler whole—the world.

“Our stars and our stripes are now bordered with white,

To justice and peace all the nations inviting.

’Tis the emblem of love giving might to the right,

All the races and creeds in truth’s service uniting.

Not by powder and ball, but through love’s louder call

Will the merciful banner yet wave o’er us all.

O the white-bordered banner in beauty shall wave
O'er the lands and the seas, all God's children to save!

"Then conquer we must, for our cause it is just,
And this be our motto, 'In God is our trust!'

O the white-bordered banner in beauty shall wave
O'er the lands and the seas, all God's children to save!"

(Dr. W. W. Hinshaw then rendered the song "Danny Deever," which was received with enthusiastic applause from the audience and the delegates.)

(The Chairman then stated that it had been suggested that Dr. Hinshaw also sing the song entitled "Illinois," which was rendered by Dr. Hinshaw, the audience joining in the chorus.)

THE CHAIRMAN:

When we take steps toward bringing peace somebody has to do the work, and I wish to present to you one of the men who has done a very large part of the work in this direction in our country, Mr. Edwin Ginn, of Boston.

Outline of the International School of Peace

EDWIN GINN, OF BOSTON

Although man has been obliged to fight from the beginning, yet through the development of ages he has risen in a large measure above the necessity of fighting. Formerly the lord had his castle upon a spur of the mountain for defense against the lawless and against his enemies. This custom was extended and they would signal each to the other when danger threatened. Later it was found to be cheaper and better to settle in a town and to build around it high walls which could not be scaled. But the walled-town stage has long since passed, and we have now reached a state of development where physical force within each nation is applied only as a police force to restrain the vicious and turbulent.

But as between nations the earlier conditions still prevail, and they still act toward each other as barbarians. They are suffering from fear and distrust of each other, almost wholly unwarranted. In fact, each individual nation wishes to be undisturbed in the peaceful development of its own resources. Rarely

does one nation desire a conflict with another nation or to encroach upon the territory of another. Each one wishes to live in harmony with the others. Yet our boundary lines are bristling with cannon, the seas are alive with battleships and the tramp of the soldier is heard the world over. And for what purpose? It is not to curb the turbulent and vicious. It is because of a groundless fear of attack from sister nations. Such attacks are not really contemplated and ought not to be expected.

It follows that this enormous expense for armies, this taxation that is draining every year billions from the treasuries of the people and bringing want, sickness, suffering and death to multitudes, is wholly unnecessary; and the problem of international peace is how to set in motion forces which will end this frightful waste and destruction. I believe that this result can be accomplished by appealing to the enlightened selfishness of mankind and by setting in motion educational forces, which will show the folly of the present status, and will also remove the fear and suspicion which are the main causes of our present wasteful expenditures for armies and navies.

It is our desire to establish a fund that shall be so used as to cause the nations to see that there is a fully adequate substitute for their present armies and navies; so used as to educate the nations to a better knowledge of each other, to have more trust in each other; so used as to make the people of each nation feel that other nations are on the same level and as worthy of confidence as themselves.

But no substantial progress can be made if the effort runs directly counter to the present tendency of thought and action. We must adapt our reform movement to the tendencies of the time, moving along the line of least resistance. The idea of force cannot at once be eradicated. It is useless to believe that the nations can be persuaded to disband their present armies and dismantle their present navies, trusting in each other or in the Hague Tribunal to settle any possible differences between them, unless, first, some substitute for the present force is provided and demonstrated by experience to be adequate to protect the rights, dignity and territory of the respective nations. The idea which underlies the embryonic international supreme court which we now have in the Hague Tribunal is fundamentally good; but

the movement is not yet far enough advanced so that the nations can be persuaded to disarm and rest for security upon the decisions of a court having its limited jurisdiction and no power to enforce its decisions. My own belief is that the idea which underlies the movement for the Hague Court can be developed so that the nations can be persuaded each to contribute a small percentage of their military forces at sea and on land to an international guard or police force. Five per cent of the present forces would probably be found sufficient. If this is too small certainly 10 per cent of the present armaments would be fully adequate to protect all the nations in their rights and to prevent any disorder or turbulence. This plan involves no marked and revolutionary change in the present methods; puts no additional burdens of taxation upon the people; but if tried, it will make the futility and waste of the present method so obvious that disarmament will naturally and inevitably follow, just as disarmament among individuals follows upon the institution and maintenance of an adequate police force. When the nations see, as I think they will, that this international police force is ample to ensure them all their rights, they will be unwilling to bear the present excessive burdens for armament, and disarmament, or at least nine-tenths of it, will come as a natural and inevitable result of a perception of the obvious uselessness of armament.

But the important point to have in mind is that all successful reform movements achieve their success by offering a reasonable and adequate substitute for the erroneous existing system. Such a substitute is found, it seems to me, in this suggestion. The benefits which would accrue to the nations and to the people from such a result are hard to exaggerate. There would no longer be need of any grinding poverty in the land. If the people were freed from the present war expenditure, every man, woman and child could live in comfort and have an opportunity for a good education; hospitals, schools, and churches could be erected wherever there was occasion; swamps and unhealthy parts of the surface of the earth could be drained, and highways built to connect every habitable part of the globe; railroads, rivers, and canals could furnish transportation for the whole world.

War and the threat and fear of war constitute today an economic scourge of almost inconceivable magnitude. Armies

are not a protection against war; they are the cause of war. Every battleship launched is a menace to the peace of the world. We shall never have peace until we bring about disarmament. I reject utterly the argument that large standing armies and navies make for the peace of the nations. We all know that, in a barbaric or half-civilized state of society, most individuals go armed, and that quarrels, maimings and murders are multiplied in consequence. To make peace in the community we prevent individuals from carrying arms intended for the slaughter or injury of their fellow beings. The armed are rarely the peaceful. Precisely so with the nations. The unarmed nation is the really peaceful nation.

The plan which I would follow is somewhat as follows:

(1) There should be established in corporate form an International School of Peace. Such a corporation would be a permanent legal machinery for receiving and disbursing contributions and bequests; for it is an important part of my purpose and hope that the fund which I have provided for should be but the nucleus and beginning of a great endowment contributed by others and perhaps by governments themselves, to forward this great cause.

(2) This International School of Peace, whether incorporated or not incorporated, should have a president, secretary, treasurer and board of managers or directors, making up an executive committee, and constituted of men who are known for their soundness of judgment as well as for their devotion to the public welfare. An Advisory Council, consisting of men eminent in the peace movement and arbitration cause, might well be constituted.

(3) There should be a Bureau of Education which should attempt to modify the courses of study in our schools, colleges and universities by eliminating the use of such literature and history as tend unduly to inculcate the military spirit and to exaggerate the achievements of war. Too much of our history is now devoted to accounts of battles and to the exploits of war heroes; too little respect and attention are directed to the unselfish and self-sacrificing lives of thousands of noble men and women who have striven and achieved mightily for the benefit of the race in the fields of peace.

The teachers in our schools, academies and colleges should

be interested in this movement and trained to see its importance.

International exchange of teachers and students, in accordance with the ideas which underlie the Rhodes Scholarships and the recent exchange of professors between Germany and America, should be further extended, even among the teachers of our public schools. Such interchange of students and of teaching service tends to break down the absurd and unintelligent prejudices which have hitherto existed, to a considerable degree even in our school-rooms, as to the relations and feelings of the people of one race or nation to the people of another race or nation.

Social intercourse among the educators of different nations should be extended in every possible way. "Stranger" and "enemy" always have been nearly, if not quite, synonymous terms.

The circulation of such books as have already been published under the name of "The International Library" should be favored and advanced in every possible way, and the publication and circulation of other books having an analogous purpose and tendency should be encouraged.

So, also, should the co-operation of the clergy be obtained. They should be interested in the peace movement and induced to preach upon the various aspects of the movement and to work among their parishioners, so that they may make their pulpits and lives a real power for "peace on earth and good will towards men." The theological seminaries and other institutions for training preachers and clergymen should be brought to see the importance of this movement and so to frame their courses of study and training as to cause the preachers of the future both to realize and to preach real peace.

Either separately or as a part of this Educational Bureau there should be an organized attempt to influence the press of the world. Facts and arguments tending to show the advantages of peace from an historical and economic standpoint should be gathered and distributed to newspapers and magazines everywhere. An editorial corps, thoroughly trained, should furnish constantly to the press of the world material which would make for peace. One of our present great dangers of war is found in false, misleading and inflammatory statements about international relations, written by irresponsible persons and circulated by sensa-

tional newspapers. Such statements should be carefully investigated, and clear, dispassionate explanation and refutation of them made and widely published as speedily as possible, before the evil caused by such newspapers has had time to gather force and spread itself, as hitherto, throughout the world. It ought to be made impossible for any "yellow journal" ever again to be able to boast that it has brought on a war. Prompt and authoritative denials and explanations of these sensational and evil-working publications will not only make them less harmful, but will tend to lessen the profit derived from them and thus to discourage a repetition of the offence.

Our business organization—chambers of commerce and other similar associations—should be addressed and interested in this question of the burdens of war and of the threat of war. It is absurd that our business organizations should listen with intense interest to a discussion of the effect of the tariff upon business or spend a great amount of time and thought in devising ways for improving, to a slight degree, transportation facilities, and yet entirely overlook the fact that almost, if not quite, the greatest single burden that business is now bearing is the war burden.

A careful study of international relations and the cost of war from both the historic and the economic point of view should be made, and a systematic effort to educate the people everywhere to a thorough knowledge of the terrible scourge that war and the threat and fear of war are at the present time, not only upon governments, but upon all peoples everywhere. The people should be made to see that if war expenses are to continue to increase in the next few hundred years as they have in the last century, the accumulations of civilization are in danger of being destroyed and the nations made insolvent.

(4) A Political Bureau should be instituted, which should employ men of statesmanlike grasp and power in all the main capitals of the world to watch over the course of legislation and to work for the reduction of armaments. Such men should scrutinize all matters of international relations and strive in every way to prevent trifling causes from exciting international disputes and the war spirit. Many wars should and would be prevented if able, discreet and statesmanlike men were in the capitals

of the world watching and working for good understanding and peace.

Again I would appeal to the enlightened selfishness of mankind, and would have men point out how much better it is to come to an understanding of each other's position, to meet each other half way in a friendly and compromising spirit, than either to plunge into war on such trifling occasions as have hitherto caused most of our wars, or to continue the increase of armaments in the hope of terrorizing other nations to submit to any unjust demands that one nation may make upon another.

(5) This International School of Peace should co-operate in every practicable way with all existing forces, agencies and organizations. I am a firm believer in continual activity if anything is to be accomplished. This work has never yet been undertaken in a broad and systematic way. Every avenue for the amelioration of mankind should, so far as possible, be availed of and made to contribute to this movement in behalf of peace. I would have an organization created that should affiliate with and bring all beneficent and benevolent forces to work together for this common cause.

However carefully we may plan for this great work, its success must depend finally upon the *kind* of men and women employed. It is my belief that this organization should aim to secure, first, the most talented persons in their line, men and women who desire especially to devote their lives to the cause, making sure that we have a fund sufficiently large to guarantee them a salary adequate to enable them to do their work effectively and at the same time provide themselves with the ordinary comforts of life. Not only should *able* representatives be sought, but men and women in the prime of life, who can look forward to a reasonable period of activity. In a great many movements too much stress has been placed upon securing those who had already achieved great success in the world. As a rule men do not achieve such success early in life. It comes to them generally as the reward of long years of service, after they have reached their fullest maturity. While I appreciate the advantages of having the co-operation of such as have gained the confidence of the people, I am inclined to think that much of this arduous work should be undertaken by those who have yet twenty or thirty

years of vigorous effort to give. It is well to have both classes—those who have been tried in the great battles of life and have won a reputation by their intelligence, wisdom, and calm judgment; those are the men for counsel; but young manhood and womanhood should be sought to do the work.

It is again the story of the bundle of rods. Each in its way has a certain strength and can bear a certain amount of strain, but when these sticks are brought together, they create a force which is irresistible. There are many hundreds of organizations which are doing splendid work for the elevation of mankind, but each is working in its own way. What is needed now is to bring into hearty co-operation all these various forces and make a united stand against this great cloud overshadowing all lands.

In bringing together our *bundle of rods* we should not neglect the men of the armies and navies. Here is a most fruitful field. These men are among the best in the land and would not harm their fellows unnecessarily. The most of them believe that physical force is needful for the protection of one nation against another, and when the military forces believe this, it makes it almost certain that it is. If every one believes that a war is imminent, it is very difficult to avert it. If there were a strong feeling in the hearts of the people of all nations that these preparations for war were not necessary, it would be much easier to do away with them. If we would have war and the preparations for war cease, we must create a sentiment favorable to peace. This is the great problem which is before us for solution.

Above all, every one who enters the ranks should do so because of an all-absorbing interest in the work. I would rather have one, thus equipped, than a hundred of equal ability who were influenced largely by the salary to be obtained. The success of this organization depends upon the enthusiasm we put into it, which must be the enthusiasm of a reformer—a Godfrey, a Savonarola, a Garrison, a Phillips—the kind of white heat that burns when it touches a community.

DR. JORDAN:

We would have no need of battleships or armament if an association like this could place men in the universities, in the newspapers and in every part of the world in such a way that

by their combined influence and wisdom they could prevent war from breaking out anywhere. The only danger of war that we have from any direction possible lies in the fact that there are a dozen foolish newspapers and a hundred foolish men saying that sooner or later we shall have to fight Japan to see who controls the trade of the Pacific Coast, an ocean so large that vessels sailing from either side seldom see for two weeks a vessel of any kind. It must be a broad highway, and there can be no possible control of it of any kind, any more than if we should go fight the people of Mars for the privilege of going around the sun.

The last speaker of this evening—there may be a few of you who know this fact concerning him: that it was his interest in the matter that, more than anything else, influenced President Roosevelt to call for the Second Hague Conference; is a man who feels as we do and who is in Congress at the same time, one of the men who can do the very best service for all of us.

Mr. Bartholdt before delivering his set address said:

As I shall speak to you here tonight, so I have voted in Washington and shall vote in the future. My talk will not be for the officers, the generals and the colonels of the Peace Movement and the expert; it will be for the benefit of the masses, and the privates in the ranks.

I think we are sinning, many of us, a little, in not explaining this in plainer terms.

Popularizing and Organizing the Peace Movement

HON. RICHARD BARTHOLDT, M. C.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FELLOW CITIZENS: The world is governed not by men, not by parties, but by ideas. The idea which gave birth to this notable Congress is the greatest moral issue now confronting this as well as all other nations of the earth, and it is not my optimism, but my deliberate judgment which prompts me to believe that when this idea has once penetrated the minds and hearts of the masses it will sweep the world.

Our great difficulty is in making people understand it. The cause of justice which we plead is usually wrapped up in large

words; it presupposes some knowledge of law and is, on the whole, so complicated as to baffle a common school education. And, what is worse, it is invisible; you cannot see or grasp it. From childhood on, man is constantly impressed with the splendid paraphernalia of war. As children we play with toy soldiers; in school we find war glorified in the text books we have to read; as youths we are taught that patriotism requires our joining the militia, and as men our eyes are dazzled with shining uniforms and our ears are filled with martial music. We see splendid monuments erected to perpetuate the memories of war, and, lest we forget, our great battleships, those monsters of the sea, are sent around the world so that the newspapers may be enabled to remind us of their existence every day for the period of a whole year.

Against all these machinations which impress the minds of the people, through eyes and ears, with the glory of militarism and war, the friends of world-wide peace are at a great disadvantage, for, as I have said before, the weapons they employ in their war upon war are invisible and the progress of their cause cannot be seen. Their weapon consists simply in an appeal to reason and their progress exists only in the minds of men. But despite this disadvantage, let me tell you confidentially that all the claptrap of militarism and war will avail nothing in the end as against the resistless force of our idea.

What then is our idea? Let me present it to you in a nutshell. It is that our peace with foreign nations shall be secured in exactly the same manner as our domestic peace is secured, namely, by referring all controversies to the courts for settlement. This method of settling disputes has been enacted into law by every civilized nation in order to secure its peace at home, and we insist that each nation should readily consent to, aye, strive, for similar international enactments in order to secure its peace abroad.

Is this plain enough? But you will see it still more plainly by raising yourselves a little above the level to take a bird's eye view of the world and watch the attitude of the nations towards their own citizens on the one hand and towards their sister nations on the other. You will observe at a glance that the nations are two-faced and that their position is so shockingly in-

consistent as to be untenable before the forum of either reason or morality. Let me point out to you some of those inconsistencies. By authority of the nation's law you and I are forbidden to arm ourselves and to take the law in our own hands in case of a controversy with a neighbor. In the interest of peace the law points to the courts as our only rightful recourse. Query: Do the nations themselves observe this rule of conduct laid down by their own law? No, they don't even think of it. They maintain armaments and go on building battleships and in case of a controversy they go to war and fight. (At least they *have* done it, and as yet we have not got them where they will say, We won't do it again.) At home nations prohibit fights and the carrying of weapons in the interest of peace, but abroad they glorify preparedness to fight and armaments as the only guarantee of peace. In other words, governments do not regard the obligation to keep the peace imposed on the citizen by the nation as binding upon the nation itself, and by praising battleships as implements of peace they actually repudiate their own civil institutions. Peace between individuals is to be maintained by law; peace between nations, by force. And what is the result of these contradictions? That the nation's peace, which our civilization safeguards as the most priceless boon at home, is in foreign affairs made a mere toy, a plaything in the hands of governments and rulers to be either cherished or broken at their arbitrary will.

There are more inconsistencies. It is universally recognized that no man should be a judge in his own case. This is a plain dictate of justice which requires no explanation and it is enforced wherever human interests clash. Every nation on earth having a lawful government insists upon a strict observance of this rule within its own domain. But does the nation itself, in its dealings with other nations, observe it? Not in the least. In international disputes each government presumes to be judge in its own case, and upon its decision, right or wrong, depends the happiness and lives of thousands of its citizens. How long, we may well ask, will the world's sense of justice suffer governments to apply one code of ethics to their home affairs and another one to their foreign relations? In a dispute are governments any less interested parties than individuals are in a quarrel, and should nations be any more permitted to judge their own case than individuals,

especially where the question of right or wrong is one of life or death, peace or war?

Suppose we could turn the hands of the clock backward and should allow individuals to do as nations do by shaping our home conduct after the international pattern? Do you know what would happen? Why, we would relapse into barbarism. The mailed hand would rule. Every house would be an arsenal, men would walk about armed to their teeth, and blood would constantly flow foot-high. It is the kind of peace that has prevailed when might was right, and the peace which now prevails as between nation and nation and which the advocates of armaments and battleships pray for. But we cannot go backward, we must go forward; hence the rule of arbitrary power which now controls international relations will not be extended to our domestic affairs, but, on the contrary, the mantle of law and order which now covers the home affairs of each nation will soon be thrown over and made to cover and grace all the great nations in their conduct towards each other. It is the inevitable logic of events. By establishing courts the nations first secured justice and peace in their own domain; by creating the High Court at The Hague they have taken the next step to a higher plane and secure justice and peace in their relations with each other.

I wonder if you fully realize the world's progress in the direction of international justice? As I said, it is not visible to the eye, but it is a reality all the same. Within the last five years more than eighty treaties of obligatory arbitration have been concluded between the nations, our own country being a party to twenty-four of them. This means that certain questions may be arbitrated by voluntary action. Twice within the last ten years a Parliament of Man has met at The Hague, with forty-four nations attending the second meeting and deliberating how judicial decisions may be substituted for war, how the blindfolded Goddess of Justice may be enthroned where brute force has held undisputed sway. A world's tribunal to sit in judgment over the nations' controversies was established at the first meeting, and at the second it was voted to make that court a permanent institution, and all it needs today to insure to us the boon of a world judiciary is the appointment of the permanent judges. And more than that; the Hague Conference resolved to meet again

to perfect the system of world organization, so that we practically have a permanent High Court of Arbitration as well as an International Council of Peace. Who would have dreamt even ten years ago of such a marvelous advance? Public opinion in favor of peace has become so powerful that thirty-five nations voted for obligatory arbitration, and they represented, in round figures, thirteen hundred million inhabitants, as against nine nations with a little over two hundred million people who either refrained from voting or voted against it. A vote of six to one, mind you, by the governments! If the people themselves could vote, they would be sure to make it sixteen to one. Was it an exaggeration to say that our ideas are sweeping the world with resistless force?

The idea of a world organization on the basis of law and justice should and does appeal to Americans more strongly than to other nations because they know that the United States is a model for it. Here are forty-seven states with their own constitutions, their own codes of law, their own legislatures and their own governments. Yet when a controversy arises between two of the states do the people become excited, are they seized by the war fever and a thirst for blood? When it was charged that the Chicago drainage was polluting the Mississippi River, did Missouri call out her militia to go to war with Illinois? Bless you, no! The people of Missouri coolly prepared the case for the Supreme Court of the United States, argued it and calmly awaited the decision. Is there any valid reason, I ask you, economical, moral or other, why differences between nations could not be submitted in a similar manner to a Supreme Court of the World?

I want to inject here a reply to what has been said here this afternoon by one of the speakers. He said he did not believe in compulsory arbitration, does not like the word. I wish to remind him, however, that the nations are not compelled to make these arbitration treaties. The nations by voluntary action agree that they will arbitrate certain questions in the future. In other words, it is their compulsory will which prompts them, public opinion which prompts them to agree that certain questions must be arbitrated, while all other questions may be arbitrated by voluntary action.

All reasonable beings are agreed that war is one of the

greatest if not the greatest of the evils with which from the dawn of history the world has been afflicted. But while the human family for more than two thousand years bewailed the horrors of that "plague of mankind," as George Washington called it, it failed to offer a right remedy. That remedy has now been found. It is safe and sane and practical. It is not the dream of theorists, but the well defined plan of jurists and statesmen, an evolution of the civic order recognized the world over. The United States now spends over three hundred million dollars a year for its army and navy, of which two hundred and fifty millions could easily be saved under our plan to be devoted to the improvement of rivers and harbors and highways, and to the encouragement of art, science and education. Think of what a paradise the country could be made with an expenditure of two hundred and fifty millions annually, or what burdens could be lifted from the shoulders of the people! We are told that the enormous sacrifice for militarism is necessary to preserve the peace. We answer there is a better and more economical way, and one more in harmony with the culture of the twentieth century, and that way is for nations to simply agree to keep the peace and arbitrate whatever differences may arise. In the last hundred years two hundred and sixty international controversies have been adjusted by arbitration, and in not a single instance did the losing party try to evade the verdict by force or otherwise. Hence our plan has been amply tested. It is supported by enlightened public opinion, which is stronger than either armies or navies, and it has the blessing of the noblest and best of mankind.

The world is slowly but surely rallying around the banners of peace. It gravitates in an ascending line to the higher plane of one common brotherhood, whence the shedding of human blood for the sake of trade or any other purpose is regarded as a relic of barbarism and where the three watchwords of a new world organization will be humanity, justice and peace. In this onward march the United States should lead. It will be the fulfillment of our country's sublime mission. It will lend a new significance to the flag and will cause all mankind to bless it as the emblem of their salvation as well as ours.

NINTH SESSION

UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES

Tuesday Evening, May 4, at 8 o'clock

MUSIC HALL, FINE ARTS BUILDING

PRESIDENT JOHN S. NOLLEN, of Lake Forest College, Presiding.

DR. NOLLEN:

We have the pleasure of having with us this evening for this session of the Peace Congress two men who, without foreknowledge on their part, or without foreknowledge on the part of the committee, happened to be Yale classmates, so that we have a reunion behind the scenery this evening. The first speaker of the evening, Mr. Hamilton Holt, managing editor of the *Independent*, whom we all know as an expert in the peace movement, will speak to us on "The Federation of the World."

The Federation of the World

HAMILTON HOLT

Mr. Holt began his lecture by showing that while the philosophers, the poets and the prophets from the beginning of history to the present time have held with Thomas Jefferson that "war is the greatest scourge of mankind," yet the masses of the people still seem to be enamored with the spirit of war, and consequently in any appeal to the emotions or sentiments those who sing "Peace, Perfect Peace," and those who sing "The Army and Navy Forever" have about equal influence.

Mr. Holt turned therefore from the so-called sentimental aspects of the peace question to consider the more practical and promising solution of the problem which he declared was nothing less than "the substitution of law for war, through the federation of the world and the development of international law." At present there is no such thing as a body of international law,

properly speaking. What passes under the name of international law is mostly a compilation of precedents, opinions, maxims and arguments. It is the work of scholars, not of legislators, and, except for public opinion and custom, the nations are perfectly free to accept it or reject it as they please. We cannot have a genuine and progressively developing law until there is an organized political body with full power to create it and to give it sanction and validity. After quoting Immanuel Kant, who declared that we could never have universal peace until the world is organized or federated, Mr. Holt showed that the United States of America furnishes the model for the organization of the world into the "United Nations." But the lecturer went further than this and declared that the "United Nations" was already in existence by the fact of the existence of the Hague Court, which was the germ of the Supreme Court of the World, and by the existence of the recurring Hague Conferences, which were the germ of the International Parliament. As we perfect these it will be possible to add an international executive that will complete the Americanization of the World, and the realization of Tennyson's dream of "The Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World."

The work of the First and Second Hague Conferences was then taken up in detail. "The Conference of 1899," Mr. Holt said, "had already more than justified itself before the Second Hague Conference was convened. Not only has it given a great impetus to the movement for international arbitration, but in its three great constructive enactments it has already had a profound effect on the world's peace. First, by the creation of The Hague Court, England, Italy and Germany were stopped from making war on Venezuela; second, by the provision for commissions of inquiry for the ascertaining of facts before hostilities should begin, England and Russia were prevented from going to war over the Dogger Bank incident; and third, by the declaration that a neutral nation can offer mediations to belligerents after hostilities have commenced, President Roosevelt was able to step in between Japan and Russia and stop one of the bloodiest wars of history." The Second Hague Conference equally deserved well of mankind. Leaving out of consideration the notable work of the Conference in mitigating the horrors of war and more

clearly defining its rules, Mr. Holt discussed in detail the four great propositions that came before the Conference that had to do with the actual abolition of war. First, the proposition to strengthen the judicial branch of the "United Nations" by adding to the present Hague Court a small permanent court modeled on the Supreme Court of the United States was passed unanimously, the detail of the method of the selection of the judges, concerning which there was a deadlock, being left to the nations to settle subsequently by diplomacy; second, the proposition that no nation can collect debts by force from another nation until after arbitration or an offer of arbitration was passed unanimously by all the debtor and creditor nations of the world, thus removing the main cause of war between three of the five continents of the world; third, the proposition to negotiate a universal arbitration treaty with some obligatory features was passed unanimously *in principle*, thirty-four of the nations being ready to sign such a universal treaty and the remaining nations preferring to negotiate them in pairs; and fourth, by the provision for a future conference the Conference unequivocally established the germ of the International Legislature.

Then followed a discussion of the various private agencies working for the peace of the world, especially the Interparliamentary Union which suggested the calling of both the First and Second Hague Conferences, and which now is composed of some two thousand five hundred legislators who have seats in the various national parliaments of the world. "As there are only about fifteen thousand members of all the national parliaments of the world," said Mr. Holt, "it is easy to see that if the Interparliamentary Union grows in the next few years as fast as it has in the past, it will only be a question of time when it will have a majority of the parliamentarians of the world in its membership, and then it can, if it wants to, insure 'peace on earth' by ballot."

After showing that America as a nation and Americans as individuals have done more for peace than any other people, Mr. Holt closed his lecture by showing through a stereopticon about sixty cartoons, portraits, old Dutch prints and scenes at The Hague.

CHAIRMAN NOLLEN :

You will have the pleasure now of hearing the second Yale man who honors us with his presence here this evening, President S. P. Brooks, of the Baylor University, Texas, who will address us on "Civilization ; a Cry for Peace."

Civilization ; a Cry for Peace

PRESIDENT S. P. BROOKS

The subject announced is "Civilization ; a Cry for Peace." Briefly, civilization is impossible among barbarians. The chief sign of barbarism is the distrust that we find among the men and women of any given nation of barbarians. As a matter of fact the natural and the normal attitude that men ought to have toward each other is not distrust, but confidence, for confidence is the chief sign of civilization. War arises out of distrust and fear, and confidence grows upon that upon which it feeds. War and savagery make constant contest with peace and civilization. It was ever so and ever will be, and the very suggestion of the word "civilization" brings to your mind at once and to mine the very antithesis of the savages of the forest or of the barbarians that feed upon each other.

In all the development of human history God has never done for a people what they could do for themselves. It is so of the individual ; it is so of the nation. God gives the birthright and man gives the development. God gives us the child and man gives him training. God gives the brain and man develops the thought. God gives us, as I have said, our nativity, but we would starve in the presence of plenty except that we use the hands and the feet and the body and brain that God has given to us. Civilization through the years has not come to us by the stroke of any pen or the speech of any man. It has come through pain and time, through years, aye, through the ages. It is but the discovery of the people, for in all the history of mankind men have done about the best they could. We do better today, I doubt not, than we used to do.

Some people pride themselves on their relation to the past, and are great only by as much as their ancestors are in the

ground. But the present ought to pride itself by as much as it may use the past and use it to the honor and glory of our country and to the good of humanity.

One may look at the development of humanity through the savagery of the hunting stage when men wandered over the face of the earth here and there, capturing others in war and feeding upon their prisoners; and later instead of eating their prisoners they sold them into slavery; and later instead of selling them into slavery they exchanged them as prisoners of war, *a la* civilization. Yet, as we have heard here tonight and as those of us who can read the future somewhat can see, in the future, and the not distant future at that, men will not need either to be eaten, to be sold into slavery or to be exchanged as prisoners of war, for it will be through the school of diplomacy and the wisdom of arbitration rather than at the point of the bayonet or the gun that the difficulties of the future will be settled. The pastoral stage, warlike and poetic and wine-drinking as it was, was higher than the hunting stage, for there we began the domestication of the animals. With the advent of the plow, with the coming of agriculture, we have the domestication of the animals brought to a higher stage, and with the coming of the plow has come civilization's best, the home, one husband, one wife, church, school, state, and it was through the ages that men have discovered that these are better than that which came before. Let it be understood that we are groping today in the dark and we cannot foresee exactly the future, but by as much as we are able to heed the past we know that we are wise.

We have discovered that peace is better than war. Some men yet in a city like this, some men yet in the East and the West and the South believe that it is the dream of dreamers and a man who would leave his home and come a thousand miles to talk or to hear talk is himself a fit subject for the insane asylum. But the time will come, though some of us may be lost to the world's gaze—the time will come in the near future when men will see to the contrary.

That the field of battle is not the only field of patriotism, men of affairs and men of schooling, men of the church and men of the state are coming to see; and some men can see that the gateway to fame and the gateway to social service is no longer

alone by way of West Point or Annapolis, but it comes through service to humanity in the arts and in the marts and in the manufactures and the labor and the home rather than upon the field of battle. Some men can see that and more will see it.

We are coming to see that to recognize the horrors of war is not itself an element of cowardice. There are those who as they read history have their eyes flash with indignation as they think of the awfulness of the past, and yet they think that it makes for cowardice that they shall speak of war and its horrors. One illustration, and I doubt not that it will help those of us who shall rivet it in our hearts. On a train the danger signal sounds; we look out; a man is hurled by the engine into the ditch below, mangled and torn, dead. He is put into the baggage car and all of the passengers talk about it until they reach the city, horrified that a man is dead. One man, one widow, a few orphans, a few sisters and brothers and members of the immediate family only to sorrow, and yet a whole trainload of passengers horrified. Yet our school books, our newspapers, our teachers, our preachers talk of the glory of war that teaches that wherein one hundred thousand men were killed in one battle was a great thing to be cheered, and it is said that in Russia and Japan there were something like two hundred and twenty-one thousand orphans due to the awful horrors of that war.

As for my part, I stand for peace and for sense and for arbitration and diplomacy; nowhere cowardice, but with a recognition that is right, a recognition of the horrors of war. And why not? For if we prosper by our discoveries, doing the best we know, why may we not instead of killing half the people and worrying ourselves to help the other half, save them all?

I doubt not that it will be fair to say that it is not cowardice to give recognition to or to call attention to the waste of war. What if all the millions of men now engaged in the war of this and other nations could practically all be put into the trades and into industry? I do not think it would bring the millennium, nor give an end at once to all our troubles, but any man that can think can see, it seems to me, that it would mean shorter hours for labor, and why not? If a home and family are good for you and me are they not good for the millions of conscripts that must go through the militia of the European governments because

their heads have not had the brains to profit by the past as they will in the future? (Applause.)

I doubt not I shall speak the truth when I tell you that wars and the waste of war, more than the horrors of death—I count worse than either the heritage of hate and the jealousies between the nations. France and Germany have cordially hated each other. No German ever quotes a Frenchman if he can help it, and *vice versa*; and the books that I read as a child in the public schools, and likewise the older of you, taught us that every man of England was a bloody Britisher and that somehow he was the child of Satan. The books that were written for the children of this country a generation ago, when I was a child, taught wrong on the one side quickly to be matched by wrong on the other side, and we have now reached a time, bless God, when the truth, let it be either for the enemy or the friend—what matters it to the historian when he studies for truth?

I speak the simple fact and lie not when I say that the heritage of hate has done more to hamper and hinder the social development and the heart throbs of fraternal sympathy in this great country of ours in the last forty years than any other one thing, and by as much as northern men shall travel to the South and Southern men and women shall now and then come to the North, by that much we will see more of each other and know more of each other and love each other better. Therefore instead of our implanting in the childhood of our present hatred for our foes or hatred for any given section we will preach the gospel of peace for the future without reference to the past, and I venture to suggest that it will be well, for we shall profit by it in all the years to come.

It may be suggested too that fear lies at the basis of all war—lies in that it is fundamental to war; lies in that it misleads and is positively false. That there is a fallacy in this statement is true—a great people will make for a great navy, and a great navy will make a great people. It reminds me of the story of the farmer who found at the well at the back side of his farm a barrel full of water. He saw it there for weeks, and finally he asked the negro man, “Sam, what is the barrel here for?” “Why, boss, can’t you see that the barrel is here to hold the water?” “But, Sam, what is the water in the barrel for?” “Why, boss, can’t

you see that barrel would go to pieces if it didn't have water in it?" In like manner they tell us that we must have a great people and pay a great price to support a great navy in turn to do the other things, and when we shall profit by sense rather than by force we shall do better.

Treaties signed over the banquet table are quite as binding as those signed at the point of a bayonet. It was ever so. I doubt if one-tenth of one per cent of the people of the United States can ever tell why New York and San Francisco should be fortified to meet an incoming probable enemy and Chicago not have a firecracker to shoot at the incoming hordes that might cross your beautiful lake. There is room on this lake for all the navies of the world, as big as they are, but in 1817 a treaty was signed between England and the United States to the effect that there should be no warships on the Great Lakes; perhaps two little revenue cutters to do police duty and to fire a few rounds of salutes when the high and mighty should come. Just that and nothing more, and Chicago is as secure as New York, the one treaty signed under the duress of sense, the other signed under the duress of imaginary force and fear and the hysteria that characterized some of our people during the late skirmish with the Spaniards.

I undertake to say that public opinion lies at the base of the power of every sheriff more than the powder that is back of the bullet he may use; and public opinion lies at the base of the fulfillment of every national law and of every international law that may be made, for as soon as all the people shall stand for it, that soon will we have the forces that make for peace without the hardships that come through war. I take it too that if by any chance we should have a war the citizen soldiers could be gotten together to meet any incoming array, for forsooth I am not rash enough to indicate that we are to totally disarm until in like manner other nations keep pace with us, but I would argue far and bespeak the good wishes of this country to take the lead and set the example, for by the confidence we manifest in ourselves and in others we will set an example that wins them to the peace propaganda.

I take it that as courts have supplanted duels in the individual settlement of troubles, so courts between nations will settle

their difficulties, and that one is the basis of evolution as well as the other. Many people, as I have said, are hysterical in their notions, and want to take unnecessary precautions; and it reminds me of the old woman through whose farm a railroad passed and she had never seen the trains before. The station was set up near her home, a little rural type, and she and her daughter on one occasion desired to cross the tracks; and a little crippled woman went to the station agent and looking through the window said: "Mr. Agent, is there any passenger train coming south at this time?" "No, my good woman." She went and reported to her daughter and hobbled back to the agent and said: "Mr. Agent, is there any train going to the north at this time?" "No, my good woman; no train is going north." And she hobbled back and reported to her daughter, only to come back again and say: "Mr. Agent, isn't there any freight train coming along about now in either direction?" "No." She went back and reported to her daughter and then once more she came back to the agent and said: "Isn't there any hand-car coming along here about now?" And he said: "No, my good woman; there isn't any hand-car coming along about now." And then she said: "Sarah, I guess we can cross now," and she gathered up her skirts and hobbled across. The simple little woman was not greater in her simplicity than many bright, keen fellows that take hysteria and go madly after every thought of incoming hordes and imagine that wrong will come.

I do not speak with disrespect, but I wish that men like Captain Hobson, who did so much for the glory of our country, would cease going up and down this land preaching the gospel of hate, preaching the gospel of fear and preaching the gospel of the inroads of the Japanese. We have too much sense to provoke a fight with the Japanese, and the Japanese have too much sense to provoke a fight with us. We are brethren, and one of the things we need to learn and one of the things we are learning day by day is the brotherhood of man.

In civilization there are two great forces running parallel, one of government and the other of religion. A lofty government means a high and lofty and pure religion. One weak, so the other; and as they go parallel, so they supplement and help each other. Civilization profits by two other forces, one the

evangelization of the wide world and the other the peace of the world; and wherever the gospel of evangelism has gone there is a fertile soil for the gospel of peace; and wherever the gospel of peace has been preached by our ministers of state, men of affairs, the gospel of evangelism is possible. And I put by the side of the great work that John R. Mott is doing with his voluntary movement of all the students of all the countries of the world, parallel with it the peace movement of all the world, and peace societies and leagues formed in the colleges and universities of all the world. These two great forces are making for righteousness not only in the individual but righteousness in the social home. You meet a man individually and ask him what is his opinion of war and he will tell you he is for peace; but when you put him in a crowd he gets the mob spirit sometimes and forgets his individual responsibility to his country or his God, and he at once champions the cause of war and things that pertain to force. Marvel not that we must learn the lessons that pertain to things of the spirit. Marvel not that we are to learn the lessons that have to do with the peace and evangelization of the world. Marvel not that there are some men that cannot understand it, for they have not to the manner been born to speak the new language of the kingdom into which so many men have now gone, the kingdom that comprehends the nobility of every man and the merit of every nation and that mind and character must supplant force and war by as much as this generation does the best it knows as did our fathers do the best they knew. (Applause.)

The meeting then adjourned.

TENTH SESSION
BUSINESS SESSION AND CONFERENCE OF
PEACE WORKERS

Wednesday Morning, May 5, at 9:30 o'clock

ORCHESTRA HALL

Hon. JOSEPH B. MOORE, Justice of Supreme Court of Michigan,
Presiding.

SECRETARY MELENDY:

I have the following telegram from the Universal Peace Union of Philadelphia:

"Hearty greetings. Remove causes and establish a substitute for war."

I have a communication from Mr. H. W. Thomas, formerly of Chicago, who was the president of the Chicago Peace Society: "To the National Congress of Peace assembled:

"My Dear Co-workers: It is a great joy to know that my home city is today welcoming to the hearts and homes of her people the honored representatives of the great cause of peace. How dearly would I love to accept your invitation, but another hand rules otherwise, and I can only send a word of hopeful greeting. Our age is in the morning of a great new day. Racial and religious prejudices are giving way to the song of angels: 'Peace on earth, good will to man.'

"A divine enthusiasm is inspiring the greatest minds and hearts to unite all nations in universal peace. It is an inspiration from the infinite and cannot fail. Its full meaning is larger than can be now understood. Victory is near.

"That your words and work and counsel may have much to do in hastening this glad day is my belief and prayer.

"Affectionately,

"H. W. THOMAS."

On motion of Secretary Melendy, it was resolved that the Congress send a message of greeting to Mr. Thomas, and also to the Universal Peace Union at Philadelphia.

Judge Edward Osgood Brown, Judge of the Appellate Court for the First District of Illinois, then submitted the report of the Committee on Resolutions, as follows:

JUDGE E. O. BROWN:

MR. CHAIRMAN: Before reading the report of the committee I desire to say that the committee gave consideration to every resolution which was proposed or presented. There were many which had the sympathy of the members of the committee individually, and some collectively, but we were obliged, of course, to limit the report to those matters upon which every member of the Peace Congress could properly agree and the matters which were expressly comprehended in its call.

I believe that it will be seen that the committee has included all the essential features of the resolutions offered which come under that description.

PLATFORM OF THE CONGRESS

WHEREAS, Civilization has now reached a point where conscience, reason and the sense of brotherhood are increasingly controlling men in their relations to each other; when private war and the duel have wholly or largely disappeared, and the different nations have created for themselves systems of law and courts by which differences between their citizens are peacefully adjusted; and,

WHEREAS, The two Hague Conferences have created a permanent International Court of Arbitration to which all the nations are now parties; have approved unanimously the principle of obligatory arbitration for the settlement of international controversies; have sanctioned, without a dissenting voice, the creation of a permanent International Court of Justice, with judges always in service, and holding regular sessions, and have urged the governments to find a satisfactory formula for the selection of the judges; and have laid the foundations of a regular Congress of Nations by unanimously voting for periodic meetings of the Hague Conference hereafter, which great measures

are the most decisive steps yet taken toward that organization and systematic co-operation of the nations which shall eventually substitute law for war; therefore, be it,

Resolved, by this Second United States National Peace Congress, That public war is now out of date, a relic of barbarism unworthy of our time, and that the nations of the world by joint agreement, by a league of peace among themselves, ought to make its recurrence hereafter impossible.

Resolved, That no dispute between nations, except such as may involve the national life and independence, should be reserved from arbitration, and that a general treaty of obligatory arbitration should be included at the earliest possible date. Pending such a general treaty, we urge upon our government and the other leading powers such broadening of the scope of their arbitration treaties as shall provide, after the example of the Danish-Netherlands Treaty, for the reference to the Hague Court of all differences whatever not settled otherwise by peaceful means.

Resolved, That the prevailing rivalry in armaments, both on land and sea, which imposes such exhausting burdens of taxation on the people, and is the fruitful source of suspicion, bitter feeling and war alarms, is wholly unworthy of enlightened modern nations; is a lamentable failure as a basis of enduring peace; and ought to be arrested by agreement of the powers without delay.

Resolved, That this Peace Congress expresses its high appreciation of the action of our government in the recent conclusion of twenty-four arbitration treaties, and in the promotion of friendly relations between the various American republics. It recognizes with special satisfaction what was done by our government and representatives at the Second Hague Conference in behalf of a general treaty of obligatory arbitration, a Court of Arbitral Justice, the immunity of private property at sea from capture in time of war, and the establishment of a periodic Congress of the Nations, and in support of the proposition of the British government for limitation of armaments. It respectfully and urgently requests the President and the Congress of the United States to take the initiative, so far as practicable, in an endeavor to complete the work of the Second Hague Conference in these various directions; and especially to secure an agreement

among the military and naval powers for a speedy arrest of the ruinous competition in armaments now prevailing. As an immediate step to this end, we urge our government, in obedience to the charge of the Second Hague Conference, as well as the First, that all nations should earnestly address themselves to this problem, to create a special commission of the highest character for its consideration, whose report shall serve as a basis for the action of our delegates at the Third Hague Conference.

Resolved, That this Congress earnestly endorses the movement so auspiciously begun by the governments of Denmark and Great Britain to provide at public cost for constructive measures to promote international good understanding, hospitality and friendship, and appeals to our own government for broad and generous action upon these lines.

Resolved, That this Congress, representing all sections of our great country, appeals to our churches, schools and press, our workingmen's and commercial organizations, and to all men of good will, for increased devotion to this commanding cause and such large support of its active agencies as shall strongly advance the great measures which are to come before the next Hague Conference, and shall maintain our nation in high and influential leadership in behalf of international justice and order.

The adoption of the report of the Committee on Resolutions was moved by Judge Brown.

Mr. Galvani, a delegate appointed by the Governor of Oregon, spoke as follows:

I desire on behalf of the great state of Oregon to second the adoption of these resolutions.

I have traveled three thousand miles in order to be present here, and if it were necessary for me to travel three times three thousand, I assure you I should be willing to do so.

I do believe that there is no greater problem before the world today than the problem of international peace. I realize that if it is to come at all it is to come from the action of men and women such as are assembled here, rather than from statesman and preachers and teachers. I have no unkind feelings toward them, but they have had every chance in the world up to this time to bring something about. A minister of the gospel, when he is attired in his brass buttons and epaulets as a chaplain, is

just as much a soldier as a cadet at West Point. I rejoice that the time has come when the people themselves are taking a hand in this thing, and it is only because they do so that this will come to an end and not before. I rejoice, therefore, that this speech making has come to an end and that the resolutions are now being presented, and I hope they may be adopted. I hope that when you start for your homes you will begin an agitation that will arouse this world from one end to the other, and make the crowned heads and the governments of the world realize that we are not going to have war any longer.

I rejoice that I have in my humble way contributed by my presence to these meetings. I want to say furthermore that the very countries which are accused of being most warlike are the very countries which have struggled most for peace, while the countries which have been supposed to be the champions of peace are the very ones which are responsible for human blood. When Russia called the Hague Conference, it was only for the purpose of making her people believe that she was a peaceably disposed nation. Germany, when the Boxer War broke out—in haranguing his troops the German Emperor said: “Don’t make prisoners.” What did that mean? It meant to kill them all. Great Britain, which was supposed to be the bully of the nations, has done more to bring about universal peace than any other agency of the world. With these remarks, I second the motion and hope that these resolutions will carry unanimously.

Mr. A. M. Simons, of the *Chicago Daily Socialist*, presented the following resolution:

WHEREAS, The controversies which give rise to war and preparations for war among the nations center around the problem of the international market, each nation seeking to establish and maintain its foreign market as the only means for the disposal of its surplus production, and,

WHEREAS, This necessity for foreign markets grows out of the curtailing of the purchasing power of the masses of the people, which in turn is due to the exploitation of labor and the impoverishment of those who toil, therefore,

Resolved, That the Peace Congress point out that causes of war lie deep in the industrial and economic life of the nations.

That the burdens of war rest most heavily upon the working class and that that class particularly is vitally concerned in the efforts to establish international harmony and should always and everywhere be especially urged to take up the cause of international peace.

Resolved, That this Congress recognizes the great service rendered by the trade unionists of this and other countries in their steady opposition to militarism and war and that we commend and encourage these organizations of labor to press their efforts in these directions with all speed and power, and further,

WHEREAS, The industrial and political organizations of labor have been an active factor in preventing war on various occasions notably between Germany and France at the time of the Morocco controversy and later between Norway and Sweden at the time of the separation of the two countries,

Resolved, That this Congress recognize in the international political organization of the working class, the International Socialist movement with its four hundred and seventy representatives in the national parliaments of the world, its thousands of officials in lesser legislative bodies, its nine millions of voters, and its multiplied millions of affiliated labor organizations—all openly and avowedly committed to uncompromising opposition to militarism and capitalistic wars, the greatest peace force in the world.

MR. SIMONS:

I ask you, Mr. Chairman, that this Peace Conference decide at this time to at least recognize the fact that today those who have shed the blood that has been shed in all wars, who bore all the burdens of all wars, who have fought all the battles, and who have won and lost all battles and have gained no victories for themselves, the great working class of the world; I ask that you recognize that now, in the dawn of the twentieth century, that working class in organized form is reaching across over the barrier of race and creed and nationality in a common brotherhood of peace, and has declared eternal and everlasting war upon all war and the causes of war.

You have said here that we needed to recognize the causes of war. This resolution, I believe, Mr. Chairman, is the only resolution presented here that dares to lay its hand upon the

cause that has produced the oceans of blood that have been shed in the history of man. In the struggle that has been made to secure new markets to sell the things that the workers of the world have produced and that have been taken from them we are to find the origin of every war of modern times. We cannot look for peace, Mr. Chairman, from those who profit by war. No matter how sincere they may be in their own minds; no matter how eager their protestations, their interests must force them to carry on this exploitation of labor, to carry on this demand for new markets and greater profit.

And so, in the name of thirty million socialists who, when met in their organized bodies, in their international congresses and in their national congresses for more than fifty years have stood always and all the time for peace and against war, I ask the adoption of this resolution. I ask it in the name of the only organized body of men that standing in the parliaments of the world, every parliament of any importance in Europe today, stand recorded on every measure that comes up as voting every time against anything that makes for war. I ask you then that you recognize this force for peace today. The time has come, it seems to me, for you to recognize that there is only one force that can really bring peace; that force is the workers. Its organized expression is reaching out the hand of peace. Will you recognize that by the adoption of this resolution?

MISS MARY J. PIERSON:

As a member of an unorganized body—

DR. JENKIN LLOYD JONES:

Mr. Chairman, I rise to a point of order. I simply want to know what the ruling of the Chair is, whether we are to dispose of these resolutions as they come up, or whether we are to have the whole of them and then begin over again. My suggestion is that these resolutions be disposed of as they come up, as a matter of expediency.

MR. SAMUEL L. HARTMAN (Lancaster, Pa.):

I suppose the resolution presented by Mr. Simons is the preamble of the resolution presented to the committee but not reported out by them.

JUDGE BROWN:

The motion I made was to adopt the report of the Committee

on Resolutions. The Committee on Resolutions has reported to this house preambles and resolutions as the platform of this Congress or the consensus of the opinion of this Congress. There were a great many resolutions. There was one presented by Mr. Simons. They were all considered and such portions of them as we thought we could, within the proper limitations of time, subject and space, incorporate in the report were so incorporated. I cannot pretend to remember exactly the details of each resolution, and I do not remember exactly what Mr. Hartman's resolution was, but I want to call your attention again to the point of order made by Mr. Jones.

It seems to me we should dispose of this committee report, and that everything else is out of order until that is done.

MR. HARTMAN:

Mr. Chairman, not having heard the report of the Committee on Resolutions read and not knowing what reference is made to the resolutions presented by me, I desire to have the report re-read.

CHAIRMAN MOORE:

I will state to the gentleman that the committee and the meeting are not responsible for his not knowing the report of the committee. The report was read and we have not time to go back with it.

MR. HARTMAN:

I never abused the time of the conference; I don't think I remember of over five minutes in my life.

CHAIRMAN MOORE:

I will say with reference to the resolutions that on account of the length of the program for the forenoon the committee has decided that seconding speeches must be limited to three minutes. Everybody will recognize the propriety of that. Does Mr. Hartman desire to speak to the resolution which he has not heard read?

MR. HARTMAN:

I simply want to indicate the point in a word or two, which I think I can do in a minute, and you can call me to order if I transgress your time.

DR. BENJAMIN F. TRUEBLOOD:

May I ask Mr. Hartman if he will not kindly reserve his

remarks until we dispose of these resolutions and then present his thought to the audience. I may say to him that the committee did not think it wise to embody it in the resolutions.

MR. HARTMAN:

You are voting on resolutions this body does not know anything about. I want them to know something of the purpose of the ideas presented in my resolution yesterday.

DR. TRUEBLOOD:

You were not here when the resolutions were read and these people were.

(At this point, in response to repeated calls for the question, a *viva voce* vote was taken on the adoption of the report of the Committee on Resolutions, and it carried unanimously.)

The question then recurring to the adoption of Mr. Simons' resolution, it was seconded by one of the delegates and the Chairman called for remarks upon the motion.

SECRETARY ROYAL L. MELENDY: Mr. Chairman, I did not intend to speak upon this or any other resolution, and I have no resolution to present, but I would like to suggest that some one prepare a substitute resolution embodying this thought, of the recognition of the industrial causes of war as one of the avoidable causes of war. I should hesitate to say, as the resolution does, that it is the only cause of war, but I think it should be recognized as one of the avoidable causes of war. I should also like to see in this substitute resolution a statement recognizing the magnificent work of the workers who are internationally organized, in bringing about peace. (Applause.)

Personally I should have to vote against the resolution as presented, but I should be very sorry to do so. I am sorry I have not a substitute resolution to present, and hope that time may be given to prepare a substitute resolution which will recognize among other causes of war that of industrial causes; and also recognize that which I believe is one of the most important in the factors for bringing about peace, namely that of the organizations of the workers of the world.

MR. A. M. SIMONS:

If there is any way by which this recognition that Mr. Melendy speaks of can be secured, I am certain the socialists and

trades unions will be very glad to make an amendment that would recognize that fact.

CHAIRMAN MOORE:

Mr. Simons, if the thought expressed by Mr. Melendy can be put in formal shape would that not answer the purpose?

MR. SIMONS:

I should think so.

JUDGE E. O. BROWN:

Although the report of the Committee on Resolutions has been adopted and my function as chairman of that committee may perhaps be over, I desire to suggest to this body that there are a great many differing opinions and different organizations represented in this Congress. It is the glory of the peace movement that it is so comprehensive; all classes of people and all shades of thought are represented. Now, if in addition to the report of the committee on resolutions which is to stand as the utterance of this Congress, each of those particular schools of thought is to secure from this meeting the passage of such resolutions as were presented to our committee and considered, it can easily be seen that the report of the committee on resolutions and what may be called the platform of this Congress will lose in importance and significance as it goes out to the world; for that reason and for that reason only I shall most earnestly oppose and deprecate the passage of a resolution of this kind. These resolutions of the committee on resolutions it seems to me should go out as the concentrated thought of the Congress, and I deprecate the passage of any other resolution of this character, although I should be glad to see a recognition such as suggested by Mr. Melendy of the work of the trade unions and socialists.

A DELEGATE:

Mr. Chairman, I think we ought to be quite fair to such a large body of men as represented by Mr. Simons. At the same time we should be very careful how we inject into our resolutions ideas which are the subject of contention. Mr. Simons' resolution can be divided in two parts; one part, which I feel we would like to endorse, is a recognition of what the laboring men, the labor unions—that is the phrase he uses—have done in the cause of peace. The other part reflects upon the industrial system. It comes from Mr. Simons no doubt as a criticism of the system.

We cannot open here the question of socialism. Part of that resolution opens the wage question, and if that part is eliminated I think the resolution will go through without contention.

SECRETARY MELENDY :

Mr. Chairman, I don't quite think I was understood or that the resolution offered by Mr. Simons was understood. I have not until this morning read through the resolutions presented by the committee, nor have I read the resolutions presented by Mr. Simons. The point he made was that among other causes of war are industrial causes. That does not mean the wage system. There is a race prejudice—there are a great many causes of war. I think it is quite proper to recognize that there are industrial causes of war, and that they are important, and I think it is very proper that we should recognize the force of the workers internationally organized as against this. Possibly it might not be well to put it in as a resolution, but simply to move a vote of thanks to these people and a recognition of them.

MR. J. E. IGLEHART :

Mr. President, we ought not to adopt that resolution here this morning. My judgment is that this convention will lose more or less of its moral force, especially with the countries of Europe, to interject a partisan view of any question like this into the record. (Applause.) The Committee on Resolutions has done its work and done it well. It has had before it all these questions, and I think we ought to do as other bodies do, that these questions should be threshed out in detail before the committee. I say we cannot thresh it out here this morning and I move to lay the resolution on the table.

The Chairman, Judge J. B. Moore, put the motion and declared it lost. Upon appeal from his decision another *viva voce* vote was taken and declared lost. Upon second appeal a standing vote was taken, and the motion to table the resolution was announced as carried.

The adoption of the following resolution was moved by Mr. Joseph B. Burt:

WHEREAS, The principles of fraternity are as broad as humanity and the movement for better fraternal education is doing much to promote the peace of our nation; and,

WHEREAS, Peace at home among ourselves is a guarantee of peace with other nations ; now, therefore, be it,

Resolved, By the members of the Second National Peace Congress, in convention assembled at Chicago, Illinois, United States of America, That the movement for better fraternal education can be best promoted along the lines of publicity, partnership and personality.

JAMES EWING DAVIS,
WILLIAM GRANT EDENS,
W. E. HYDE,
NELSON N. LAMPERT,
CHARLES E. PIPER,
FRANK C. ROUNDY,
ROBERT VAN SANDS,
RICHARD W. WOLFE,
JOSEPH B. BURTT, Chairman.
Committee on Fraternal Orders.

The motion was duly seconded.

MR. BROWN :

For the reasons——

REV. JENKIN LLOYD JONES :

I would remind the Judge that the motion is not yet seconded.

MR. BROWN :

It is seconded. For the reasons which I gave in relation to the other resolutions and which apply equally to this, and to every other of the resolutions which were presented to the committee and considered, I move to lay that resolution on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was duly seconded, put and carried.

MR. MELENDY :

I want to present one resolution, rather informally, without having it written, although it expresses my deep conviction.

Be it Resolved, That this Congress desires to recognize the efficient service in the cause of international peace that has been rendered by the international organization of the workers of the world.

The motion on the adoption of the resolution was duly seconded, put, and unanimously carried.

Mr. J. J. Sultaire, delegate from the Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, presented the following resolution and moved its adoption:

WHEREAS, The War Department of the United States has been extensively advertising on billboards and through other agencies showing alluring pictures of the advantages to young men of joining the army and navy; and,

WHEREAS, We find that many young men who are the sole support of families are induced by these advertisements to enlist in the army and navy, thus working great hardship to those dependent upon them—the sole purpose of their enlistment being that of engaging in the art of scientific warfare, an art more commonly called wholesale murder when peace workers do the calling;

Resolved, That this Peace Congress, while not opposing legitimate advertising for the army and navy, so long as such military organizations remain necessary under the existing system, does most thoroughly deprecate these and similar methods of luring the youth of our nation away from their homes and dependent ones for the giving of military service.

J. J. SULTAIRE,

Delegate Federated Trades Council, Milwaukee, Wis.

F. E. NEUMANN,

Delegate Federated Trades Council, Milwaukee, Wis.

Seconded by Arthur Kahn, of Philadelphia.

Mr. Trueblood raised the point of order whether a resolution which had been referred to the committee, and which had been disposed of by the committee, should properly again be brought up, and presented in full session of the Congress.

THE CHAIRMAN:

The Chairman rules against the point of order for the reason that it has been stated from this platform time and again during the sessions that notwithstanding these resolutions must be presented to the Committee on Resolutions, that they may be presented in open session if the resolution was presented to the committee.

Mr. Sultarie's motion was duly seconded by Arthur Kahn, of Philadelphia.

A delegate moved that said motion be laid upon the table. The motion was duly seconded and prevailed, and the resolution was laid upon the table.

MR. MELENDY:

Although I have made this announcement frequently that opportunity would be given, I have also announced a very full program for this morning, and I therefore move you that the executive session of this Congress be closed within five minutes, and that the program be then taken up.

Mr. Melendy's motion was duly seconded and prevailed.

The following resolution was then presented by Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, as follows:

The Congress desires to record its high appreciation of the work done and doing by the American Peace Society without whose initiative continuous co-operation and generous support this Congress could not have been. The Chicago members of this Congress desire to testify to the especial service rendered to this Congress by the tireless work of the Field Secretary of the American Peace Society, the Rev. Charles E. Beals, and we hereby pledge our support to this society and its future work.

Upon motion duly made and seconded, the resolution offered by Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones was carried.

Miss Anna B. Eckstein, Boston, prefacing the offer by a few remarks, offered the following resolution relative to the program of the Third Hague Conference:

Resolved, by the Second National Peace Congress, held in Chicago May 3 to 5, 1909, composed of delegates from states, That the signatory powers of the Hague conventions be respectfully requested to place on the program of the Third Hague Conference the subjects of the world petition to the Third Hague Conference, which are as follows:

1. The establishment of a universal law, by which a decision by pacific means, of any international difficulty shall, in no case, endanger the self-preservation and development, i. e., the vital interests and honor of any nation.

2. Removal of the causes of war by regulating, in speedy succession, all international interests by conventions and treaties, each with clause insuring pacific settlement of any difficulty that may arise from said arrangements.

3. Settlement by pacific means of all difficulties arising from any international interest not yet covered by convention or treaty with pacific clause.

Resolved, That the President of this Congress appoint a committee, whose duty shall be to forward this resolution to the signatory powers of the Hague conventions, either direct, or through mediation of the Permanent Hague Tribunal.

Respectfully submitted by,

ANNA B. ECKSTEIN,

30 Newbury Street, Back Bay, Boston.

The committee suggested to be as follows: Hon. Richard Bartholdt, M. C., chairman; Hon. Robert Treat Paine, Edwin Ginn, Esq.; Anna B. Eckstein.

Miss Eckstein moved the adoption of the foregoing resolution.

A delegate raised the point of order that the executive session of the Congress had then closed by limitation of time, and the Chairman sustained the point.

Thereupon Dr. Trueblood moved that the time of the executive session be extended for ten minutes, which motion prevailed.
REV. JENKIN LLOYD JONES:

We are having the experience of every convention of this kind at its close, from the desire of people to project their theories and stump speeches in the form of resolutions. This is a large problem which this Congress has sat upon for three days. This resolution has been before the Committee on Resolutions and they have had to exclude it by simply the same law of fairness which has placed a limitation on other resolutions offered. I accordingly move that the resolution be laid upon the table.

JUDGE E. O. BROWN:

I second that motion. The essence of that resolution is embodied in our platform. The petition may be forwarded, according to Miss Eckstein's wording, if she can make us understand it.

CHAIRMAN MOORE:

The motion is not debatable.

The question was then put on the motion to lay the resolution

on the table; and the result being in doubt the question was put again and declared carried.

Thereupon Mr. Edwin D. Mead presented a resolution which he declared was submitted by an organization of "a million and a half of our German fellow citizens."

WHEREAS, It is inconsistent that a neutral shall not furnish ammunition to nations at war, but that he shall be allowed to furnish the money with which to buy ammunition; and,

WHEREAS, A modern war could hardly be waged without the financial assistance furnished by the citizens of neutral nations; be it,

Resolved, That the Second National Peace Congress urges upon our National Congress the enactment of a law forbidding the solicitation and subscription to war loans of foreign nations in the United States.

MR. MEAD:

I shall not discuss it at all except to say that from Mr. Richard Cobden's time down to the present that has been the firm and earnest conviction of all the peace workers of the world, and I hope that this Congress will go unanimously upon record in support of this motion submitted by our German fellow citizens.

JUDGE E. O. BROWN:

We do not wish to dissipate the significance of our platform; and that is my only reason for moving to table the resolutions which have been read. I do not believe we should have such resolutions, and I therefore move to lay it on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was duly seconded, put and carried, and the Chairman announced that the Congress would now proceed with the regular order of the morning's program.

THE CHAIRMAN:

If there is to be any considerable reduction in the armies and navies of the world, it will be because of the establishment of an International Court of Arbitration. The reasonable certainty of a complete organization of that character in the early future is due, so far as one agency is concerned, as much to the organization established by that great philanthropist, Hon. Albert K. Smiley, the Mohonk Arbitration Conference; we had hoped

this morning to hear with reference to that organization from its present secretary, Mr. Phillips, but he is unable to be present. The next address upon the program is entitled, "State Peace Congresses—Pennsylvania's Experience." In the absence of its author, Mr. Henry C. Niles, of York, Pa., the paper will be read by Mr. A. B. Farquhar.

MR. FARQUHAR:

Pennsylvania is the great mother of peace arbitration, as you know, and gave the first example of its entire practicability.

State Peace Congresses — Pennsylvania's Experience

HENRY C. NILES

In the woods of Pennsylvania was the first sincere attempt of the capable and strong to deal fairly and justly, under no compulsion, with the ignorant and weak. Many there now are true to their peaceful heritage. A year ago seven hundred and ten delegates from three hundred and seventy-five organizations assembled in Philadelphia. They sat almost within the round of the shadow of the sweeping elm where had been solemnized the great treaty that, scrupulously kept for forty years, made the colony unique in prosperity and freedom from alarm. True to traditions of ancestry and place, there were gathered of the commonwealth's best and most influential; to further the movement to make the early policy of Penn the permanent principle of international relations. The Governor presided at the initial session. Prominent educators, jurists, business and professional men and ladies delivered addresses and participated in the discussions. Clergymen, Catholic, Protestant and Jewish, with their followers, united in the effort to promote the cause of all true worshippers of God and lovers of His children. A distinct strengthening of, and emphasis upon the sentiment of the state favorable to a definite system of arbitration and a permanent international court, was a result. The sentiment of the three days' conference was crystallized in certain resolutions.

The admirable course of our government at the Second Hague Conference was commended and we pledged our active and cordial support toward fulfilling the recommendations of

that conference. We particularly endorsed the recommendation in regard to the limitation of armaments, the International Prize Court and the Court of Arbitral Justice. We urged our government to take action to establish this great world court, believing that in this way it is now possible to render a most signal and memorable service to mankind. Similar conferences in every state of the Union were urged, to serve as organizers and representatives of public opinion. The nucleus of a permanent organization was provided for by the appointment of an executive committee of which Senator, now Secretary of State, Philander C. Knox is the head. This executive committee has had a year of active organization work. A sub-committee on educational work, acting in co-operation with the School Peace League, has commenced very successfully the effort to interest the people, particularly the young, through literature and lectures, at schools, clubs, granges, labor unions, Y. M. C. A.'s, ministerial and other religious associations, teachers' institutes and university extension. Arrangements have been made for quite general observance of May 18, 1909, as Peace Day, and a suggested program has been distributed among the schools.

On March 15 a hearing arranged by the committee on correspondence was given at Washington by the Secretary of State, and the proposition was urged with able arguments that our government should take steps to induce at least two other powers to act with the United States in appointing judges and setting up the permanent Court of Arbitral Justice.

Pennsylvanians hope for the honor that the permanent world tribunal, with impartial judges declaring and administering a system of fixed international law, judicially and not as diplomats, will be the crowning glory of the Taft administration and of his Prime Minister, who is the permanent chairman of the Pennsylvania Peace and Arbitration Conference.

While much has been planned and considerable accomplished, it is probable that more might be done with a State Society.

The permanent committee which has charge of the work in Pennsylvania would as the result of their experience recommend the organization of groups of interested people in various parts of the state, promptly, before the enthusiasm of the Conference has passed.

Following the reading of Mr. Niles' paper, Chairman Moore, in introducing Mr. William H. Short, executive secretary of the New York Peace Society, said:

CHAIRMAN MOORE:

It is very proper that there should be a permanent peace office in the greatest city on this continent. We will hear of the work of that office from Mr. William H. Short, its executive secretary.

A Permanent Peace Office in New York

MR. WILLIAM H. SHORT

MR. WILLIAM H. SHORT:

When the Peace Movement had evolved a program definite, clear and capable of appealing to the average man as practicable, and the nations at The Hague had begun to consider parts of this program with favor then the day had come for the opening of permanent peace offices in the centers of the world. By a permanent office I mean one that shall render active service until a world court and the compulsory use of it by the nations for the settlement of all differences shall have been secured. It may even then be necessary to keep the office open for a generation or two longer, until custom shall have removed all danger of a relapse into the old barbarities.

"The first publication in America professedly and exclusively for the cause of peace," says Dr. Trueblood, "was written in 1809 by David Low Dodge, of New York. In August, 1815, the first peace society in the world was formed in New York under the inspiration of the same man. The organization of other societies quickly followed, and by 1826 there were fifty of them scattered through the different states."

Universal peace was then only an ideal. The moral note alone could be struck by its advocates. The movement toward arbitration, world court and world organization, which together constitute the modern peace movement, had not begun. These societies gained the support of a group of splendid men, but they suffered the fate of all societies which merely voice a protest and do not have a definite program which appears attainable. Most of them languished in feebleness and neglect.

By 1828 it had become clear that a central organization was needed, and the societies co-operated in forming the American Peace Society, most of them being merged in the new organization. This society for seven years had its headquarters in New York, but in 1835 removed to Hartford, Conn., where it tarried for a night, and then moved farther on to Boston. Here it found a congenial soil, and has remained until this day. For two or three generations the peace propaganda in this country was carried on chiefly by the men in Boston and elsewhere who gathered around this society.

The peace advocates of the world step by step worked out a program that began to appear attainable, and the battle was half won. Then the Hague Conference were called and the plans of the peace party began to take shape before the world.

The task had now become a very different one from that which confronted the men of 1815. It appeared to be no longer that of changing the nature of men and ushering in the millennium as a first step toward peace. It had come to be understood as a question of extending into the international sphere the reign of law and the decrees of courts with which men had happily become familiar elsewhere, and so of sloughing off an outgrown system of settling questions of right between nations by brute force. The proposals of a peace society were now beginning to appeal as strongly to practical men as to the idealist, and the time was ripe for the multiplication of permanent peace societies.

The immediate inspiration for the establishment of the New York society seems to have been found in the meetings of the Mohonk Peace and Arbitration Conferences. In January, 1906, a meeting was called by Prof. Ernst Richard to consider the matter and in February the society was organized with the Hon. Oscar S. Straus as president, and for a year did its work in a quiet way. Then Mr. Straus was called to a place in the Cabinet at Washington, and Mr. Andrew Carnegie took his place at its head. The first National Peace Conference was held and gave a great impulse to the growth of the society. Membership increased, and the busy men who were carrying its burdens began to be overwhelmed by the calls which were made upon them. At the annual meeting in May, 1908, it was decided that a permanent office must be opened, and in November this was done.

The work carried on there, while varied in character, is all done with the intent to create a public sentiment which will lead to the abandonment of war. The office has been a busy place, much busier than anybody thought would be possible beforehand. The reason is that the city is ready for its message.

New York is the most cosmopolitan city in the world, and the society has sought to capitalize that fact. It found in existence a Japan society made up of a group of Japanese and of Americans who have traveled in or have dealings with Japan, an Italian peace society, a German-American peace society and other organizations of this character. It helped to form the American-Scandinavian society, which promises useful services. These organizations, with a purpose kindred to its own, it is co-ordinating and affiliating into one organism which, with its several arms, shall be able to touch the life of the city at as many points. To assist in this work a strong group of eminent women is also being enlisted.

But it has made other use of the several national groups that are to be found in the city. It felt that an example ought to be given on a scale which could be done only in New York of international co-operation. For this purpose it seized on the fact that during the year the world has been at peace, and in celebration of this fact, organized a great International Peace Festival. Speeches were made by Mr. Carnegie and His Eminence, Wu Ting-fang, Minister from China. The program was largely musical and was rendered by singing societies and artists representing most of the greater nations, all of whom freely lent their services to the occasion. Representatives of sixteen of the nations having embassies at Washington were present as guests of the society. The hall was appropriately decorated with the flags of the nations, and a most unique and successful occasion was the result.

Another line of work carried on with constant diligence has been the education of public opinion through pulpit, platform, press and other agencies. In this work of education a fine company of speakers has been gathered and their services offered free of charge to organizations of every kind. They have voiced the message of the society from the most prominent pulpits in the city, and carried it to the voters in many of the political clubs.

Our speakers have been invited to address and to speak at dinners of commercial and social clubs of all kinds, and have appeared in the lecture halls of the Board of Education. And a woman, eminent as a peace advocate the world over, spoke twice every day for several weeks, frequently before the largest and best high schools. Perhaps a hundred thousand people have thus heard of the progress of the international peace movement during the five months.

The press has generously co-operated in the work of education. Several hundred press notices inspired by the activities of the society have come to the notice of the office, and there were probably a much larger number which have not found their way there. But we feel that our proper work of co-operation with the press has hardly begun, and that a society in such a city ought to lead in the organization of a press bureau, which shall furnish and interpret the news of the things which make for peace to the press of the land.

In a modest way effort has also been made to bring influence to bear upon the rulers and statesmen of our own and other lands that the principles of arbitration may be extended, and the movement toward world court and organization which centers at The Hague exalted.

Besides the Peace Festival already mentioned, which brought together official representatives of many nations to think of peace and listen to the international language of music, several other functions were arranged with this intent.

A reception and dinner, tendered jointly with the American-Scandinavian Society to the three Scandinavian ministers to the United States, attracted much attention from the press of the city and even of Europe. The one society acted as host at the reception, and the other at the dinner. Congratulatory dispatches were received from the governments of Denmark, Sweden and Norway. The general impression was that the occasion had been of large importance in the betterment of the relations of the Scandinavian peoples of New York, and of considerable significance in the international field.

The great event of the winter in the effort to influence our lawmakers was, however, a dinner tendered to Senator Elihu Root in recognition of his service to the cause of peace while

holding the office of Secretary of State. Six hundred guests were present on this occasion. The speech by Mr. Root on international good manners was an important one, and was widely reported by the press, and circulated as a document by the Association for International Conciliation in both America and Europe. Other addresses were by the Rt. Hon. James Bryce, of England; Senor Nabuco, of Brazil; Baron Takahira, of Japan; the Hon. Joseph Choate, of New York; Governor Hughes and President Taft. By common consent this dinner was one of the most notable ever given in New York, and must have served in some degree to make the representatives of nations more pacific and just in their dealings with one another. Public functions which are thus calculated to bring influence to bear in official quarters where it will be immediately productive of more pacific relations between nations, the society hopes to repeat and multiply.

It is also preparing to extend frequent hospitality to distinguished citizens and foreigners and is furthering the interchange of students and professors between our own and European universities. It believes that the day has come when men of prominence and influence both ought to be and can be led to speak at Washington and other capitals in favor of peaceful methods and against vast and costly armaments.

Along with these and many other activities, largely because of them perhaps, a strong society is growing up with little effort. We have both the idealists and the practical men. On the roll of its members are the names of captains of industry, kings of finance, and a large and constantly increasing group of jurists. Women of social prominence are among its officers. If its members are not numerous from among the Tammany and Republican clubs, at least interest among them is marked and sincere, while the socialists tell us that they are the original peace men, and as such are to be counted in our ranks. Statesmen are among its officers and diplomats and presidents speak from its platform.

All things considered, let it be said in closing, in spite of growing navies and occasional jingoism, the cause of peace looks vastly hopeful as viewed from the vantage ground of the New York Peace Office.

CHAIRMAN MOORE:

Mr. Robert C. Root, of Los Angeles, California, will tell us of the Pacific Coast Agency of the American Peace Society. (Applause.)

The Pacific Coast Agency of the American Peace Society

MR. ROBERT C. ROOT

I may be pardoned possibly for a single reference to California. As we come from sunny southern California to this less sunny land we sympathize with you who do not live there. We have so many good things we would like to tell you about, that if I were to attempt to tell you about all of those delightful things you might classify me as the small boy classified the man who came to the fence surrounding his father's field one day and asked the boy some questions. This man came up to the cornfield and said to the boy: "Your corn looks yellow." "Yes, that is the kind we planted." But the man looked again at it and saw that it was not very well cultivated and he said: "Well, you won't get more than half a crop, will you?" "No," he said, "we don't expect to. The landlord gets the other half." The man looked at the small boy again and said: "Boy, there isn't very much between you and a fool, is there?" "No, only a fence," replied the boy. (Laughter.) Now if I were to go on and tell you all about California you would want to classify me as the small boy did his friend.

But I am here to tell you about the Pacific Coast Agency. We believe in California in this movement for peace and good will, and some of us are putting our hearts and hands and heads and everything else that belongs to us into the work. We are trying to do things. We have the spirit, some of us, of that grand man you have heard here on more than one occasion in this conference, the President of Stanford University. We used to hear him say that the world stops and steps aside for the man who knows what he wants to do and knows where he is going. That spirit is in the peace workers out on the Pacific Coast and these

are some of the things we did. They are indicative of some of the things we propose to do in the future.

We have had three peace conferences, and out of those three conferences have been organized two peace societies; the Northern California Peace Society with fifty charter members, including President Wheeler, of the University of California, and a number of his leading professors; the mayor of the city of Berkeley, the postmaster, six or seven of the leading divines, the leading bankers of the city and a number of prominent representatives of other callings in life. In Los Angeles we organized the Southern California Peace Society, starting with thirty-two members one year and two months ago, but we now have one hundred and ninety-two paid-up members in Los Angeles and we expect to have several hundred before the campaign ends.

We have had Hague Day in six of our high schools in southern California and one hundred and ten public schools or grammar schools in that part of the state. Our state superintendent and the county superintendent of Los Angeles County have told me in response to letters sent to them that they will urge the observance of Hague Day this year in the public schools of the state and county. Hague Day programs were sent to every county and city superintendent of schools in California. Eight or ten Hague Day speakers have been secured for the coming Hague Day program in southern California schools. We have distributed all over the state of California and the Pacific Coast during the past year over sixty thousand pages of peace literature, octavo pages, among others that magnificent answer of Dr. John De Forest to Richmond P. Hobson. That able answer, "The Truth About Japan," is scattered up and down the Pacific Coast by the hundreds.

A peace literature exhibit was made at the city and county school superintendents' biennial convention at Lake Tahoe last September, where all of the city, county and school superintendents of California were gathered in convention for three or four days. We had also at the Orange County Teachers' Institute a like exhibit.

In Los Angeles we had at the Los Angeles and Ventura Joint County Teachers' Institute another exhibit, and at the Southern California Teachers' Association that met in Los Ange-

les last December two exhibits. Again, at the California State Teachers' Association at San Jose, in central California, we had another exhibit; and again at the Old Soldier's Encampment at Huntington Beach, one of our coast towns, we had another exhibit of peace literature; and then in the secretary's office in Los Angeles we have a continuous exhibit there so that all who enter the door may be exposed to the microbes of peace. We believe that if the people can get in touch with our excellent peace literature furnished us from the head office in Boston, and actually read and learn something of the movement, they too will become advocates of peace and good will among men.

In addition to this, arrangements have been made for some oratorical contests in California. There is one to take place in the near future among the young men and young women of the high schools of California, of southern California more especially.

The most inspiring work that it has been my privilege to do in this cause on the Pacific Coast has been with the young men and young women of the high schools. Formerly it was my profession to teach history in some of the high schools of California, and to see these young people as they came to me to get information, to get something to write about on the subject of peace,—to see their eyes sparkle, to see the interest they take when they realize the things that may be acquired, the knowledge of the world, the knowledge of history, the knowledge of human affairs and the possibilities that grow out of this work, is an inspiration that I wish you could share with me as I work with these high school students on the Pacific Coast.

Not only that, but college students have come and wanted to know what to say, what subject to take, what information to get and where to get it, so that in the past few months I have had in my office in Los Angeles seventeen high school students, and a number of others have written me, about a dozen college and university students, gathering information in order that they might write and speak upon the subject of peace.

A word about our contest recently held in Los Angeles just before I started to this congress. We had gathered there in Los Angeles a much larger audience than I see here this morning to listen to the orations of four young men, representatives of colleges in southern California. Upon the platform on that

occasion was one of the most highly honored men, Bishop Johnson, of Los Angeles, as presiding officer. Upon this platform also were three doctors of divinity, and in our list of judges some of the most prominent citizens of the city. Three prizes were offered by the Friends Churches of California; a cash prize of seventy-five dollars offered by the Methodist Churches of southern California; and a cash prize of fifty dollars offered by the Christian Churches of southern California. I desire to say that after listening to an excellent inter-collegiate contest at your great University of Chicago yesterday I am sorry that our young men from Los Angeles were not here to enter that contest and try their mettle with those young men who entered the contest at the University of Chicago.

Again, there have come to our office inquiries from ladies who were preparing programs for the ladies' clubs like the Ebell and other organizations, asking for information upon this great subject, and five of those clubs have been aided in preparing programs upon the subject of peace and good will. In addition to that we have had special addresses by such men as the following: Rev. H. H. Guy, for fifteen years missionary to Japan, who gave a magnificent address at our first peace conference. President George A. Gates, president of Pomona College—you people will recognize him as a strong man formerly of the middle West, who gave us an excellent address at our second conference. Then we had the Rev. I. N. McCash, of Berkeley; Hon W. Almont Gates, secretary State Board of Charities; Dr. Arthur S. Phelps and Dr. Charles Edward Locke, two of our prominent divines of Los Angeles, and last and not least we had Dr. David Starr Jordan, who lectured to an audience that filled one of our largest churches to the doors.

It has been my own privilege and pleasure to give something like fifty addresses in the past year; twenty-one before church congregations, one before the Los Angeles Y. M. C. A., the W. C. T. U., and the Church Federation of that city; five before teachers' meetings and teachers' institutes; and I may say here that I have in my possession an invitation from the county superintendent at Los Angeles to take part in his next County Teachers' Institute for the County of Los Angeles, the largest one in southern California. In the business schools of Los An-

geles I delivered three addresses; in the State Normal School one address, before a body of five hundred prospective teachers it was my great pleasure to present the cause of peace and good will. And again before four southern California colleges, before eleven high schools in southern California and one in northern California at Berkeley, the seat of the State University.

That is a part of the work we have tried to do on the Pacific Coast. And now a few words in closing as to the future, as greatest problem is the lack of knowledge. Second, the next problem is to secure sufficient funds to carry on the work as it should be done. That people perish for want of knowledge is applicable not only to the Pacific Coast, but I find it here even in the city of Chicago. I learned at breakfast this morning some things about Los Angeles I never heard of before, and no one else ever heard of before, I think. I was reminded of the saying of Josh Billings that it is better not to know so much than to know so many things that are not so; and when I heard that man talk about the danger of the Japanese problem in Los Angeles I thought I might apply to him that saying of Josh Billings. We have a Japanese problem upon the Pacific Coast. Let me tell you just a few things about it. It was my privilege in the University of California as a graduate student some years ago to go over all the literature to be found in that great university upon the Chinese problem; to study it in all possible relations, but with special reference to the problem of the Chinese in San Francisco; and I want to say that as a result of my study and preparation for that thesis presented to a professor in the university, I learned that all the dire prophecies of previous years about the Chinese problem, the Great Yellow peril, had simply come to naught; and I prophesy here this morning, if you wish to call it a prophesy, that the so-called Japanese problem, if we maintain our own self-respect, if we maintain the dignity of men, if we treat our fellow men as gentlemen and keep the Golden Rule then the so-called Japanese problem will fade away as did the earlier question of the Yellow Peril of the Chinese.

I would like to say more about the Japanese question but time forbids. Just one thing more: Our campaign for the future is a campaign of education. We need to be educated upon this question as you are in the east and we are going to try to

work out our own problems and we expect to solve them by and by upon the lines of an old and abiding faith in God and our fellow men, that will lead us to solve them aright, and in consonance with that first Christmas message that was sounded over the plains of Judea two thousand years ago, "Peace on earth, good will toward men." (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN MOORE:

One of the most hopeful things in this movement is the interest which is taken in it by the young men and women who are in the various colleges and universities of the country, and Mr. Fulk, of Illinois, will tell us about "The Intercollegiate Peace Association."

The Intercollegiate Peace Association

GEORGE FULK.

A significant phase of the Peace Movement is the springing up of organizations for propaganda. In the college and university field we have the Intercollegiate Peace Association. This is an indirect outgrowth of the Lake Mohonk Conferences on International Arbitration. The organization had its inception in a peace conference of colleges of Indiana and Ohio, called in 1905 by Noah E. Byers, president of Goshen College, Indiana. The development of the organization has been rapid. It now includes about sixty colleges and universities in Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Michigan and Wisconsin.

The active work of the association is varied. The secretary is kept in the field as much as possible, promoting the interests of the organization. An extensive series of oratorical contests, local, state and interstate, on the subject of international arbitration or peace, is carried on, resulting in the preparation and delivery of hundreds of orations annually. Lectures and special exercises on the subject are promoted as widely as possible. A goodly supply of standard peace literature is installed in every college library. An annual convention of the association is held in the interest of the work. The net result of this propaganda, in its various forms, is the spreading of education on the subject in a special way throughout every institution in the organization.

No more striking method of recruiting the choicest leaders in the movement is to be seen anywhere. They are leaders for the future, to be sure, but how immediate is their day to be! The Peace Movement grows, and far-reaching results are obtained even among the men who guide the affairs of the world today, and yet they were not "built that way." What can we reasonably expect of the generation which is being schooled in international education and culture?

The students of this new school ask a simple question: Why should nations not be civilized as well as individuals? Why should individuals be governed by a code of laws which define lying, stealing and murder as crimes, while the nations recognize these as standard methods of international dealing? Students are not radical. They know well the cause: we simply haven't gotten around to it yet; but the keynote of their propaganda is, lend a hand. The tacit pledge of every student pacifist, if expressed, would be something like this: "Let's join the peace army, and if we fall in the fight it will be with our faces to the firing line."

The organization and work of the intercollegiate peace movement is but begun. There is no other field in the world where the movement promises so much. Every ideal in the educational world is diametrically opposed to brute force and violence as a substitute for enlightened justice. The students are filled with this idealistic spirit. In addition, they comprise, as a body, the choicest and most promising intellectual talent of the country. Alert, zealous, ambitious, trained in high ideals, they need only to have impressed upon them the purpose of the peace movement and straightway the strongest in every college and university rise up and champion the cause. That this work can be extended to every college and university in the world there is not the slightest doubt. Various students' societies, embodying the peace propaganda as a cardinal feature of their work, now exist in Europe. In America we have an important students' organization which is closely akin to those of Europe, namely, the Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs. Negotiations are now pending for a working federation of these American and European students' organizations. The purpose of the proposed federation is close co-operation in the work, coming together of delegates in

international congresses, exchange of official publications, and finally to issue a students' international journal which will draw the members closer together, and furnish material of intense interest for local college and university journals in all countries. Is it too much to hope that we can raise up an Addison to edit a *Spectator* in the student world? If this be so, who can foretell the limits or the possibilities of the students' movement for world organization—and hence, peace?

On behalf of the Intercollegiate Peace Association I beg to make an appeal which, if heard, will mean the opening up of limitless possibilities for this work. This organized movement needs with all possible appeal to be extended to every institution for higher learning in the United States and developed in all the world. The association subsists on voluntary support. The small contribution of one hundred and fifty dollars to be used as prizes for peace orations will launch a series of oratorical contests and start the work throughout an entire state. Why should there not be a number of persons in this audience happy to seize the opportunity to start the work in new states? Rich in all other equipment, the association has been struggling in pitiful poverty. Given financial assistance, and the work will prove one of the largest and most practical philanthropies in the world.

Following Mr. Fulk's address, the following resolution was presented by Mr. Robert Treat Paine, of Boston, and unanimously carried by a rising vote:

Resolved, That a vote of thanks be extended to the Executive Committee of this Congress and their associate committees for their services in organizing this great Congress; the Chicago Association of Commerce for its generous hospitality, and to that and other Chicago organizations for their liberal support of this Congress; the newspapers of Chicago for the large degree of attention they have given to the Congress, and the warm words spoken by many of them in support of its principles.

CHAIRMAN MOORE:

You will all be glad to hear of the movement in the interests of peace on the other side, and the Rev. J. L. Tryon of Boston, Massachusetts, will tell us of the London Peace Congress of 1908.

The London Peace Congress of 1908

REV. J. L. TRYON

The progress of the peace movement is registered by its international congresses. The first of these congresses was held in London in 1843 and was the realization of a suggestion made by Joseph Sturge, a member of the Society of Friends in Birmingham, England. Mr. Sturge, while on a visit to Boston, impressed the idea of an international conference of peace workers upon the American Peace Society, which, as in the case with the New York and Chicago National Congresses, became its initiator and co-operated to bring it to success. Other international congresses were held at London in 1850, 1890 and 1908.

Between the first and the last of these congresses the Peace Movement has become recognized as the greatest reform of the age. The flowing visions of its apostles, once laughed at or treated with disdainful silence, are now embodied in the law of the world. Arbitration, by treaty agreement, as a rational substitute for war, securing justice through an international court always ready to sit in judgment on controversies, this with two Hague Conferences, the last of which brought together all the civilized nations, preparing the way for the future Parliament of Man, is the astounding result of an organized agitation for less than a hundred years.

When the last congress met at London it revealed the determination of the thinking world, of philanthropists, scholars and statesmen, of ministers, lawyers and business men, to see the unfinished work of this movement carried forward to its logical completion. Delegates from two hundred and fifty societies, representing twenty-five nations from the far East and the near East, from Western Europe, Great Britain and the Americas, assembled in Caxton Hall to discuss and present to the public the things most necessary to be done. The congress recognized the great accomplishments of the Second Hague Conference, which had met but a year before. It recommended that the international life, the solidarity of which that conference was the best illustration, should be organized hereafter, not only in the shape of a court and congress, but with an executive power to enforce the

laws. It protested against the use of airships in warfare, and asked all the states who had not then given their signatures to sign the convention which prohibits the throwing of explosives and projectiles from balloons. It asked that all innocent merchant ships and their cargoes be exempted from capture on the high seas in time of war, a measure for which the United States has for nearly a century stood committed, and which awaits but the sanction of Great Britain and two or three other opposing world powers to become incorporated into international law. It called attention to the vast sums of money which had been spent upon armaments between the First and Second Hague Conference, and proposed that Great Britain lead all the governments in a limitation of military and naval budgets by an agreement for a short term of years. Trade union members and wage earners, who are now among the most advanced advocates of peace and consequently of the limitation of armaments, which they believe are a menace to peace as well as an intolerable burden of expense to the working men, were invited to take part in future congresses, to be in the organized movement and not separated from it, and as a part of the established, not merely of the occasional order of things. The congress reaffirmed its old position of previous congresses, that peace principles should be taught alike to the pupils of schools and to the college students, that teachers should be associated with peace societies in popularizing these principles, that military training and all militarist propaganda should be kept out of the schools as detrimental to true education, and that a more humane interpretation of history take the place of the glorification of war. The congress extended its sympathy for all measures that tend to bring justice to oppressed peoples, and urged upon Turkey, at that moment by peaceful revolution placed under a constitutional government, fair dealing with all classes of her people.

But a peace congress is not to be judged wholly by its resolutions; these register its matured thought and are the central point towards which the work of the delegates is directed; but they give no idea of that picturesque and even more significant side of public sentiment which is revealed in the attitude of the community where a congress is held and in the speeches made at popular gatherings. I said that the congress passed resolutions

that the peace movement should be put into schools. A meeting of school children, held in Queen's Hall, showed how far the principles of peace have already taken hold of the children of Great Britain. It was preceded by a life guard drill and a fire brigade drill by boys, and by a drill in physical exercises by girls, all of whom belong to organized teams which had previously distinguished themselves by taking prizes for their proficiency. The life guard exercises showed that boys and girls can be true heroes and heroines of peace as ministering angels in the time of accident. The fire drill enabled a boy company to show that they could rescue people from a burning building in a few moments after an alarm of fire. The exhibition was a splendid example of the beneficent aims which can be realized in civil life by the same co-operation and bravery which are claimed to be promoted by war. These societies of boys, of which there are now several hundred in Great Britain, were organized to supplant the boys' brigades, the preparatory school of militarism.

Remarkable respect was shown the peace movement by the churches. The Pope sent the congress his blessing and asked that there be prayers for it in all the Catholic churches of London. A service of welcome was held at Westminster Abbey, at which the Bishop of Carlisle addressed the delegates of the nations. The Lambeth Conference sent to the congress by three of its Bishops, representing England, Australia and the United States, resolutions testifying to the importance of peace. Protestant bodies of different lands met in a preliminary conference which lasted a whole day, and dwelt upon the need of neighborliness among nations as well as among citizens of a common state or city. There is but one law for nations as well as for individuals—the law of brotherhood. The keynote of feeling against war and armaments was bravely sounded by Dr. R. F. Horton in a ringing address in which he declared there should be no compromise with either of them. It was advised that steps be taken to organize the churches through their guilds and committees to aid the movement effectively. When the churches preach a true Christianity, it was rightly said, war will go. It was at this conference that Professor J. Estlin Carpenter uttered words which all preachers and teachers of morals should make their rule of conduct. "War," he said, "is a people's question. It is

no longer made by statesmen, financiers and journalists, but begins in the hearts of the people. We must teach that it is possible to prevent war and must try to overcome men's hopelessness of this possibility by diffusing among them, with moral ardor, all the information and optimism that are needful for the task."

But more notable than all was the recognition given the peace movement by the British Government. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, the British Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. David Lloyd-George, the most popular man in England, came to Queen's Hall and ridiculed the idea of a war with Germany. His address, pitched in a high key, represented a vision of faith in the things that ought to be and will be when England leads the world in putting the money which she now spends in armaments into useful public works and in redeeming her neglected classes from poverty and ruin. "Let us spend less money," he said—and this is a good motto for the nations—"for the production of suffering and more money for the reduction of suffering."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer had just established a hospitality fund of \$100,000 to be spent by Great Britain in entertaining foreign visitors for the purpose of promoting international friendship and peace. This congress was the third body of foreign representatives to receive entertainment from that fund. That the example of England will be followed by all the governments of the world and when followed will help to bring the nations more closely together is the hope of every peace advocate who saw with his own eyes what great-hearted England can do when she wants to make friends. A banquet was given the congress at the Hotel Cecil, presided over by Mr. Harcourt, Commissioner of Public Works, attended by the The Lord Chancellor, the Prime Minister, and other distinguished citizens of Great Britain, including Lord Courtney of Penwith, the courageous, outspoken president of the congress, "who honored its principles on every occasion. Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister, in responding to the toast, "The International Peace Movement," declared that half the quarrels of the nations arise from the want of friendly understanding, and that the main thing is that the nations should get to know and to understand one another, agreeing in this sentiment with the words of our own Secretary Root, who not long ago said that it is not real differences that divide nations, but

feelings. It is in this speech that the Prime Minister said that the movement for the establishment of peace upon earth is "the greatest of all reforms."

More than this could hardly be said or done by any government to recognize the peace movement, but besides it all, King Edward, the man who bears the peerless title of all the rulers, "King Edward, the Peacemaker," received a deputation from the congress, to whom he said these words, that ought to go down into history with the sayings of earth's greatest souls: "Rulers and statesmen can set before themselves no higher aim than the promotion of national good understanding and cordial fellowship among the nations of the world. It is the surest and most direct means whereby humanity may be enabled to realize its noblest ideals, and its attainment will ever be the object of my own constant endeavors."

THE CHAIRMAN:

It is probable that the most productive work which is being done today in the interest of this great movement is the teaching of the boys and girls with reference to what we desire accomplished. Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, of Boston, will tell us of the work which is being done by the American School Peace League.

The American School Peace League

MRS. FANNIE FERN ANDREWS.

The American School Peace League aims to secure the co-operation of the educational public of America in the project for promoting international justice and equity. The peace movement began in the early part of the nineteenth century as a reaction against the devastating warfare of that time. It was then that the first peace society in the world was formed in New York City. For many years the leaders in this world's philanthropy endeavored to create a sentiment against war by showing its injustices as well as its inconsistencies with ethical and humane principles. Although the movement began as a moral revolt against the cruelty and wickedness of war, it soon emphasized the economic and governmental arguments. With this appeal

to the progressive thought of the times, the five hundred peace societies in the world constitute the organizing and directing force in the great political and economic readjustment that is swiftly leading the world on to international peace—to the establishment of a permanent international court and a World Congress. An organized world is the prerequisite for world peace.

The First and Second Hague Conferences, held in 1899 and 1907, respectively, resulted in the establishment of an International Court of Arbitration, the unanimous approval by forty-four nations of a Permanent World Court, and the agreement for periodic world congresses. The Hague Conference of 1899 was the beginning of a new epoch in international politics; and so quickly have events followed one another in the past ten years that we may well describe this period as ushering in the age of the new internationalism. A striking manifestation of the new spirit is evinced in the official recognition, by the governments, of the Interparliamentary Union, composed of over twenty-five hundred representatives from the parliaments of the different nations, unitedly working for an organized world.

No less important, however, and perhaps more subtle in effect, are the economic and social forces which are unconsciously drawing the interests of the civilized nations into harmonious action. The more prominent instances of these agencies are the great medical congresses, in which the science of the world is assembled to devise means for the control of contagious disease; the international tuberculosis congresses; and those of applied chemistry, which have rendered great service to many lands in securing pure food by regulation of traffic in foodstuffs; not to dwell on the periodic congresses of hygiene, moral training, pure science, geology, sociology, the Public Health Association, or the international exchange of university professors, and public school teachers. These are significant milestones in the onward march toward world peace.

Side by side, then, with the political march of events, runs this great economic and social current. In the United States these activities are receiving an ever-widening impulse from the Mohonk Arbitration Conference, which has secured the co-operation of over one hundred boards of trade and two hundred colleges; the American Peace Society, whose literature reaches

every corner of the country; the Italian-American, German-American, and Scandinavian-American Societies, organized to promote educational and social international relations; the Inter-collegiate Peace Association, with branches in forty-seven colleges; and the Cosmopolitan Club, composed of twenty chapters in as many colleges, formed for the purpose of bringing closer together men from different countries to learn the customs, viewpoints and characteristics of other nationalities, to remove national prejudice, and to establish international friendships.

With all these forces the American School Peace League aims to acquaint the educational public of America, in order that the teachers may be influenced to emphasize the broad humanitarian principles of right and justice which transcend all national boundaries. The teaching of history, geography, science and literature lends itself admirably to this end. History should be made to show the common achievements of the different nations. Becoming acquainted with this co-operative process, leading to world unity, the pupil can realize more fully the meaning of the history and administration of his own country. The teaching of civil government might well be supplemented by instruction in international government. The pupil can learn through geography that the resources of all countries are needed to supply our wants—in fact, that every active man, wherever he may be, makes some contribution to the well-being of the world at large. The teacher of science can explain how scientific truths are the results of the composite achievements of the scientists of all lands; and literature can be drawn upon to teach the essentials of peace, justice and brotherhood.

The organization of the American School Peace League is national in its scope, with a plan for active representation in each state of the Union. It is hoped that every teacher in the country will subscribe to the purposes of the League by becoming a member. Much of the work will be done by committees, five of which have been organized up to the present time.

The Committee on Meetings and Discussion aims to induce educational associations throughout the country to place the subject of internationalism on their programs. It also seeks to stimulate literary and debating societies, in colleges and schools, to study the subject. The committee recommends to educational

associations the establishment of international committees, or departments, for the purpose of making a detailed study of the relation of the international movement to school instruction.

The Committee on Publication intends to build up a body of literature dealing with the interrelation between peoples and nations along political, industrial and social lines. To this end the committee purposes to issue, directly or indirectly, a series of publications for the young that may be used in the geography, history, science and literature classes; it also intends to make a collection of the present songs which illustrate the peace sentiment and to stimulate the writing of new ones.

The Press Committee, which comprises some of the leading educational editors of the country, is prepared to acquaint teachers with the work of the League through the columns of the educational magazines.

The Committee on Teaching History will study the textbooks with reference to the space devoted respectively to war and to peace. It hopes to develop among teachers a sentiment which shall lay emphasis on the arts of peace, and on the industrial and social conditions of the people, rather than on campaigns, battles and other military details. It further aims to arrange, if possible, courses in history to be given at summer schools and teachers' institutes, with special attention to the growth of international friendship.

The International Committee intends to make a constructive study of international co-operation in activities which particularly affect educational work. Recognizing that in this age of internationalism, progress is largely dependent on the inspiration and help which come from the mingling of peoples of different origin and varying national ideals, this committee believes that no more effective means of bringing nations into mutual accord can be devised than to weave their educational ideals into one harmonious whole for the common good. Many teachers are already instructing their pupils in the principles for which the American School Peace League stands; for through the formal approval of leading educational associations, peace teaching has received a strong impetus. Following the address of the President of the National Educational Association in 1907, entitled "What Can the School Do to Aid the Peace Movement?" this body passed resolutions of

striking significance. The section cabled to the American delegation at the Second Hague Conference, then in session, was a strong endorsement of the movement for international peace, as was this section, addressed to the teachers of the country: "We recommend to the teachers that the work of The Hague Conference and of the Peace Associations be studied carefully, and the results given proper consideration in the work of instruction." Significant also is the statement of United States Commissioner Elmer E. Brown, in his report for 1908, concerning the observance of the 18th of May, the anniversary of the opening of the First Hague Congress. "Widespread interest," he says, "has been manifested in the observance of the 18th of May, variously named as Hague Day, Peace Day, or Arbitration Day, as a time for accentuating the endeavor to arrive at a fair understanding of the other nations of the earth, which is the surest basis of honorable and fruitful peace and an indispensable element in modern education. No complete record has been made of the states and cities in which this day is regularly observed. But it is known that such observance has been recommended by the state superintendents of public instruction in at least fourteen of the states and by the city school superintendents in at least five of our larger cities."

The teachers of the United States have thus joined the ranks of their many co-workers in Europe, who are explaining to their pupils the meaning of the great world events which center around the 18th of May. To co-ordinate and extend the scope of these efforts, and to build up an organization which shall, through the channels of education, advance the principles of international justice and equity, is the aim of the American School Peace League.

CHAIRMAN MOORE:

Rev. Gilbert Bowles, of Tokyo, Japan, will tell us of what is being done by the Peace Society of Japan.

The Peace Society of Japan

REV. GILBERT BOWLES

MR. CHAIRMAN AND DELEGATES OF THE CONGRESS: Late as it is, I feel like doing as did a Japanese preacher in the days gone by when it was customary for the local police sometimes to interfere with public Christian meetings. On such an occasion one evangelist consented to the interruption with the condition that at the time appointed for the meeting he should be allowed to explain why the meeting was not to be held. Taking advantage of that action, he said that since the meeting had been forbidden he would simply tell them what he would have said if he had been allowed to speak. (Laughter.)

The statement on the program concerning my relation to the Japan Peace Society is somewhat misleading, for it is given there as secretary of the Japan Peace Society. While it has been my privilege to act as English secretary of the Japan Peace Society, there are two or three Japanese secretaries upon whom rests the real work of the Peace Society in Japan. While there are many foreigners in Japan, missionaries and educators and some business men, who are connected with the society, it is distinctly a Japanese organization. When I left Japan last June, nineteen of the twenty directors were Japanese.

Before speaking of the work of the Japanese Peace Society, with headquarters in Tokyo, I wish to remind you of the existence of the Oriental Peace Society of Kyoto, which has among its members some of the leading educators and business men of that great southern capital of Japan. The reason why I venture to stand before you this morning and tell you something of the Japan Peace Society is because of my touch with Japanese life. That touch has included face-to-face interviews with the Japanese; it has included attention to the press and platform, interviews with students, educators, business men, members of parliament, mayors of cities and members of the cabinet, and I tell you this morning that I have yet to meet with the first real discouragement from a Japanese. (Applause.) I have met with discouragement since I landed in America in Seattle last July; I have met with things which would lead me to believe that there

was a great work for the peace societies yet to do in America. I met with the expression, soon after landing in America, that "the Japanese all have chips on their shoulders, don't they?" I have not discovered that in my contact with the Japanese, but I shall go back to Japan when it comes time to return feeling that there are here in America, just as there are in Japan, great forces making for the world's peace; and while there are here in America, as there are in Japan, forces which if left to themselves would make for war, yet there are these counteracting forces and there are these stronger and mightier forces which will make for peace and that coming internationalism.

I take it you are more interested in knowing the spirit of the Japanese people, the soil in which the tree of peace can grow, rather than in the organization into different lines of work. If we observe the spirit of the Japanese people there are three striking characteristics which ought to assure any thinking man that in Japan the seeds of peace will find soil that will produce fruit just as in any other land. One of these characteristics known to the world is the spirit of inquiry, that spirit of inquiry which stirred the hearts of the young Japanese even before the coming of Commodore Perry; and that spirit of inquiry which has sent students into all parts of the world to search for knowledge to be brought back and incorporated into the public and private life of the nation. That spirit of inquiry which takes knowledge of what you are doing in this congress and in the peace congresses of Europe, and that spirit of inquiry is open to all that is best in this movement.

The spirit of progress which has led Japan in her development during the last half century at least as she looks out upon the world, and that same spirit of progress will lead her and does lead her to stretch out her hands for whatever is best, whatever you have that is best for development, not only for national but international life. Japan is looking for world development and for the development of civilization just as we are looking for it.

The spirit of internationalism. Not long ago in speaking upon this subject some one said at the close of the address, "I do not believe that the internationalism of Japan is skin deep." I can only say that those who live in Japan, with but very few

exceptions, those who have come to know the spirit of the Japanese, really to know them, to be in their homes and to have them as friends and to really enter into the life of the people, with very few exceptions, those foreigners, whether Europeans or Americans, do believe that the growing spirit of internationalism is genuine and hopeful.

One hundred and sixteen representative American citizens two years ago signed their names to a declaration to this effect, to a belief in the sincerity of the Japanese government and people, and to a belief in their general manifestation of freedom from every aggressive design. The particular occasion for the organization of the Japan Peace Society came three years ago this spring. Beyond and preceding that you will remember was the time of the close of the late war when the sound of cannons and bursting of shells and the shout of victory had ceased and the people had time to think, and they were open to a consideration of the question of peace. The newspapers began to consider the question; one of the leading dailies of Tokyo opened the editorial campaign, and to me it marked the beginning of a new era, it marked a new era of hopefulness when it called attention to the fact that Japan had passed the era when she should receive only from nations, and she had come to the time when she should go into the great common life of the world. A reformer about that time said that just as following the great earthquake the Japanese began to ask for the cause of earthquakes, so following this great Japanese war the Japanese people were beginning to ask the cause of these international calamities. Men were thinking, and they were responsive to the influence of the peace organizations, and I am glad here to acknowledge our debt to the American Peace Society and to the secretary of that society, who has even before the organization started taken a deep and personal interest in the work, has sent literature to us and has given suggestions, and sometimes helped us in other ways. Therefore I wish to bring to the American Peace Society and to the peace workers of America the gratitude of the workers in Japan.

The society was organized May 18, 1906. The work that we are undertaking does not differ from what you have outlined this morning. It differs in the amount but in the methods or spirit it is the same. We have had lecture meetings, and it

may be encouraging to you to know that in the four greatest cities of Japan we have had within the last three years sessions and speakers which would compare favorably with the meetings that we have had here, saving the large meeting on Sunday evening. The largest halls in Tokyo, Kobe, Osaka and Kyoto have been filled with interested listeners and the platforms with influential statesmen and business men and leaders of the national life.

As I have thought over the list of the names over the platform here, I have thought that in Japan we have interests responsive to every name that faces you from this platform. I see the name of Burritt, and when I go along the list until I come to William Penn, I remember that one of the most popular educators of Japan, Dr. Terao, the president of one of the government colleges, has already translated the life of Penn into Japanese. When I think of Grotius, I remember the Japanese branch of the International Law Association with five hundred members, and I remember a splendid address that one of the professors of the Imperial University delivered, an address which if printed I should not hesitate to put alongside of some of the best addresses we have heard upon this platform, good as they are. I think of the interest of that expert adviser of the Japanese government during the war, on questions of international law, who while watching the progress of the war and reading continually about the war as related to international law, became convinced that if during war nations could observe international regulations, that international regulations might and could be extended to prevent war and to bring in the reign of peace, and so he resigned his position and is giving his thought and time to the question of international peace. (Applause.)

I feel that one of the most practical things which I can say here is in reference to the American side of the Japanese Peace Society. What can American peace workers do for the peace movement in Japan?—and while I speak here for the peace movement in Japan, I speak for the peace movement of the Orient. Our attention during this Congress has been called again and again, as it ought to be, to Europe. Our attention has been turned to the Orient a few times, but when we remember the millions in the Orient and remember the large and important place which Oriental questions occupy in international thought,

and when we remember that our relations with the Orient hold in them some of the most important problems, the part which Japan is to play is a matter of greatest importance. I wish to discuss a few things which seem to me practical. I believe that as peace workers you perhaps are already doing them, but we can at least extend our influence to those who are not present in the Congress, exerting our influence toward the development of the peace movement in our own land here in America, and Japan will respond to that; in proportion as the business men of America are interested in the peace question that will influence the business men of Japan. The resolutions of the Chambers of Commerce of New York and of Chicago will have much weight in Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto and Kobe. We need better knowledge of Japan and the Orient, better knowledge of their languages and customs. That better knowledge will bring with it, I am sure, a courtesy which will forbid us using such an expression as the abbreviated word, "the Japs," as if they were abbreviated men. They are short of stature, but not abbreviated men. That is only a little thing, but it is a matter of international courtesy.

An increasing sense of responsibility in the discussion of international affairs. Sometimes American citizens resident in the Orient blush with shame to read the records of platform utterances, or perhaps utterances not going directly to Japan, and they know the detrimental influence when those expressions are reproduced in the European press, and perhaps not always truthfully, and then sent back to the Orient. As I say, some of us blush at some of those utterances. But I know the Peace Congress stands against that and that you will use your influence in that way.

Discrimination and freedom from prejudice in considering the Japanese emigration question is of special importance. In this I include the separation of the economical from the moral issues. I tell you as a result of the study of the Japanese situation that I believe the whole question can be settled, and settled permanently as an economic question if we can separate the economic issue from the moral issue. I believe it is an economic question and if met in that way the Japanese will be open to a consideration of the question and to a right solution. The

American motive also for opposition is really an economic motive, and the moral issues should be always separated.

The fourth point to urge is the largest use of Japanese confidence in the people of the United States and the United States government. I believe this is a political asset of the greatest importance. With the confidence of Japan and of her people in America and the American government these questions and difficulties I believe can be solved. Give us statesmen such as the one who made the utterance here on the platform yesterday afternoon, a man willing to spend twenty-seven days in quiet conference, in the solution of a problem which had vexed two governments for years—give us that kind of men, give us that kind of spirit, and you will find the statesmen in Japan willing to meet them, and you will find the leaders of thought responsive to that spirit. So, if we can have statesmen of that type leading our national government I think we need have no fear of serious international complications with Japan.

There are two classes of people who have had no hesitancy in writing and speaking of Japan. One class goes into raptures over everything Japanese, saying that the people are always smiling, and the babies never cry. The other class, largely an after-war product, grows eloquent over the alleged weaknesses of Japanese character, their military ambitions, and the menace which they present to the American homes and nation.

My experience with the Japanese forbids my entering the ranks of either class. I am glad to take my place with those who think of the Japanese men, women and children as a vital and essential part of our common humanity. They have the same flesh and blood as we have, and in their breasts beat the same hearts as beat in ours. They struggle with the same problems, the problems of bread and of a better standard of living for the masses; the problems of personal morality, religion and of social betterment; the problems of internal development and of international peace. In the facing of these problems the light and shadow of joy and sorrow, of life and death fall upon their lives as upon ours. Whether talking with children on the streets, discussing important questions with university students, walking over mountain roads with groups of companions, receiving strangers and friends into our home, eating rice with the farmers,

or talking with business men, educators and statesmen, I have found the Japanese to be men, men responsive to open-heartedness and brotherliness; men who although not perfect have warm love for their own land crowned with the snow-capped Fuji. And they are also capable of the most loyal friendship toward western nations and individuals, and appreciative of all that is best and hopeful in the movement toward internationalism, toward international and world-wide peace. Upon this foundation can be reared the Temple of Peace in the Empire of Japan as well as in the Republic of the United States of America. (Applause.)

Chairman Moore then introduced Mrs. Mary J. Pierson, of New York, who addressed the Congress as follows:

The Young People's International Federation League

MRS. MARY J. PIERSON.

Like the call of the wild to the heart of the lover of woods is the call of a congress to the one who desires strength and inspiration to pursue his chosen work.

Twelve international congresses in the cause of peace had been convened before I knew the fascination of the call, "Come, let us reason together"—reason together on the greatest question before the world today, the question that touches the life of mankind now and for all time to come—to reason together on this most *inclusive* subject; for does it not begin in the home, to find its culmination in The Hague?

This is a question for the statesman of the keenest intellect; it is a question for the financier, a question for the scholar, a question for the man of trade, and it needs no argument to show that it is a question for the home to consider, for the teacher to ponder and in terms understandable interpret to his charges.

The Thirteenth International Peace Congress, that met in Boston in 1904, had in New York City a handmaid of high degree in the late Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell. All plans and suggestions for the meetings in New York were laid before her, and her well trained mind was quick to discern and decide; and so it

came about that when the suggestion to hold a young people's meeting was presented to her, the idea met with her approval and immediately the machinery to develop the plan was set in motion. Of the committee of five appointed by her only one knew anything about the proposition and she knew there was no precedent to suggest a plan of action.

The Board of Education from the city superintendent had to be persuaded and convinced that the thing was feasible and possible, and as we well know, this is no small task. Whatever effort was expended was amply repaid by the assembled eighteen hundred bright faces listening to speakers representing seven nations of the earth.

These young persons felt the responsibility that devolved upon them. They had been elected by their classes and charged with a commission which compelled attention and called for a faithful execution of the service. Reports must be made to those who sent them as delegates.

Pupils from the last years in elementary schools and high schools took part. Each boy and girl there represented at least thirty in his school and on an average five in his home. So when we say that fifty thousand persons on that day heard the message of the meeting, we are conservative in our estimate. They not only heard the message—they saw a tangible evidence of the happy day—a blue and white button, the dainty program with its two pages of material from Mrs. Mead's Peace Primer, the words of the songs that had been sung.

If the pedagogical and psychological laws are true, then we that day drove into the minds of our audience a peg upon which much may be hung. As a direct result of the meeting, the following May, in each school, Hague Day was celebrated by appropriate exercises. A band of young girls was organized to sing, whenever occasion offered, the hymn by Addington Symonds, "These Things Shall Be," "Forward, All Ye Faithful," and others. Sixteen times in one year the little band was given opportunity to carry the message of peace and good-will, and when we know that thousands of persons followed the words on the program as these sweet voices sang convincingly their message, we must believe that it was worth while. Then these same young people take the best poetry and prose written on this subject,

make it their own and recite it when requested. May it not be that this is one of the ways that a little child shall lead them?

When our National Congress took place in 1907 in New York the plan evolved in 1904 was put into operation on a larger scale. The attempt was made to make it truly national. Invitations were sent to each superintendent of state and city. The response was national in spirit, and though we hardly expected representation from afar, we had representation from twenty centers outside of Greater New York.

There are some present here today who will bear me out in my statement that Carnegie Hall never held a sight more beautiful, an inspiration more uplifting, than on the day of the Young People's Meeting in 1907. A chorus of five hundred on the platform, an audience of nearly four thousand in the body of the house, galleries and boxes, all this presided over by our superintendent, William H. Maxwell. Here came some of the best speakers we had—that genial Baron from France, the firebrand from England, and our own Mr. Bailey, Rabbi Wise, and others. Here again the concrete expression was evident in button and program. In response to Mr. Stead's thrilling appeal, Mr. Maxwell, in closing this meeting said:

"Whenever the day and the hour come, I can promise for the children of New York that they will take the lead. Let me in a single word, on behalf of the children of the New York schools, and on behalf of the teachers of the New York schools, and on behalf of the Board of Education of the City of New York, thank the ladies and gentlemen who have spoken here this afternoon; who have spoken words that have sunk deep into our hearts, and which we shall carry to every school and to every other teacher and every other pupil in this great city of ours."

So on the 13th of October, 1904, for the first time in the history of the world was held a meeting of delegates from the schools in the cause of peace and arbitration, and out of the first meeting held in the City of New York, in the Hall of the Board of Education, has grown the Young People's League for International Federation, whose application for membership reads: "I hereby apply for membership in the ——— Chapter of the Y. P. I. F. L., because I am interested in bringing about peace and good-will among individuals and groups of individuals; I

therefore pledge myself to help, in so far as I am able, the movement now in progress for the Federation of the Nations, and whose purpose is to stimulate among young people the sense of the common humanity of all people and races, to the end that the day may be hastened when all the nations of the earth shall dwell together in peace and mutual helpfulness."

As a result of a resolution adopted at the second Young People's Meeting—a part of the First National Congress—*The School Peace League* has been organized. Since then several congresses conducted by the young people have been held and a program has been carefully developed. The appeal is made through the eye as well as the ear, and through the aid of declamation and song. The young workers stand ready to render this program whenever invited. It is to be given on May 18th at Cooper Union in New York and at the Friends' Meeting House on May 26th. At our last conference, on February 22d, we charged ten cents admission. The capacity of the hall was five hundred. We met our expenses and had thirty-five dollars for the work of the Federation. Stop to think what this signifies. Think of the topic for conversation in the home and on the street. It is a live topic, I assure you.

Let me emphasize the fact that this is not something apart from the life of the school. The subjects of the schoolroom and the machinery of the school lend themselves admirably to the presentation of the subject of peace and arbitration, for in the light of this vision it is but a step to broaden the organization of the school into that of the city, state, nation and world federation.

Perhaps the best word that can be spoken is to tell of a simple experiment that has been tried. In 1905, in the syllabus prepared for Ethics, History and Civics in elementary schools, a sub-head read, "The United States a World Power—Influence on World Diplomacy; The Hague Tribunal." To many teachers, no doubt, this was "one thing more," but there were some to whom this was the link that made the chain complete.

A group of clubs was started as an experiment. In these clubs was demonstrated the principles of co-operation, interdependence, federation, arbitration. These girls of thirteen to fifteen, as they experienced the pleasure of working in close rela-

tion, and in tracing similarities to their own organization in the larger ones, were enthusiastic when told that a movement was even now in progress for bringing the nations of the earth into governmental relations where peaceful methods of settling disputes would prevail even as they now prevail between our own forty-six states, that there would be at The Hague a Supreme Court of the World to which could be brought the disputes that might arise between any two of them.

Children like real things; they like to know that men and women whom they may see and hear are interested in things they know about. When they meet face to face the woman who has written their Peace Primer and hear her give strong, telling facts that bear out their own discoveries in a nearer field, and when they can listen to a great leader from France and a man of power from England who tell them that *their* thought and their work are *needed* for this great cause, is there not an enthusiasm born in them which, if fostered, will feed the famished spirit?

What we need is Ideals—Ideals that gleam and glisten as the glow-worm in dark places. Ideals that may be “the star” to which the deeds of the individual daily life “may be hitched.” It is no difficult task to show that the comfort of the home depends upon the individuals in it. It is no difficult task to show that the good appearance of the school building depends upon the care of each member of the school. The expansion of this idea of relatedness so that the individual feels his attachment to the group to which he is immediately related and the connection of the group of which he forms a part to other groups, is only a step forward and needs no unusual arguments.

These are not new ideas. They need only to be emphasized to become a vital conscious thought. They *do need reiteration*.

Dr. Huntington, in a letter I received today, says, “the need in which the friends of Arbitration stand is boundless patience. But along with patience we also want enthusiasm.” The enthusiasm, it seems to me, is the easier of the two for the teacher to possess, because no plan yet evolved by the mind of man calls upon the whole being for co-operation as does this.

All roads lead to Rome, was once the Slogan. All roads lead to The Hague, is the Slogan of the twentieth century. And so it behooves the teacher and parents to approach this subject

from which ever point is most attractive to them, be it economic, social, religious, historic, to fill their hearts and minds with a knowledge and love of this great theme and so readjust the school tasks, the school problems, and also those of the home, that the child may grow in power to see and feel that life is whole and that he has a part to play, that may help or hinder the development of this great plan. Whether we will or not, this, the idea of God, must prevail. The work of righteousness is marching on. Shall we become conscious co-workers, or stand aside to become obstructors by our ignorance, indifference or opposition?

Let us rather take the pledge of the Young People's League for International Federation: "Because I am interested in bringing about Peace and Good-will among individuals and groups of individuals, I therefore pledge myself to help in so far as I am able the movement now in progress for the federation of the nations."

"Man does not live by bread alone," should be uttered by every mother as she rises to take up her daily tasks, by every teacher as he plans his daily work.

Still another of these familiar texts that are coming to us freighted with new vitality should be in daily thought, "As a man thinketh, so is he." What shall the teacher think? Shall he think the power of a nation lies in its acres and armaments? Then so surely will his pupils be of his mind. Will he believe that men live by the dollars they possess? Then may we expect the tendency of the age strengthened by his attitude. Never were surer instructions given than when Emerson told us to "Build your castles in the air and then put foundations under them."

The castle of International Federation, the fortress of disarmament for its protection, should be builded in the mind and heart of all. Especially should the teacher so build, and the stones for the foundation will be found in the daily task of arithmetic, geography, history and science. What choice stones may be found in arithmetical problems based on war facts! Let me illustrate: At \$1.50 per week a child earns \$78 in a year. One big cannon shot costs \$1,700. How many children might be kept in school for another year?

If a Dreadnought cost \$10,000,000, how many locomotives at \$20,000 each might be built?

In these two problems are to be found ethics and economics, and to him who reads with a seeing eye and a heart that throbs with a love of God and man, a code of morals and religion are not far away from these facts.

In these days when the schools are rapidly tending toward specializing in vocational training for those who must early enter the field of work for wage, the teachers are under obligation to put into the mind of the pupils thoughts that make life worth the living, that give a wider outlook.

This theme for the teacher gives life a new zest; it furnishes as nothing else may a point of contact that will relate all the pupils of a school to it long after the parting from it. I would suggest that the graduate associations of all schools meet at least once a year to consider this theme, to listen to reports of what has been accomplished and what new plans are being promulgated. There are now in the field men and women expert thinkers in this connection, who are willing to appear before such associations. Such meetings attended by teachers and former pupils would be a strong force in cementing the life of the school to the life of the community and a great step toward a comprehension of international relations. Mighty facts have been collected. Material is not wanting. It may be had for the asking. Two great associations are in the field—the American Peace Society, putting forth material that every classroom should have. The International Library, edited by Edwin D. Mead, stands ready with invaluable material, and the American Branch of the International Conciliation League, lately come into the field, and founded by the noble Frenchman, Baron d'Estournelles, is sending out by thousands the very latest and best thought upon the subject, published in pamphlet form. Material is not wanting, but there is a dearth of men and women of ability willing to master this material and interpret it to those who should know.

A president of a City History Club in New York, prominent in social circles, met at lunch a lady who inquired of her what she meant by "the Half Moon." In that same circle of culture and social distinction are persons who do not know the poet's

dream has been realized—"The Parliament of Man" has met twice and is to meet again in the space of a few years.

After all, it is the business of the school and the teacher, the social worker. Upon them devolve the tasks to start. We are told that not until human nature changes can we achieve these ideals. We *are* achieving them and human nature is changing. The Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man already exist; we do not have to create them; all we have to do is to know the truth and make it known to our neighbor. It is very simple.

We shall need machinery to carry out the ideas, but see to it that back of the machines are thoughtful men and women to support with the strength of their lives those who are running the machinery.

America has been the pioneer; she has provided an example to show how the machine may be constructed. Let her give an example greater than even this. Let her show that the "pen is mightier than the sword"; that Right, not Might, can rule the lands. Let her eliminate fear and fraud from the national mind; let her cut loose once and for all from the idea of brute force and the multiplication of its expression in battleships.

The Old World looks to America to lead the way to a higher expression of life.

CHAIRMAN MOORE:

One of the most distinguished Italians in New York is President of the Italian Peace Society. We will be pleased to hear a few words from Hon. A. Zucca.

The Italian Peace Society, of New York

HON. A. ZUCCA.

Only a few words, as I am not prepared for any address. Really, I did not know until a few moments ago that the Chairman would call upon me. Still, when a man expresses the sentiments of his heart, I do not think he needs any preparation whatsoever. (Applause.)

Italy has suffered probably more than any other nation

through the hardships of war. When I was a little boy I remember when state after state was in arms to accomplish the unity of Italy, and I know all the hardships which the people suffered. Still I do not know if at that time it was possible to accomplish the unity of Italy without the force of guns and of cannon. When the unity of Italy was accomplished the government realized that the maintenance of such an army and navy would ultimately bring it into bankruptcy, and so it gave its attention to the development of industry and commerce, and today Italy is in the enjoyment of sound financial conditions.

I am very glad indeed that this Congress has met. I believe we ought to have even more delegates than we have had, but great good is being done by the way the addresses are printed in the press and sent all over the country, and I did my best, by translating the printed speeches into Italian, to disseminate this information in Europe among the Italian people who did not understand English, so that they might know what is really for the welfare of the people.

I am greatly pleased to see the ladies take so much interest in this movement; especially as I am a married man myself, and I know my wife gets what she wants when she wants it. (Laughter.) Therefore I know that if the ladies help us in this movement we will accomplish in the end the objects for which we are working, and the people will send their representatives to the government, pledged to have no more war, but to have every difference between nations settled by a general arbitration. In that way we will have the sentiment of the people in our governments, even though the Presidents do not agree with the sentiments of the people and do not care what their sentiments are.

While our Italian association in New York is small, still I pledge you that it will do its best to help this organization to bring about the end for which it is working. Progress perfected the machinery of destruction, and progress must stop its use. (Applause.)

The session then adjourned.

ELEVENTH SESSION

INTERNATIONAL GREETINGS

Wednesday Afternoon, May 5, at 2 o'clock

ORCHESTRA HALL

HONORABLE RICHARD BARTHOLDT, M. C., Presiding

MR. BARTHOLDT:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: Having had my say yesterday, I shall not detain you with a speech in opening this session. Goethe, the German poet and philosopher, says that man is but an animal with a soul. The war party in this country and every other country appeals to the animal in man. We, the peace party, appeal to the soul of man. (Applause.) This has been borne out, I believe, by the speeches you have heard before, and I am quite sure it will be corroborated by the speeches you are going to hear this afternoon from the representatives of foreign countries. We have in the United States a very large element of our population whose cradle or whose parents' cradle stood in the Old Fatherland. They are Americans to the core. The American internal policies are their policies; the American foreign policies are their policies. Only do they wish to lay emphasis upon one thing: it is their hearts' desire that the traditional friendship between the United States and Germany may be maintained for all time to come. (Applause.) There is no man in the wide world who at the present time is contributing so much to strengthen these bonds of friendship as the present German Ambassador in the United States, and I esteem it a privilege to present to you as the first speaker of the afternoon Count von Bernstorff. (Applause.)

Greetings from Germany

COUNT JOHANN HEINRICH VON BERNSTORFF, AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF GERMANY

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I am exceedingly gratified that your kind invitation has given me the opportunity of visiting this great city and meeting so many prominent men who have done and are doing so much for the purpose you have met to further. Every government can sympathize with the purposes which this Congress has met to promote. You did not come to Chicago, some of you from far away, to dream the dream of eternal peace, but to seek for practical methods to serve the cause of international peace with honor. Men who like myself have the duty to protect and advance the interests of their own country would not be able to join in dreaming a dream from which we would soon awake to the stern reality of the fierce struggle for existence that according to the law of nature results in the survival of the fittest. This Congress is, however, as I said before, not striving for the impossible. If I am not mistaken its chief object is to create a public sentiment for organization of international justice by further development of the principle of arbitration and to discuss the question of the limitation of armaments.

I beg leave to express an opinion on these two subjects from the German point of view. Our government and people heartily sympathize with the idea of submitting such questions to arbitration which do not involve national honor and vital national interests. If my government were unwilling to enter into a general treaty of obligatory arbitration, they on the other hand have always declared themselves willing to conclude treaties of arbitration with other governments in pairs. The German Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs only a few weeks ago gave expression to this view before the German Parliament. Baron Schoen said: "The Imperial Government is by no means opposed to concluding arbitration treaties with other governments in pairs. We have concluded such a treaty with Great Britain. We had also concluded one with the United States of America. It was not our fault that this treaty did not take effect, but we hope that

the difficulties which stood in the way may be overcome. In our opinion, however, a general arbitration treaty is by no means always necessary for the purpose of settling controversies which might lead to conflicts. The German Foreign Office has for many years been in the habit of proposing arbitration in cases of controversies between the German and foreign governments. It has thus been possible to settle several disagreeable questions at issue before they developed into conflicts. We shall in future also proceed in the same way."

Moreover, in the course of last winter my government agreed with France to submit the Casablanca question to arbitration, a question which came very near involving national honor, as a German consular official has been attacked by foreign troops. You will all agree with me that no government could well do more for the cause of arbitration.

As to the question of the limitation of armaments, you all know that the German government could not see their way to take any steps in this matter.

The Imperial Chancellor has several times explained in his speeches before the Imperial Parliament that the reduction of armaments was no doubt desirable, but that it was difficult to find a practical solution of the question, as it could not be decided upon abstract principles or mathematical calculations. Our armaments, the Chancellor went on to say, are established by a law which everybody can study if he cares to do so, and measured solely by our own defense requirements for the purpose of the protection of our commerce and coasts; and, as has been insisted on at many previous occasions, present no menace to any people.

Incidentally I may mention that we will in 1912 have ten Dreadnoughts and three Invincibles and not seventeen or twenty-five Dreadnoughts, as was wrongly stated.

Many of you will have blamed us for taking the above views of the case, but you may think differently on the subject if you will kindly follow me in briefly reviewing the history of Germany for the last three centuries.

No doubt there are a number of ladies and gentlemen in this great assemblage who have visited Germany and traveled along the beautiful banks of the Neckar and Rhine, where numerous ruins of magnificent castles tell the sad tale of devas-

tation by foreign invaders. Battle after battle was fought out by foreign armies on German soil because the people of the thinkers and dreamers were not united and therefore not strong enough to repel hostile invasions. This state of affairs might have gone on forever, if the cosmopolitan, idealistic and unpractical Germany of the eighteenth century had not been aroused to indignation by the humiliation and misery it suffered a hundred years ago, when it had to submit to the First Napoleon's yoke. In those days the German nation learned the lesson that it is the right and duty of every man to protect his home and his country to the last drop of blood that remains in his body and that he must be ready to give his life for something greater than himself, something beyond his selfish interests. Every one of you would do the same today, you would all draw the sword for the liberty and freedom of your country.

Such was the birthday of the present German army, or, to use the more correct expression, of the German nation in arms. And now what has been the results of this institution? Since that day no foreign army ever again set its foot on German soil and a prosperity is reigning in all classes of the German people which would have seemed incredible to our forefathers because they were always subject to encroachments of their powerful neighbors.

If you bear these historical facts in mind you will easily understand why we believe that we must keep our army and navy at full strength and in a high state of efficiency. It is one of the most difficult problems for the student of history to regard the affairs of foreign nations with that fine sympathetic insight which enables him to understand the feelings of nations and men differing in educations, habits and principles from himself.

Every nation follows more or less distinctive traditions of thought. They all declare that they are the most peaceful nation of the world, but they only believe this of themselves and not of others, because they are often ignorant of the disposition, purposes and qualities of other people. Therefore one must judge nations like individuals by their acts and not according to prejudices.

In the hundred years that have passed since we became a nation in arms we only went to war when it was absolutely neces-

sary for the purpose of the unification of Germany. This object was worth fighting for and could not be obtained by peaceful means. If our neighbors had let Germany unite without interfering, we would have had no war at all. And since we were a united nation, we never went to war. We wish to mind our own business and not to be disturbed in it. We are happy and contented and are therefore no menace to neighboring nations. But our geographical situation and the lessons we learnt from an eventful history have taught us to believe that George Washington's words still hold good, who, as you all know, said: "To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace."

Only twice during the last forty years did our soldiers have to fight. On one occasion they fought shoulder to shoulder with the troops of the United States for the cause of civilization in China. This expedition cannot be called a war, neither can one use this expression when we speak of the rebellion in Southwest Africa which had to be subdued. Moreover, in both cases which I mentioned the national army was not sent to war. Our troops in China and Africa were composed of volunteers. It was not even possible to enlist the great number of officers and soldiers who desired to join the flag.

I often hear our Emperor spoken of in this country as a war lord. You must, however, not forget that although he has reigned for twenty-one years at the head of the strongest army of the world he never made a war. Our armaments are intended to preserve peace for our own people and so far as possible to prevent war from breaking out in other parts of the world where we have interests to protect.

Only a short time ago the Balkan question brought Europe to the verge of war. Peace was preserved chiefly on account of the fact that the whole power of Germany was thrown on the scale of peace. Consequently all warlike tendencies vanished which had sprung up here and there. Such good work Germany has again and again during the last forty years done for the cause of peace. The success of this work would, however, be compromised if the efficiency of the German armaments could be called in question.

Let me close my address, ladies and gentlemen, by thanking you for your kind attention.

MR. BARTHOLDT:

Before introducing the next speaker I have a happy announcement to make, namely, that the negotiations which have been dropped for a year or so for an arbitration treaty between the United States and Germany have been resumed, and there is every reason to believe will be carried to a successful conclusion in the very near future. (Applause.)

I now have the pleasure and the honor to introduce the official representative of an empire in which militarism is spelled with a small "m" and peace with a very large "P" (applause); an empire which has remained true to the policies which our own forefathers once adopted, namely, that for the purpose of maintaining peace, battleships are unnecessary (applause); that our security rests upon our stout hearts, our patriotism, our vast resources and our isolated geographical position. (Applause.)

I have the honor to introduce to you His Excellency Doctor Wu Ting Fang, Minister of the German Empire in the United States——

(This slip of the tongue on the part of the chairman was received with great laughter, and as he promptly corrected himself he said "the Chinese Empire," and he added, "I was a little too previous.")

Minister Wu Ting Fang was greeted with great applause, and said:

Greetings from China

DR. WU TING-FANG.

I am very happy to bring to you today the greetings of the oldest empire in the world, of which I have the honor to be the official representative. Especially proud I am to stand before you this afternoon because the nation I represent is famed for its love of peace. When it is remembered that China has a population of four hundred millions, you will agree with me that its attitude on the subject of war and peace is of some importance to the world at large, and I can assure you that whatever other

changes, political, educational and social, may take place in my country, her traditional policy of settling disputes by discussion and amicable means will not be departed from. China has no schemes of self-aggrandizement at the expense of others—so often the cause and pretext of bellicose action. Even in her days of past conservatism and seclusion from the nations of the west, her only desire was to be left alone and be permitted to enjoy peace. Her motto has been and is "Live and let live."

It is not, however, that the Chinese are afraid to fight. When compelled by necessity, they make a good record for themselves. It is their disposition, their education, which has made them peace-loving people.

In recent years the reorganization of the army occupies a prominent place on our program of reform, and the excellent showing made by our troops of the northern and southern armies at the maneuvers of the past two years, witnessed and favorably reported by correspondents and military experts of different nations, proves that there is good material in our people for the making of soldiers. The reorganization of our army need not, however, create the least alarm, nor is it in conflict with the objects of this society. The Chinese government has been actuated by one aim, and that is to place the troops in a state of efficiency for police and defensive purposes only. This is in accordance with the principle laid down by many eminent statesmen, that in order to maintain and preserve peace it is necessary to be prepared for war. China never has been and never will be aggressive in a military way; she is too fond of peace and realizes too fully the horrors of war.

If general disarmament should be proposed you will not find China indisposed to accept it. I am aware that upon this subject there is a difference of views. We all have yet to learn and to educate public opinion for the cause of peace. Many inventions and discoveries have been made in the last several centuries which have contributed to the welfare of mankind. But what greater good work can there be, I venture to ask, than that of interesting people in the cause of universal peace and leading them to see the folly and brutality of slaughtering one another by fearful machinery which is the object of this peace society?

I congratulate the president and those gentlemen who are

associated with him in doing this good work, and it affords me great gratification to take a humble part in the meeting of this Congress.

It must be remembered that in no period of human history has commerce reached such gigantic proportions as at present. The marked advance in transportation facilities by the inventions of the last century has caused international trade to become a feature of current history. The application of steam and electricity, both on land and on the sea, has revolutionized methods of trade and travel. Not long ago fifteen hundred tons of pig iron from the Hanyang Steel and Iron Works, which are in the central part of China, traveled six hundred miles down the Yangtse River and fourteen thousand miles by sea and were laid down in Brooklyn, New York, at \$17.50 per ton. The terminus of the longest railway in the world is Peking, and it is possible to travel today on an unbroken road from the interior of my country to Paris, France. These facts alone are enough to show that nations are interdependent, and should have friendly relations with each other. No nation nowadays should wantonly declare war, because the commercial interests of the world's nations are too valuable to be jeopardized by such action.

In conclusion I would add that our attitude on this question cannot be better expressed, I think, than by a quotation from Sir Robert Hart, who has been half a century in China. He says, "the Chinese believe in right so firmly that they scorn to think it requires to be supported or enforced by might." In short, we believe that right makes might and not might makes right, and I am sanguine enough to believe that the whole world is coming around to adopt that view, which is eminently the right one.

Representing as I do, therefore, a nation peaceable by nature and choice, taught from our infancy to abhor violence and reverence for right and reason, to worship literary and industrial pursuits and to neglect and despise martial vainglory, I am very happy, I repeat, to bring to you this afternoon the greetings of my countrymen.

MR. BARTHOLDT:

The first great battleship of the modern type was built by Great Britain, but I regret to say that it was left to the

United States to enlarge upon that model. The latest naval program adopted by Congress authorized the construction of two battleships with 26,000 tons' displacement, which is 6,000 tons more than the Dreadnought type has. If they keep on at that ratio they will build them so large that when one of these monsters of the sea is to be turned around in the water there will be an inundation on three continents. (Laughter.) And after they have built all these battleships and do not know for what other purpose to spend the people's money, they will begin to advocate a policy of erecting forts and fortifications along the British possessions. I am happy to say, however, that up to the present hour not one dollar has been spent to fortify ourselves against our northern neighbors. (Applause.) And probably that is the best evidence of the relations which exist between the United States and Great Britain.

I shall briefly mention two facts when we consider British-American relations. One is that Great Britain at the Second Hague Conference insisted upon a consideration of the question of gradual disarmament. (Applause.) Unfortunately the only friends they found at The Hague were the American delegates.

Another incident: King Edward two years ago conferred knighthood upon a plain laboring man, and that man was Randal Cremer, the founder of the Interparliamentary Union. And it is the only evidence on record of any crowned monarch having thus honored an humble man because he had distinguished himself in the noble cause of peace.

I now have the honor to present to you the Counselor of the British Embassy, Mr. Alfred Mitchell Innes. (Applause.)

Greetings from Great Britain

MR. ALFRED MITCHELL INNES.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: In the first instance I must express to you the deep regret of my Ambassador that he is unable to be present among you here today. If he were to accept one-half of the invitations which he receives in this hospitable country, he would have to subdivide himself into many sections.

I must also express my own regret that no one more fit has been chosen to represent him here. I can make no claim even to a fraction of Mr. Bryce's knowledge and ability, and I am a novice in the art of oratory, and therefore you may find the few words I shall take the liberty of saying trite and tame, and I must ask your indulgence.

We cannot calculate the effect upon the history of the world of meetings like this. None of us, I suppose, expects that these meetings will have any immediate outward and visible effect upon the foreign policies of the different countries. We shall all be satisfied, I take it, if we can here influence the feeling of a large body of individuals from whom as a center the great sentiment of peace and good fellowship may radiate; and this I do firmly believe we can accomplish.

If it is true to say that the sentiment of a people influences the policy of their government, it is equally true to say that the policy of government influences the sentiment of the people. I have myself known a case where an act of true policy and political wisdom seemed to create a sudden revolution in the feelings of two great nations, but the suddenness of the revolution was, I believe, more apparent than real. The real friendship already existed and was growing in intensity until all that was required for it to burst from that into a flame was the vigorous blast of the bellows of statesmen wise enough to understand the exigencies of the situation. When we see such spontaneous combustion, as it were, we may be sure that it is not really spontaneous. The underlying heat of mutual good-will, I believe, exists in practically every country, among every people, and all that is required is that the air should be cleared, that something should be done which will sweep away the superimposed rubbish, the dust, often of centuries; and I believe that meetings like this can do much to sweep away such rubbish.

It is believed and it is generally said that one of the most powerful causes of friendship is intercommunication between different races, and no doubt this is the case, but the idea must be taken with some qualification. It does not always follow because we know each other better that we love each other better. No people know each other so well as husband and wife, but they do not always love each other more after they are married than

they did before, although I hope that they usually do. But intercommunication is not sufficient; it is not all that is required.

Much is said about the difficulty that different races have in understanding one another. Rudyard Kipling says "The East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet." My experience is not that. I have lived in many countries amongst people differing as much as people can, and the longer I have lived in such countries the more I have doubted the truth of that proposition. I do not believe that there is any gulf fixed between any one race and any other race which prevents them from understanding each other. The difficulties, no doubt, exist. Different people have difficulty in understanding each other; we even have difficulty in understanding ourselves very often, and in analyzing our motives.

But this is not the paramount difficulty between different countries. The United States is a living example of the fact that different states, different races, not only ought to live together in peace, but can and do so. We get people from many different races and many different parts of the world here and they blend and mingle in one harmonious whole. No doubt common language and common institutions have something to do with this, but after all the difference of institutions is no cause of quarrel, a variety of languages is no reason for hostility. The real difficulty is in putting one's self in the place of another, of seeing the same circumstances from two sides at once, one's own side and from somebody else's side.

Most people in similar circumstances are alike. If A's conduct appears to B to be outrageous and inexplicable, and if B's conduct appears the same to A, they do not realize that both A and B, if they had changed places, would have acted exactly as the other did.

We cultivate, as it were, a habit of suspicion, and to the suspicious all things are suspicious. If a man is reticent, he is accused of being secretive; if he is frank, his frankness is said to conceal some Machiavellian policy. Nothing he can do is right. If we could only get rid of the habit of suspicion and put in its place the habit of friendship, we should reach our goal of peace (applause), but the greatest cause of enmity is another—it is mutual fear.

Few of us recognize the vast role which mutual fear plays in every sphere of policy and all through history. History is nothing but a story of mutual fear, fear of man for man, of country for country, class for class—for when we see serfs rising against their masters, people rising against their government, or subject races rising against their conquerors, it is rarely due to any ill-treatment, but simply due to one act or to some small number of acts applied to quite a small number of people which arouses in the whole country a fear, not of what has passed but of something that might come. If a revolution has been suppressed with merciless severity, it is not that those in power are inhuman and cruel. It is merely that they fear what the effect would be if the people rose again. Brutality is a means of defense against a danger to be feared.

It is a curious thing that in every realm of the animal kingdom the emotion of fear and the expression of defiance are practically identical. Dogs crouch and raise their hackles when they are afraid, also when they aim to fight. A lion crouches to spring, and he crouches from fear. Monkeys gibber from fear and gibber at each other as a challenge. All do the same, and we, I am afraid, act very much as they do. We gibber at each other when we are afraid of each other, and we brandish our arms in their faces, our navies and our armies, not nearly so much because we want to fight, but simply because we are afraid but don't want to show it.

Our British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Sir Edward Gray, recently said that our modern armaments were a satire upon civilization. It is a much greater satire upon civilization to think that we in the expression of our emotions have risen very little above the brute creation as yet.

You here in America are in a privileged position. You share a whole continent with one other nation of the same family who have no hostility and no jealousy to fear. It may be that one day in your isolation, in your splendid isolation, to follow the phrase of the late Lord Salisbury, "you may be called upon to exorcise this terrible specter of war," and if so, no nobler mission could fall to the lot of any country. If that day ever comes it will be true to say that the New World was called forth, not, as

has been said, to redress the challenge of the Old World, but to heal its wounds. (Prolonged applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN:

Whenever the Congress of the United States has to vote for appropriations for war purposes, there appear over night war clouds in the horizon. They usually appear the day before the vote is to be taken. (Applause and laughter.) No one knows where they come from, but everybody knows that they will disappear after the vote has been taken. (Renewed laughter.)

So it was recently in the case of a little trouble in California; but in spite of the scare which the newspaper, with all due deference to the press, tried to raise, there were enough members of the House of Representatives and of the Senate to vote down the program of four battleships and only grant two. (Applause.) I was one of them. (Renewed applause.) In a few remarks I had the honor to make on that occasion, I said that Japan begs to be our friend and we should be hers. But all this will be more eloquently told you by the representative of that great Oriental Empire, Mr. Matsubara, Japanese Consul in Chicago. (Applause.)

Greetings from Japan

MR. K. MATSUBARA.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

In this glorious and memorable meeting of the Second National Peace Congress I take it as a great privilege to assure you that our people are among the foremost who have heartfelt sympathy and respect toward the noble movement of promoting universal peace.

Some time ago a Japanese naval officer was in Chicago on his way back to Japan from some European city where he was stationed as a naval attache to the Japanese Embassy. While taking luncheon with him, I asked him whether he would like to visit the world-famous Union Stock Yards. His immediate and sincere response was: "I do not like to see blood flow any more. If I visit the Union Stock Yards I have to see blood, haven't I? Ah, it is disgusting to me. It reminds me of the horrible scenes

of the recent war." By the way, he was a commander of a battleship which belonged to Admiral Togo's fleet and fought bravely on the Sea of Japan during the Japan-Russia War. "I do not like to see blood shed." This is the sentiment of all Japan.

We enjoyed an undisturbed peace for three hundred years, without having a single fight with the outside world. History shows we are a peace-loving nation. It is true that circumstances forced us to reluctant fights with our neighbors in recent years. Indeed, we fought for nothing but self-defense and justice.

Through these experiences we realize what war means—its dreadful and horrible effects on all sides, wrecking homes, bringing widows and orphans, losing the lives of millions, dissipating billions of money and paralyzing all sorts of industry. A jingo who indulges in war talk is one who is entirely ignorant of the real effect of war.

We crave peace. We are not behind any nation in aspiring that a universal peace will some day displace the onerous burden of armament and the lamentable tortures of war.

I am here with a message from our Ambassador, Baron Takahira, who was prevented from attending this meeting on account of a previous engagement. His message reads as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL PEACE CONGRESS: To my great regret I find it impossible for me to attend the Second National Peace Congress to which you have cordially invited me. Pray express to your friends assembled to promote the sacred cause of universal peace how sorry I am that I cannot be with you and them.

Thanks to the labors of your Congress and other sister organizations in America, the cause of arbitration and peace has made substantial progress within the recent few years. The conclusion of more than a score of arbitration treaties during that period between the United States and other powers—and I am happy to say Japan is one of those who entered first into the compact with your country—is most gratifying as well as significant; for not only does it add to the glory of the American sense of justice and peace but it also encourages us in the hope which

you and all of us cherish so much at heart—the ultimate realization of the world's lasting peace.

While thus you ought to be congratulated on the success you are making step by step, it may well be remembered that the conclusion of an arbitration treaty is by no means in itself a guarantee of peace among nations or a substitution of reason for unreason in international dealings. There is a prerequisite to be considered, as it appears to me, before we can expect to reap the full benefit of the arbitration treaty; that is to say, there must be developed a high sense of national as well as international justice on the part of the peoples and governments of those nations who enter into the compact, lest the conclusion of the arbitration treaty might tempt even more easily than otherwise a nation, whose national conscience and practice are not altogether on the plane of recognized principles of modern civilization, to be not only irresponsibly litigious but even preposterously defiant in its attitude towards its conciliatory neighbors—thus stirring up ill-feelings between nations instead of placating them.

Let us hope, therefore, that the people and the press of the countries that entered into those treaties may unite with you in their endeavors in elevating and strengthening the public sentiment of the world against unjust and unreasonable practices of arousing international difficulties, or of removing them so that full effect be given to the treaties they made.

May your continued noble labors carry still further the excellent work already achieved by them.

K. TAKAHIRA.

MR. BARTHOLDT:

When in the summer of 1903 I returned from Vienna from a meeting of the Interparliamentary Union to report to President Roosevelt that I had taken it upon myself to invite the fifteen hundred or two thousand members of foreign parliaments comprising that organization to come to America and hold their next meeting on American soil, at that time there was probably not one man in a hundred who knew what the Interparliamentary Union was. At the present date I am sure that all those who have taken an interest in the cause of arbitration and peace are familiar with the work and the purposes of that great organization.

In 1899 that union met at Christiania, Norway, and I found there that every man, woman and child was familiar with the Interparliamentary Union; I also discovered that in that country they have a peace budget. It is one of the few countries where regular appropriations are made for peace propaganda (applause), out of which funds, for instance, the traveling expenses of the members of their parliament who wish to attend the meeting of the Interparliamentary Union are defrayed. Next winter, with your aid, we shall try in Congress to establish a peace budget for the same purpose.

I now have the honor to introduce to you a representative of that country where peace and arbitration are household words, Dr. Halvdan Koht, of Norway. (Applause.)

Greetings from Norway

DR. HALVDAN KOHT.

I am very proud to be given this opportunity of addressing such a worthy assembly of representatives of America's noblest aspirations and of expressing to you the hearty sympathy of my far-off country for your great task.

Sent by the Norwegian government and our State University, I have for more than half a year been traveling about in your immense country, or I should say this world of yours, to study the progress and drift of the powerful forces that are working themselves out here.

Notwithstanding the obvious difference of conditions between a small nation like Norway, numbering but little more than two million people, and this mighty union of prosperous states, I have felt myself much at home among your people. Why? Because I have found in this nation a deeply rooted trait that I am flattering myself is also one of the chief characteristics of my own people. That is that insuppressible love of fairness, that manly straightforwardness, that insistence upon right, that makes for justice—justice between individuals, justice between classes, justice between nations—justice, the everlasting foundation of universal peace.

I think it would be more than a mere chance that the Congress of the United States and the Storthing of Norway were

the first parliaments of the world to declare for an organization of justice throughout the world, to provide honorable arbitration in international conflicts in place of shameful war. And I hope you will forgive my boasting of the fact that it was my father who initiated this parliamentary peace work in Norway. For that purpose he joined forces with the great Swedish pacifist, that same idealist Arnoldson who last year received the glorious Nobel peace prize from the committee appointed by the Norwegian Storting.

Thus was realized in the finest way the noble thought of that great Swede with the most appropriate name of Nobel, who a dozen years ago left to Norway the honor of awarding every year a part of his fortune to the best worker for peace between the nations.

I desire to point to you these cases of co-operation for peace of the two Scandinavian countries, Norway and Sweden, because I suppose you have heard more about their struggles and conflicts than about their united efforts in behalf of common ideals.

For my own country I dare cheerfully say that in her whole struggle for complete sovereignty, that sovereignty that was her heritage of olden times and still was guaranteed by the very words of her free and democratic constitution, the will of the nation was strongly set for nothing but justice.

Norway wanted justice and peace—peace through justice, justice through peace. And I think both Norway and Sweden may rightly be proud of the fact that in the clash of the national demands a peaceful solution was found.

The secession of Norway is perhaps the only secession that has been accomplished without arms by the wish of both parties. Sweden set a fine example to the world in not trying to overthrow by force the re-erection of Norwegian independence. And when she thought it safe to put up certain conditions for her compliance with the new order of things, Norway, although not acknowledging the right of Sweden to do so, offered her certain compensations for what she felt as a loss, solely for the sake of peace. So both nations have proved by deeds the sincerity of their words and will.

Whatever work is accomplished in any part of the world for international justice and peace is followed by the good wishes of

the government, the Storting and the whole nation of Norway.

We have been glad to join in the great world movement of peace and to give what contribution it was within our power to yield. But all the small nations of the world are largely handicapped in the run for peace. The small nations are the very ones that most of all need organization of peace, because they are too weak to maintain themselves by sheer force of arms. Peace is the very condition of life to the small nation, the constant cry of rescue arising from their hearts. Only the great nations are able to establish the peace of the world. It is therefore to you that we must look. I am speaking today to the greatest nation of the world, greatest not only for what it is in this movement, but still more for what the future promises. And I say to you, remember that also your nation once was small and weak and needed justice. Remember that your nation is built up by forces brought together from every part of the world, from small nations as well as from great ones. Yours has become the greatest power of the world. Yours is the greatest responsibility for the future. Justice has been the most glorious pride of the United States. It is your task to carry that ideal of justice forward until it becomes the law of the world.

MR. BARTHOLDT:

The Chair is requested to ask the audience to keep their seats after the next speech, because various important announcements will be made.

We have always felt that we are right. Now we know it (laughter and applause), having had our sentiments and our hopes and aspirations confirmed by the representatives of half the world assembled here. We look forward to the administration of President Taft (applause) with great hopes, because we know that a judicial mind is one of the main characteristics of the President of the United States, and a cause which simply purposes to substitute law and justice for force and war should in our judgment strongly appeal to a judicial President like Mr. Taft. (Applause.)

We are fortunate and feel honored in having with us this afternoon a representative of the official family of our President, and I know of no one who could more fittingly and more prop-

erly respond to the sentiments we have heard from the lips of our foreign friends than the Secretary of the Interior, Hon. Richard A. Ballinger. (Applause.)

America's Response

HON RICHARD A. BALLINGER.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I am commissioned by the President of the United States to bear to you tidings of good-will and encouragement in your praiseworthy efforts for universal peace.

The first President of the United States wrote this message of peace:

"Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this counsel. It will be worthy of a free, enlightened and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too often novel example of a people always guided by exalted justice and benevolence.

"Nothing is more essential than that inveterate antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments to others should be excluded, and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated."

This doctrine by its continual reiteration during the history of this Republic has acquired almost the force and sanctity of law.

"Let us ever remember," said President McKinley, "that our interest is in concord, not conflict; that our true glory rests in the triumphs of peace, not those of war."

The hope for universal peace is hardly utopian; under possible conditions it is eminently practicable; hence to learn these possible conditions and how to establish them is the purpose for which your conference is held, and your efforts so earnestly put forth.

Again, if your work is to have its just reward, the ancient ideals and estimates of men must be changed; they must not be martial; they must arise out of the victories of peace. The resources of men must be conserved not for war, but for the moral

and religious uplift of humanity and for the security of property and happiness in all lands.

The optimist finds no insurmountable hindrances in abolishing the arbitrament of international quarrels by the sword; the pessimist sees a sword in every hand, but between the two extremes are the great forces which make for common progress, like the glacial rivers that have carved and molded the surface of the earth with irresistible power.

Every nation and every useful interest in every nation trembles at the rumblings of war, as the people beneath the smoke and ashes of *Ætna* tremble at the rumblings of the forces of nature which handle with such violence the foundations of the earth. But when the power of selfishness and combativeness of man is chained by a universal conscience of love and tolerance for the rights of his neighbor, then we can sing as Pippa sang in the streets of Asola:

"God's in his Heaven,
All's right with the world."

Now and then there breaks forth a great conflagration which the agencies of men seem powerless to arrest and which only dies out after consuming everything combustible in its pathway; so it seems to have been with the passions of men, that they at times become so inflamed that they are quenched only by exhaustion through war. As long as man has passions, as long as life has woes, will it ever be otherwise? Will the hosannas of peace be sung without battleships upon the seas and men standing in arms? Will hatreds and prejudices of race, the jealousy and fear of power, ever give way throughout the world to neighborly love and insoluble fraternity? Aye! Will wars be no more while humanity exists with its selfishness and its wickedness, its depths of passion and of pride?

Recurring to the analogy, we know that in conflagrations great progress has been made in arresting the power of this demon of destruction; so with the cruel and wicked passions of men, we have our governments to regulate the conduct of the citizen so that the rights of life, of liberty and of property may be made reasonably secure. Thus we have liberty regulated by law; but with all this, no large community is immune from riot

and violence, from murder and rapine, but the law gives to life, liberty and property protection just in proportion to the extent of good citizenship which each community or country possesses for its enforcement.

We take courage then in the fact that throughout the major portion of the world the law rules, and wherever enforced by intelligent citizenship peace rules.

The peace of the world would therefore seem to be dependent (1) upon the citizenship of the nations being of that character which would insure the creation of just laws and their enforcement, (2) upon a type of international citizenship which would insure the creation of just international laws, and a substantial tribunal for their enforcement.

It seems to me that any formula which neglects these elements must fall short of preventing the evils aimed at.

The problem may appear simple of solution in theory, but its practical operation requires the patient endurance of ages of training and civic discipline.

What measure of progress have we made in the last century? Very great. Wars even have been in a sense civilized. Many are the restraints and bulwarks against armed conflict which the civilized powers have erected. A strong factor for peace is the Hague Court, where the disputes of honest differences will inevitably go when diplomacy fails. But the most potent agency of modern times is the increased sense of national justice, in which our own country has been a marked example. It is the international citizenship we possess which stamps our nation as a leader in the perfection of international law and in the effort to erect a great peace tribunal at The Hague.

Education lies at the root of the progress of a healthful sentiment for peace. Honesty in trade and commerce is the next element, and prosperity at home is not only a source of domestic tranquillity, but breeds the spirit of benevolence towards our neighbors abroad.

What a glorious spirit of humanity has been shown by all the great nations in times of disaster, like that at Messina, in Italy, at Martinique, and San Francisco.

So as the nations prosper the world becomes better. A busy nation, like a busy man, has little time for mischief. For this

reason the prosperity of the toiling masses in any country is one of the greatest safeguards against disturbance, and with the growth and dissemination of intelligence among the masses, which was never so marked as today, little is to be feared in the way of internal troubles, so long as the people rule.

The interdependence of nations for the necessities of life is increasing day by day, and we are beginning to read into national conduct, as we do in the conduct of the citizen, that it has no right to disturb the peace of the world; that the interests of the nations at large are greater than those of the single nation.

It is a source of mutual congratulation that so many citizens of the enlightened nations of the world are laboring together for universal peace. Why, let me ask, can they not take on a still higher type of citizenship? While my liege lord is the great Republic, I am also a citizen of the State of Washington. I know of no reason why I could not take out naturalization papers in the Peace League of Nations, provided such an entity were created. There could be citizenship in no higher kingdom, except that above.

Let us hope while we pray, and pray while we hope that the standards of citizenship among all peoples may continually advance; that the controversies of the future between nations shall be settled by men big enough to fill any function or office in this higher grade of citizenship; that they may be constrained in the spirit of brotherly love and that the poetry of war with the heroes and the heroines of war shall all take their place with the rich sentiment of primitive days.

Nevertheless we will doubtless retain the emotions so truly expressed by Richard Le Gallienne:

"War
I abhor,
And yet how sweet
The sound along the marching street
Of drum and fife! And I forget
Wet eyes of widows, and forget
Broken old mothers, and the whole
Dark butchery without a soul."

If it be desirable to abandon the martial spirit and substitute in its place the advanced ideas of humanity upon a higher intellectual and moral plane, as a safeguard for universal peace, we must place the ban upon the "Marseillaise" in every land, and instead of our children being taught to sing "I'm a Soldier of the Cross," they should substitute "On earth peace, good-will toward men."

If we are to make progress intellectually and morally in the advancement of peace, we should cultivate in song, story, thought and action the ways of peace.

DR. JENKIN LLOYD JONES:

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I am asked to present a last word of thanks to those who have helped us make a success of this great meeting. Last Sunday with some trepidation I offered you this program of some sixteen different sections representing some fifty or more speakers. The program has been carried out almost literally, with only one or two or three departures.

I would remind you again that here in this body of this auditorium at the present time we have appointed delegates from thirty-two different states, appointed by the governors of the states, representatives of perhaps sixty different cities, and I shall speak only as a Chicagoan, leaving our neighbor from St. Louis and representative in Congress to say the last word on behalf of the Congress. But on behalf of the citizens of Chicago and the committee who have worked to bring this great meeting to such a high issue, I am asked to move a vote of thanks to the press of Chicago, who for once played fair anyhow (applause), eliminated the yellow and elevated the white and noble; and also to include in this a vote of thanks to the Chicago Association of Commerce. For once the business man forgot his business, or rather remembered his higher business and through his business sagacity and energy this Congress has been made possible. So I move you, Mr. Chairman, on behalf of this Congress, a vote of thanks to the press of Chicago and to the Association of Commerce of Chicago.

(The motion was seconded and unanimously carried by a rising vote.)

CHAIRMAN BARTHOLDT:

This concludes the Second National Peace Congress. (Applause.) The noblest use to which a battleship can be put and has ever been put is to carry food supplies to the stricken of other countries. (Applause.) This has been done by the American fleet in the case of Italy. Let us go home in the hope that our battleships in the future may never be put to any other use. (Applause.)

Dr. Jenkin Lloyd Jones then offered the following closing prayer:

"O Thou Infinite Spirit of life and love, who hast created of one blood all nations of men, our hearts go out in gratitude to Thee, the Father of us all, as we go forth from this place touched with a new purpose, to live as becomes brothers and sisters in the great Household of Man. O Father, use us in such a way that Thy kingdom may come more speedily, and the nations of earth may dwell together more peacefully and the war drums be heard no longer and the battle flags be furled in the Federation Parliament of Man and of the World."

THE BANQUET

Wednesday Evening, May 5

*Given by the Chicago Association of Commerce to the Guests of
Honor and Delegates to the Second National Peace Congress*

THE AUDITORIUM HOTEL

President E. M. SKINNER, Toastmaster

Invocation was offered by Rev. Charles E. Beals, of Boston.

MR. SKINNER:

In order not to inconvenience our guests we decided not to use the north and south wings, but to hold a second meeting in the Gold Room of the Congress Hotel, presided over by Vice-President Wheeler. Through the courtesy of our speakers the programs will be practically the same, as our speakers will exchange with theirs.

It is with great regret that I have to announce the illness of the Swedish Ambassador, Mr. Lagercrantz, who expected to be with us and anticipated the pleasure of being here as we anticipated the pleasure of having him here. We received a telegram last evening announcing his illness.

I desire to read a letter from Baron Rosen, Ambassador of Russia:

"I have just received your kind and courteous invitation to attend the banquet to be given by your Association on Wednesday, May 5, in connection with the National Peace Congress.

"Appreciating highly the honor done me by this invitation, I am compelled to say that to my great regret my engagements here will not permit me to undertake the journey to Chicago for the purpose of attending the banquet on the 5th of May.

"With assurances of my distinguished regard, I remain,

"Yours very truly,

"ROSEN,

"Ambassador of Russia."

I also desire to read a letter from the French Ambassador, M. Jusserand.

"DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: As, for the reason you know, it will be impossible for me, greatly to my regret, to be present at the 5th of May banquet, I beg permission to be represented by the French Consul in Chicago, Baron Houssin de Saint-Laurent.

"His presence will be a token of the sympathy with which my country follows your efforts in favor of international peace, efforts which are in every way similar to those made by her, as it may be recalled that the first of these arbitration treaties, uniform in their wording, which have happily become so numerous of late, was signed with England by France.

"I hope you will excuse Baron de Saint-Laurent if with my authorization he desires only to be present and not to be called upon to address the assembly.

"With best wishes for the success of all the defenders of the good cause you have at heart, and fully aware that what Chicago wants she usually gets, I beg you to believe me, dear Mr. President,

Very sincerely yours,

"JUSSERAND,

"French Ambassador."

Also letter from the Ambassador of Mexico, F. L. De la Barra, which is as follows:

"On account of unsatisfactory news that have just reached me concerning Mrs. De la Barra's health, I am obliged to sail for Europe tomorrow, thus being prevented from accepting your kind invitation for the evening of Wednesday, May the 5th, which was to afford me such a great honor and pleasure.

"With the hope that my return will soon take place and that I will then have the opportunity of meeting you, I beg to remain, my dear Mr. President, with sentiments of gratitude,

"Most sincerely yours,

"F. L. DE LA BARRA."

MR. SKINNER:

FRIENDS OF PEACE: The Chicago Association of Commerce wishes to add its welcome to this great city that has been so appropriately designated "the melting pot of the universe." It is peculiarly fitting that this Second National Peace Congress of the

United States should be held in this city that is in itself a miniature "Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World."

Is there in the whole world a better example that the nations can work harmoniously together than this great city, of whose population of over two million people there are as many Germans as in Cologne or Frankfort-on-the-Main; more Irish than there are people in the three cities of Cork, Limerick and Londonderry; as many Bohemians as there are in the city of Pilsen; nearly three times as many Poles as there are in Lubin, the third largest city in Russia-Poland; and one-third as many Swedes as there are in the city of Stockholm?

In one Chicago public school are children of twenty-six different nationalities. It is Chicago, host of the country's counselors of peace, that sustains the plea of the Peace Congress that the peoples of the world, that nations can yet make the most difficult adjustments of race and material interests, and find in the quest of common good the line of least resistance to be the line of peace.

But peace, the universal peace which we believe the more advanced peoples desire, begins not in international conferences but in the numberless obscure communities of a commonwealth; and before peace cometh the love of peace.

With the love of peace, in the right-mindedness of which charity finds the atmosphere of justice, there finally forms a collective sentiment slow to anger and plenteous in forbearance. Men, cities, states, huge organizations arrayed in conflict think twice and invite arbitration. The world's hymns to concord are its congresses of peace, to one of which its handmaid Commerce offers the tribute of this evening's fellowship.

Truthfully has Theodore Roosevelt said:

"The people of the earth have advanced unequally along the road that leads to justice and fair dealing. The road stretches out far ahead even of those most advanced."

But it is also gratifying to know that great advances have been made toward universal peace; that the sentiment and progress of the times lead to peace; that all tendencies, even the enormous outlay of the governments of the world themselves, are hastening the time when war will be impossible. In the modern complex civilization war does not alone involve the people in

conflict but the whole world, and makes it the more necessary that no war be permitted without reference of the issues to the arbitrament of others. War may demonstrate that might can conquer, but in the final analyses of history the sword has proven more destroyer than builder, and the march of progress has been along the highways of peace. The need for international relationship in commerce and industry; the need for world's markets and the interchange of products, has led to the holding of world's fairs, and these industrial international expositions have drawn the nations into peaceful rivalry, and have shown by object lessons how the work of the world demands peace, fraternity and reciprocity. The much decried commercial spirit is the surest guarantee of peace. International commerce is the greatest promoter of international peace. Meetings such as this Peace Congress are only second to The Hague Conferences, to establish the dominion of which in a permanent court of supreme jurisdiction they surely seem to lead. In that day shall the poet's dream be law, when—

"All men's good is each man's rule,
And universal peace lies like a shaft of light across the land
And like a lane of beams athwart the sea
Through all the circle of the golden year."

THE TOASTMASTER:

We are honored by the presence of the Ambassador of Germany, Count von Bernstorff, who will speak to us on the subject of "Commerce and Peace."

Commerce and Peace

COUNT JOHANN HEINRICH VON BERNSTORFF

I desire to express my pleasure at being in this presence tonight. I have spoken three times today, and I have been very much impressed by all that I have seen in this marvelous city. I have spent such a very pleasant day and have partaken of food enough so that I am this evening at peace with all the world. (Laughter.) I believe that even my distinguished Chinese colleague, who is dining downstairs, would be perfectly satisfied if

he were up here, because this morning at luncheon he complained of there being no ladies present. I do not know exactly what the room downstairs looks like, but if it looks like this, I am sure that he would be perfectly satisfied, in seeing so many charming ladies present.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN: I have the honor and pleasure of addressing you for the third time today and I therefore believe it in your interest that I should only engage your attention for a few minutes. But I must tell you how deeply I feel the great kindness with which I have been received in Chicago. I am very much impressed by all I have seen in this marvelous city. We have been spending such a pleasant day and have had such a good dinner, that we are this evening sure to be at peace with all the world.

We are the guests of the most prominent merchants of this great city, where the extraordinary spirit of enterprise which is characteristic of the American people has achieved the most wonderful results. It is therefore only natural that one should think of the vital relation that exists between international commerce and peace. Commerce depends on the friendly relations between nations for the uninterrupted and profitable exchange of commodities to the fullest extent. Commerce draws nations together in friendly rivalry, because it is reciprocal and based on fair exchange and mutuality. International commerce is one of the greatest forces making for international peace that any of us can name. The more buying and selling is transacted between two nations, the better friends they become. The steamers which carry passengers and goods regularly between Hamburg, Bremen, New York and back are doing more to foster the friendly feelings happily existing between Germany and the United States than any ambassador can do, even if he makes three speeches in one day at a Peace Conference, as I have been doing. In my country the reciprocal effect of peace and commerce on one another was already manifest in medieval times, when the Hanse cities formed a league of peace and dominated the commerce of northern Europe and the Baltic. The union began in a small way in Luebeck and soon had a membership of eighty cities. The object of the league was to enable its members to carry on their international trade peacefully. Like the German Empire of today,

the Hanseatic League kept up an army and navy not for aggressive purposes, but as guardians of peace and commerce. The ships of their well-equipped navy were called peace ships and their forts around the northern seas peace burghs. As long as the league was strong enough to preserve peace and protect commerce its members were busy, prosperous, happy and contented.

With regard to the question of the protection of commerce in times of war; very good progress has been made in the course of the last winter. Shortly the text was published of the declaration concerning the laws of naval warfare drawn up by the International Conference which sat in London from December 4 to February 6. This agreement will lead to the creation for the first time in history of a really international court administering a really international code of law. The advantages of this for the cause of peace are obvious, as much friction between belligerent and neutral states can in future be avoided. All governments displayed a spirit of compromise in order to arrive at this agreement and gave a striking proof of their desire to live in harmony with their neighbors.

Permit me, Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, to close my speech in thanking you once more most sincerely for the splendid hospitality you extended to us.

At the close of Count Bernstorff's address, Miss Harriet Monroe, author of the "Columbian Ode," recited a poem entitled "For Peace," composed by her for the Peace Congress.

PRESIDENT SKINNER:

The President of the United States is represented by the Secretary of the Interior, the Hon. Richard A. Ballinger, whom I now have the honor of introducing:

Trade as a Bond of Peace

HON. RICHARD A. BALLINGER

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I presume there is no one in America more thoroughly interested in the subject that has been under discussion, and interested in a development which shall make that subject one to be realized as years progress, than the President of the United States. (Applause.) He has sent you

his message and he has requested me to be here upon this occasion to express to you his interest in this great work which is a work that America and American citizens, either in America or throughout the world, should carry forward with all the zeal of American spirit. I am here tonight to greet you upon this question, and to urge forward with all possible spirit the dawn of a better day.

We perhaps will not live to see the selfishness of spirit abandoned, the pride or the warlike sentiment which sometimes we find as we hear the fife and drum upon the street. It is difficult for the American not to show in a way the martial spirit. This country has gone through great sacrifices for the future of the country, for the building up of this nation, for the preservation of this nation, and those sacrifices cannot be easily forgotten, nor should they be forgotten. The history, the trials and the sacrifices of the nation are dear to us; they are part of the history of the American people. The heroes of America we revere and we hope we may never forget their deeds of valor and their bravery either upon the battle fields or in lines of business.

But America has a different calling than that for war. It seems to me that the great energies of this nation should be put forth and the powers and influences of this country should be put forth for peace and not for war. That all of the wealth and all of the energy and capacity of our people should be put forth throughout the world for the development of and the uplift of humanity.

In the matter of commercial development, here in the city of Chicago is perhaps exhibited the most intensified spirit of commercial activity; and to those who are interested in the development of the highest interest of this nation along lines of commerce, you are necessarily interested in the peace of the world and in the business of the world. In years gone by the small community, or often the large community, had little concern as to what was going on in other parts of the world. Today the activities of commerce in one portion of the world more or less affects all other portions. What is going on in Germany in trade, in manufacture, in the life of the people there, in a measure touches the life and the interests of the American people, and so it is true of all the other countries of the globe.

As you develop your deep water channel into the Gulf of Mexico, and as the Panama Canal is completed, your interests will be much greater in the commerce and the development of the trade of the Pacific Ocean than it is today. Your interests will be much greater in the development and commerce of the Orient than it is today. In other words, you here in Chicago, with your great commercial spirit and your great commercial activities and power, will become interested in the trade of the Orient and the Pacific Coast with that water connection greater than you are today.

And yet, as a Pacific Coast man, I wish to say to you that you are having a great share of the trade of the Pacific Coast sent out from Chicago even into Alaska, which is a great empire of wealth, and in the development of this trade the Pacific Ocean will be carrying in the near future fleets laden with the commerce of America interchangeably with the commerce of other nations in the Orient. As the commerce of the Pacific interchanges from this country to other nations, all these are bonds of peace. All go to protect our people and all other people against the war clouds and difficulties from war.

I wish to say to you my friends, that there never existed in the history of the world so much interdependence for necessities of life as exists today between all of the nations of the world, all the civilized powers of the world; and it is the duty of every nation to so conduct itself that it will not produce a breach of international peace. There is a duty existing among all the powers to protect one another against trespass upon the rights of others, as it is the duty of the citizen within the community in which he lives to so conduct himself that he will not produce a breach of the peace. As we develop a citizenship in all the countries of the world that is law abiding, that respects the law, a citizenship that is controlled by just and fair laws, and laws are justly and fairly administered, there is little possibility for war. Any community that has a high type of citizenship is a peaceful community and usually a prosperous community. Throughout the United States, if we can have prosperity, good citizenship and fidelity to the obligations which the individual holds to his country, there is little opportunity for internal strife or internal difficulty; but there is every opportunity for peace and for development.

I wish to say to you, my friends, that beyond the Mississippi River through the beneficent policy of our government there has been established more than twenty million people upon the public domain. The opportunities beyond in the Far West and upon the public domain to increase that population exists many fold. It could be doubled and it will be doubled. There will be a great population in the western part of this nation, a population producing great wealth to this country, and a wealth in which you are interested, for the development of any portion of this country is a matter of interest to you. It is a matter of interest to your business future, to your business connection.

Do you know, my friends, that the federal government has spent in the reclamation of the arid lands of the West fifty million dollars in placing water upon the arid districts of the West, so that more than a million acres of arid lands have been brought under cultivation, which is adding wealth to the nation? Many millions more will be added to the wealth of the country, and it is this conservation and development of the great resources of this nation that to my mind makes for happiness, makes for prosperity, makes for good citizenship, and in the end makes for peace. (Applause.)

A Peace Endowment

THE TOASTMASTER:

I have the pleasure of making an announcement that I know will be a distinct surprise and a great pleasure to all of you who are interested in peace, and I am specially pleased to look at Mr. Beals when I make this announcement. This is a copy of a letter that I received under date of April 30 addressed to Mr. Edward M. Skinner, president Commercial Association of Chicago:

"The following information will, I feel sure, be of interest to the members of the International Peace Congress, who are the guests of your enterprising and valuable Association.

"A citizen of Chicago well known in commercial and philanthropic circles has just given to Northwestern University twenty-five thousand dollars, the income of which is to be used under the direction of a carefully constituted committee for the promotion of International Peace and Christian Unity.

"The plan contemplated by the donor (Mr. John R. Lindgren) is the holding of conferences annually to be opened with

an address by some distinguished advocate of peace and unity, the offering of prizes for essays upon chosen aspects of these great topics, and also correspondence and co-operation with universities and colleges and associations like your own, in furtherance of the objects named. It is hoped to foster, especially among the young people of our country, ideals of international friendship which shall tend to exterminate the baleful antipathies that menace our modern civilization, also to explore and to expose the causes and conditions that produce and provoke war and conflict, and above all to develop an extensive, intelligent and efficient enthusiasm for a harmonious co-operation in promoting the ideals, increasing the forces and perfecting the methods that make for the peace and the progress of the world.

"Yours very respectfully,

"CHARLES J. LITTLE,

"Chairman Northwestern University Committee for Promotion of International Peace and Christian Unity."

THE TOASTMASTER:

We are fortunate in having as our guest one who has done much for the advancement of the cause of peace, the Hon. James A. Tawney, Congressman from Minnesota. (Applause.)

The Cost of Armed Peace

HON. JAMES A. TAWNEY, M. C.

MR. TOASTMASTER, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: The Chairman neglected to announce the subject on which I have been requested to speak here this evening. That subject is "The Cost of Armed Peace," and I want to say to the ladies here present that I shall discuss the question of the cost of political armed peace and not domestic armed peace. (Laughter.)

The modern national state is a vastly different political organization from the ancient and medieval empire. Part of this difference is of great significance in the discussion of international peace. As late as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when the modern national state arose from the ruins of the old Holy Roman Empire, it was commonly believed by the world's political leaders that there could be but one great nation at a given time and that any nation to become great must conquer

the wealth and enslave the people of other nations. From this conception of the relations of nations to each other it followed that no nation could hope to remain long dominant in world politics, and that every full bloom of national splendor and power must be followed by a period of decline and decay. Coalitions of foreign foes, want of patriotism and the loss of individual manhood which luxury and overcivilization always bring to a people supported by slaves were ever present to threaten and destroy the dominant nation.

Even the Bourbon kings of France as late as the reign of Louis the XIV believed themselves, each in his time, to be the vice-regents of God on earth. Not only did they believe themselves to be rulers by divine right, but they likewise believed it to be their duty as the vice-regents of God to overcome all other kings by the splendor of their courts, to intimidate and subjugate abroad and to imitate at home the glory of God in the splendor of their palaces, in the sumptuousness of their tables and in the costliness of their costumes and retinues. To this end they carried on perpetual warfare with other kings, and to this end they taxed their own people until revolution became a necessity and the only means of escape from the war burdens that were crushing the people to earth.

In the world-march of civilization all this has changed, until today we hold that the greatness of a nation rests not upon conquered wealth and the bent backs of slaves, but upon its natural resources and upon the industry, the intelligence and the patriotism of the individual citizen. Today we realize that there must be as many nations co-existent as geographical, racial and historic conditions make necessary. We regard wars carried on merely for territorial acquisition or national aggrandizement as national robberies. The character of a nation is judged today by the same standards as the character of the individual man. It is clear to all intelligent people at the opening of the twentieth century that there is no law growing out of the necessary relations of nations to each other which makes it inevitable that every great nation must, sooner or later, decline and ultimately fall. There is no inherent reason why nations should not exist and grow great side by side as long as geographical and climatic conditions remain approximately unchanged. Indeed, there are

abundant reasons today why no nation can attain the full measures of its greatness except through relations of mutual helpfulness with every other nation.

We have entered upon an era of national specialization where all nations are more or less interdependent, where each nation relies upon other nations for some of the necessities of its life, where no nation lives to itself alone, and where none can perish without loss to the world. International commerce, international trade, international language, art and literature, international political influence and example all demand that permanent peace be maintained among all nations.

The question for the world to determine is: "Shall this be an armed peace, or will the nations of the world recognize the authority and acquiesce in the decisions of the world-wide federation, thereby insuring international peace without the cost incident to the preparation for war?" Such a federation, or international state, would be but a slight step forward in comparison with the substitution of the authority of the national states in the settlement of conflicts between warring clans and tribes, or with the substitution of publicly administered justice for the regime of private warfare and individual retaliation.

But because of the inherent selfishness and mutual distrust of nations, it is said by the advocates of an armed peace that the creation of an international state through the federation of the civilized nations of the world is impossible and that this splendid achievement can be attained only through the instrumentality of powerful armies and navies which will make reasonably certain the defeat of any nation that might initiate and carry on war against another nation. If this be so, then international peace means an armed peace, and that kind of peace cannot endure between nations relatively longer than between individuals. It will inevitably hasten the event for which the nations are now preparing.

The possession of irresponsible power is always a direct temptation to its irresponsible use. Individual citizens are not allowed, in times of peace, to go armed among their fellow-citizens because of the temptation to use arms for slight cause in such moments of excitement as every man is liable to in the course of daily experience. Just so there is a danger that nations

upon slight provocation will declare war when each knows itself to be dangerously armed and fully prepared for war. Great armaments, therefore, instead of being a guarantee of peace, are a continued menace to peace.

Whether or not the advocates of an armed peace are sincere in contending that peace can be insured only by the aid of great armaments permanently maintained, in the light of all the facts I believe it to be indisputably true that they are more concerned over the question of whether or not their respective nations can successfully compete in the international race now on between the principal nations of the world for supremacy in the size of battleships and in the number of the largest sized battleships the world has ever seen than they are concerned over the question of how best to insure permanent international peace. This mad international race for supremacy in war preparation is all the more astounding because it is taking place at a time when there is no cloud on the international horizon to threaten the existing peaceful relations between all of the nations of the world, unless it is occasioned by the senseless rivalry among the nations to excel in martial preparation. To my mind this extensive preparation constitutes a most serious menace to the peace of the world, for it tends naturally in the direction of war though its alleged purpose is the prevention of war.

I am not alone in contending that national ambition, not the fear of war or the desire for peace, is the prime motive prompting the principal nations of the world to the expenditure of larger sums for war purposes, including battleships, than the world has ever before witnessed. Mr. Asquith, the Premier of England, when discussing the English naval budget a year ago, pronounced a solemn condemnation of the English policy of constructing battleships of the Dreadnought type, a policy initiated three years before when the keel of the first great Dreadnought was laid. He said:

"We do not wish to lead, but we want to do everything in our power to prevent a new spurt in competitive ship-building between the great naval powers."

"Competitive ship-building," not competitive peace building, is the prime cause for the enormous war tax burdens placed upon the people.

The annual expenditures of the United States, England, Germany and France on account of preparation for war, or, as it is said, that war may be prevented, are today greater than the annual expenditures of any one of these nations during any foreign war in which it has ever engaged. In fact, these expenditures have become so great as to excite alarm in each of these principal nations of the world, causing enormous deficits in their current revenues and necessitating new sources of taxation to meet the demands of a national ambition to excel in the construction of great armaments.

The total expenditures of the United States, England, Germany and France during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1908, on account of their armies and navies, approximated, in round numbers, a billion, or ten hundred million dollars. Add to this the sums expended for the same purpose by other nations of the world and you will have a grand total cost of armed peace so large that the human mind can scarcely comprehend it.

While this cost is so enormous as to be almost beyond the comprehension of man, yet an approximate idea of such cost may be gathered from the annual expenditures which we as a nation are making for this purpose and the rapidity with which these expenditures have increased in recent years. Our total expenditures for the army, navy and fortifications in the fiscal year 1908 aggregated \$204,122,855.57, or 36.5 per cent of our total revenues, exclusive of postal receipts which are not included for the purpose of comparison as the postal revenues and expenditures are a balanced account. Our expenditures during the same year on account of wars past, including all objects for which appropriations are made on that account, were \$180,678,204, or 31 per cent of our total revenue.

According to the daily statement of the Treasury Department at Washington on April 30, 1909, we have thus far this fiscal year collected from all sources, except postal receipts, \$493,027,989.69. Up to date we have expended on account of the army \$110,107,924.96; on account of the navy, \$96,376,012.41, a total of \$206,483,937.37. Therefore we have expended this fiscal year on account of preparation for war 41 per cent of all our revenues, and on account of wars past 31 per cent of all our revenues, or a total expenditure of 72 per cent of all the revenues thus far

collected during the current fiscal year on account of wars it is said we are preparing to avoid and wars which we have had in the past.

But this startling statement does not indicate that we have yet reached the maximum cost of armed peace. The expenditures for this purpose the coming fiscal year will be greater than they are this year. They have been increasing rapidly and enormously year by year, not only with us, but with all the principal nations of the world. None of the advocates of armed peace are willing to suggest a limit beyond which this increase shall not go.

The average annual appropriations for our army have leaped from less than \$24,000,000 for each of the eight years immediately preceding the Spanish War to more than \$83,000,000 for each of the eight years ending with the appropriations made at the last session of Congress for the fiscal year 1910. During the same period the average annual appropriations for our navy have increased from a little more than \$27,500,000 to more than \$102,400,000. In other words, the increase in appropriations for the army for the periods named exceeded \$472,000,000, a sum sufficient to cover the whole cost of constructing the Panama Canal with nearly \$150,000,000 to spare. The increase in the sums appropriated for the navy for these same periods is approximately \$600,000,000, a sum largely in excess of the total appropriations for the support of our entire government for any fiscal year prior to that of 1898.

The combined increase in the appropriations for the army and the navy for the eight-year periods named amounts to \$1,072,000,000, a sum exceeding by more than \$158,000,000 the total interest bearing debt of the United States. So great has been the increase in this cost of armed peace these last eight years over the eight years ending scarcely ten years ago that the sum total of the increase is even larger than the stupendous sum appropriated for all governmental purposes for the fiscal year 1910.

The fact that we are expending during this fiscal year 72 per cent of our aggregate revenue in preparing for war and on account of past wars, leaving only 28 per cent of our revenue available to meet all our other governmental expenditures, includ-

ing internal improvements, the erection of public buildings, the improvement of rivers and harbors and the conservation of our national resources, is to my mind appalling. It should arrest the attention of the American people and not only cause them to demand a decrease in these unnecessary war expenditures, but also prompt them to aid in every way possible in the creation of a public sentiment that would favor the organization of an international federation whose decisions and action in the peaceful settlement of controversies between nations would be recognized and accepted as the final determination thereof. If this were done it would not necessarily mean the entire abandonment of armies and navies, but it would so far remove the possibility of international wars as to make unnecessary the expenditure of the stupendous sums which are now being collected from the people in the form of taxes and expended for the purpose of maintaining an armed peace.

The money expended for this purpose is not the only measure of the cost of armed peace. Think for a moment of what the American people have lost during the past eight years in consequence of the increased expenditure of more than a billion dollars during that time for the purpose of preparing for war in order that war may be prevented. The most enthusiastic advocates of river and harbor improvements do not estimate that the cost of these improvements would exceed \$500,000,000, only half the amount which we have collected in taxes from the people and expended in war preparations during the last eight years in excess of the amount expended for the same purpose during the eight years preceding 1898. The other half of this enormous increase might well have been expended in other directions which would have contributed to the permanent advancement of the vast and varied interests of ninety millions of people.

In conclusion permit me to say that while I thoroughly believe in the wisdom and practicability of an international federated state for the exercise of delegated power in the authoritative determination of international disputes, I am not one of those peace enthusiasts who think the time is near at hand when the world will witness the disarmament of nations. But I do maintain that the time is now here when the people of the principal naval powers of the world, and especially the people of the United

States, must come to the support of those who are contending against the advocates of armed peace and who are striving to check extravagant and wasteful expenditure of public money in competitive construction of needless and useless armaments. If they do not, the burdens of unnecessary taxation will continue to increase until they ultimately impoverish the people and the resources of their nations.

MR. HIGINBOTHAM :

I would like to ask the gentleman if he can give us the approximate cost of maintaining the United States government fifty years ago. I think we will better understand the immensity of the figures he has just given us if he can tell us approximately the cost of maintaining the United States government fifty years ago.

MR. TAWNEY :

I am not able to give the gentleman the approximate cost. I can only say that the increase in the appropriations for the navy during the past eight years has been greater than the total cost of maintaining the government any year prior to 1898.

MR. HIGINBOTHAM : Then may I give you my recollection of the time of Lincoln and Douglas, when it was stated, if I remember correctly, that the entire cost of maintaining the government was thirteen millions of dollars, and it was thought large at that time. I think by that statement the audience can better understand the immensity of the increase far beyond the increase in population.

THE TOASTMASTER :

The Ambassador of Japan is represented tonight by the Japanese Consul in Chicago, the Hon. Mr. Matsubara, whom I now have the pleasure of introducing to you.

Japan's Desire for Peace

MR. K. MATSUBARA.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN : In the beginning I wish to convey to you all who are here from our Ambassador, Baron Takahira, his best wishes and sincere congratulations on this splendid occasion. He desires to thank you for the kind and courteous invitation extended to him by the Chicago Association of Com-

merce to the banquet tonight. To his great regret, he has been prevented from attending this splendid meeting on account of a previous engagement.

Some time ago, when there was universal war talk, I was in a town on the Pacific Coast, and I met an American on the car. He was not known to me, but suddenly accosted me in this way: "I am just back from traveling in Japan," he said. "There is no war talk over there." "What do you think about the war talk?" I asked. "Nonsense," was his response. I believe this is the voice of every sane American citizen. Peace is the cry of all Japan. Our people, old and young, men and women, all denounce the silly and mischievous war talk. We are a peace-loving nation. Let us forget the recent wars with our neighbors. These wars made us neither haughty nor warlike, but more peace-loving. The peace policy is advocated throughout Japan by statesmen, business men, farmers, and in short, the general public. I state these facts simply to show you that our people have a sincere desire for peace—world peace as well as peace between respective countries. I am sure that the noble movement of the Peace Congress will have world-wide echo and effect. We ought to help with all our power every movement in favor of the bloodless settlement of international difficulties.

It is our pleasant recollection that we were among the first nations which had recourse to the international arbitration of the Hague tribunal. I refer to the arbitration of the aliens house tax question. It is our pride that during the recent wars we have strictly observed the rules and regulations agreed to by nations at the Hague Conference. Moreover, our people are pursuing the policy of reducing our army and navy appropriations.

Let us hope that all nations will co-operate with each other in the next Hague Conference in the movement of making further strides toward universal peace, which has been so magnificently advocated in this Second National Peace Congress.

TOASTMASTER:

We are honored by the presence here tonight of the Chinese Minister, who will now address us:

A Plea for International Hospitality

DR. WU TING-FANG.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: This is the final act of the Second National Peace Congress, and I hope there will be many more sessions to come and that they will be held in different countries; and I hope in the course of time one session may be held in China. Of course, we are speaking ahead of the time, but you know it is always the unexpected which happens, and should my prophecy come true and an international peace conference be held in China, I would make it a *sine qua non*, a condition precedent, that the ladies should accompany their husbands. (Laughter and applause.) I enjoy the society of ladies very much, for we in China, you know, like the society of ladies as well as you gentlemen here, but it seems a strange thing to us for ladies to be traveling about with their husbands, especially in the cause of peace, you know. (Laughter.) You make them happy during the journey, you widen their knowledge, and when they see the family lives of the Orient and the family life of China, they will see how happy they are.

There is another thing. The ladies in this country as well as in Europe, and especially in England, are agitating now with great vehemence for equal rights, for woman suffrage. Of course, you American ladies, I find, are not so enthusiastic on this point. I suppose one reason is that you have equal rights already in some ways (laughter). Ladies can exercise great influence for the cause of peace; men are generally prone to fight, and they cry for battleships, they want to build more Dreadnoughts. Why? To give them more opportunity to fight. But the ladies, you know, they are the gentler sex, they are kinder, more humane, and they are very reluctant to shed blood. Therefore I say if the ladies take equal part in politics as well as in other affairs they will exercise great influence.

This morning on the train I read in one of the newspapers a summary of the proceedings that took place in the Congress here yesterday, and I learned that one of the speakers, President Jordan, of the Leland Stanford University—and he must be a learned man and a very deep thinking man—proposed that instead of building so many great battleships the cost of a Dreadnought

be used in insuring against war with some great powers. That is a very ingenious proposition, and if it is carried out it is one of the safeguards against war. It occurs to me that so far as it goes that is a good thing, but I would propose that one-third, if not one-half, of the cost spent by every nation in buying bullets and powder should be devoted to the cause of peace by giving it to peace societies like this and to get up expeditions—peaceful expeditions, you know, not warlike expeditions—to go about the different countries, composed half of men and half of women, so as to have peace.

Before closing I must say that I am very much pleased that I came here today to see how this Peace Conference was held. It is eminently fitting that at the close of an important congress like this it should be celebrated by a banquet and I hope that this National Peace Society will long exist and the members will increase year after year, and I hope that banquets will be held more frequently, and if I am invited I shall take great pleasure in being present. I wish this society success in every way, and I hope that the objects of the society will be fulfilled and that war will be no longer tolerated. (Applause.)

THE TOASTMASTER:

Great Britain has sent a representative to the National Peace Congress in the person of the Counselor of the Embassy at Washington, and I take great pleasure in introducing to you Mr. A. Mitchell Innes.

Great Britain and America

MR. ALFRED MITCHELL INNES

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: It has been said not less than twenty times, perhaps, that it is fitting that this banquet should terminate the proceedings of the Peace Congress. It is true—perhaps it is not original, because it is obvious—that commerce is more interested in peace than in any other period of the history of the world. Indeed, the whole population of the world is practically engaged in commerce. It was said, originally as a slight upon England, that we were a nation of shop keepers, but in fact that is true of all nations. All of us keep shops of different kinds. We are all trying to purvey something that is

required in the world. Even the painter, the poet or the sculptor is as much a shop keeper as the humblest grocer. Even we diplomatists also are shop keepers. We try to purvey peace, and we sincerely hope that sainted lady derives more advantage from our work than the pecuniary advantage that we derive from our shops. If she does not it will not be long before that lady is bankrupt. But if the whole world is commercial, it follows that the whole world desires peace. It is very glibly stated, very often, that credit is a source of evil. Those who say so do not know what they are talking about. Credit is the basis of all commerce, and there is no such thing, in fact, as pure cash transactions. All commercial establishments, as all business men know, are all both creditors and debtors; we are all creditors and debtors of one another, and credits and debts have no value except the value that peace gives to them. The debtor is alarmed at the prospect of war because he knows that his creditor will try to call in his credits. The creditor is equally alarmed at the prospect of war because he knows, if he tries to get in his debts, he cannot get them in, and therefore both are equally interested in the maintenance of peace. And that is why such great associations as this of yours, such great cities as this of yours, that are growing so greatly in wealth, are such an enormous power for good in connection with this question of peace. It is they who thoroughly understand the absolute necessity for peace, apart from all questions of sentiment. But if it is the fact that all people wish for peace, why is it that we often have cause to be so afraid of the coming of war? It is generally said that now nothing but the will of the people could bring about a struggle by force of arms; that governments could not do so. I do not believe this to be true. I do not believe that the bulk of any people desire war any more than I believe that the bulk of people desire to lay their heads on the railroad track for the train to cut them off; but the most stolid races are subject to strange influences, which often we can hardly understand—that these influences are in the command of the chosen leaders of the statesmen who guide the destinies of their empires, and they, just as much as in the olden days, are responsible for peace and war. Not long ago the United States and Canada were not on the best of terms. Now, I am glad to say, that those times are past and

that under the guidance of enlightened statesmen they are firm friends. (Applause.) This is not due to any change in the sentiment of the people, but is due to the change in the sentiment of their statesmen and no one has done so much for the cause of peace between these two countries as your late Secretary of State, Mr. Elihu Root (applause), whose great personality, whose high sense of the duty which a great nation owes to humanity, whose power of divining the feeling of others and of putting himself in their place, has caused the feeling of friendship, which never really died, to blossom forth again, and that touches us English very nearly, for any change of feeling between the two countries, the United States and Canada, is felt at once by us. Any irritation between you two produces an identical irritation in London, and every increase in your friendship draws closer the bonds of friendship between our two countries. When first I came here, not many months ago, I expected to find a certain feeling of aloofness, of separation, a sense of being a stranger in a strange land, but I found a warmth of welcome and a depth of sentiment for the Old Country which has been a splendid revelation to me, and I believe that the bonds which were broken are drawing together again, that the old bond which was once so roughly severed is joining again in a purer and a nobler form, this time to endure forever. (Applause.)

THE TOASTMASTER:

It is a pleasure to be able to introduce to you the Professor of Modern History in the University of Norway, Dr. Koht:

The People's Peace in Scandinavia

DR. HALVDAN KOHT.

Nine hundred years ago—excuse me for speaking of so olden times in this young company—nine hundred years ago it happened that the two kings of Norway and Sweden declared war against each other and ordered their soldiers to gather.

These soldiers were plain farmers, and when they came together they did not find there was any reason for war that concerned them. They therefore asked their kings to abstain from war, and they added quietly that if the kings should not comply with this wish, they would have to put them down into

some swamps fitted for that purpose. That would not have done any harm to the swamps. But it proved very wholesome to the martial kings. They yielded to the strong argument and kept their peace.

Five hundred years later when the kings of the two countries were again at war with each other the farmer people on both sides of the frontier made up a reciprocal treaty that they should not attack each other's country. And they stood by that treaty for all the wars of two centuries. The kings were in war; but the peoples kept peace.

We have in the Scandinavian countries a special name for these peculiar treaties, concluded by the peoples themselves outside the state authorities. We call them "Farmers' Peace."

But it was not only the farmers who in that way established peace in spite of the kings. The merchants, too, did the same thing, only by different means.

It is a fact too often forgotten by the historians and jurists that it was the merchants of the middle ages who instituted arbitration in international conflicts. So did the merchants of Italy; so did the merchants of Germany.

In the year 1285 a regular arbitration court met to settle the disputes between Norway and the Hanse towns, in the interest of the commerce. And the decision given by that court was complied with.

I don't know whether this was the first arbitration settlement in the modern sense of words. But I think that the treaty of 1343 between the three Scandinavian kingdoms, Norway, Denmark and Sweden, is the oldest existing treaty providing for obligatory arbitration in all future conflicts between the states concerned.

Treaties of the same kind were made up in the sixteenth century, too, between the same three countries, and it must be noticed that these were not voluntary acts of the kings; but the nations compelled their kings to establish by such means a permanent peace. The kings did not keep their treaties very long. But what the nations wanted is altogether clear.

In view of such facts some people come and tell us that the people don't love peace—that it is their governments that must

restrain the nations from war. Indeed, misled popular sentiment has too often caused wars.

But I ask you; if the democracy can't give us peace, who can? Here is the best of the true democracy: That nation that wilfully desires war, if not in self-defense, that nation is not enlivened by the true democratic spirit. This spirit endeavors to give justice to all people, because justice is in the interest of everybody. *Justice is the very soul of democracy.* When true democracy reigns the world, the realm of peace has come.

PRESIDENT SKINNER:

I wish the hour were not so late and I would take the liberty of calling on General Grant to say a word.

A Soldier's Plea for his Profession

GENERAL FREDERICK DENT GRANT

PRESIDENT SKINNER, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE PEACE CONGRESS: I just came in and had no thought of anything to say. The fact is, I thought I would come here a little too late to speak and I have come too late to hear what has been said except in the last speech. I might not make statements to correspond to the statements that you have received. (Laughter.)

I feel somewhat like the horrible example that old temperance lecturers would take around with them in the olden days when I was young; always taking a hobo around to show the terrible effects of drink. I am, I believe, the only soldier here, and I suppose I am the horrible example. (Laughter.)

I am very much interested in peace because my profession, I believe, is the peacemaker. The soldier's whole profession and study and art is that of producing peace. It is your statesmen and your people that create wars. First the people become irritated, generally through some commercial transaction; the statesmen then take hold of the matter and they compromise or try to compromise if the nations are nearly equal. If they are not nearly equal, the stronger one simply slaps the weaker one in the face and the soldier is called in to settle the difficulty. When they are nearly equal they compromise and talk, and generally the people get stirred up to the point where they are no longer

able to hold them, and then there are two sides put in on nearly equal terms and they fight it out and bring about peace. The soldier always settles peace, and in the last three hundred years I know of no case of war that was brought on by the soldier. In fact, two great nations, England and the United States had difficulties growing out of our Civil War, in what was known as the Alabama claim. At that time if war had come we stood on a very fair basis and England dreaded war much more than the United States did; but according to my recollection a soldier at the head of your government proposed and brought about the Geneva Arbitration and you had the first great arbitration between great nations in recent times. That was so successful that other people have joined in and now we have through the Hague Conferences a step towards arbitrating nearly all serious questions between nations, and I as a soldier together with all soldiers am very much in favor of that, because the soldier is the one that suffers most from war.

Again, take the last great war between Russia and Japan. That was not a soldiers' war; it was brought on because of a desire of commerce on the part of those two nations in Korea and the holding of a balance of trade, and what they called the sphere of influence in China. The soldiers fought it out. As soon as that came about, the English had desires in Thibet and they put the troops there. They did not have much resistance and the troops brought about peace. Just before that we had the South African War. Soldiers did not bring that about. The real foundation of that was the big gold mines that they found there. That cube of gold in those hills was too much for a small people like the Boers to have, and the great nation takes it. (Laughter.) The Boers gave them some trouble for a while and the soldiers settled it.

Just before that we had a war ourselves with Spain. The people here, of course, think that it was caused by the blowing up of the Maine; that is not true. The war between the United States and Spain commenced some years before. It was previous to that that we had a rebellion in Cuba. In that rebellion they issued bonds. Those bonds were distributed and the rebellion ceased. Those bonds got into the hands of a few commercial men, peace lovers (laughter), and they agitated a rebellion there

again in Cuba, and then our peace-loving papers, our yellow press, stirred up our people in order that we would take Cuba and pay these bonds to them. I was only a soldier there on the field, but I did not bring about that war; I helped to settle it. So you will find that the soldier is the peace lover whose profession it is to make peace. We love peace so much that when you are in trouble we fight to bring about peace.

I have read in the papers in the last three days much against the army. I have always felt that the profession of my father, of myself and my son was almost a discreditable one, and yet I looked back for over three hundred years and found that my ancestors were engaged in that same profession, and I cannot help thinking that even though now it may be in disrepute, it has been an honorable and a noble one. It has benefited the people of this country. When I look back and think that the Prince of Peace came on earth nineteen hundred and eight years ago, and that there has ever since been a large and respectable element that have argued for peace and are still arguing for peace, I have my doubts whether my profession will go out of existence before my time. I doubt if my son will live long enough to see the gun turned into a plowshare, to see the sword beaten into the pruning hook. I hope that before that time there will not be needed armies for the protection of the people, but up to the time that you do not need armies for the protection of the people I believe it behooves the people of this country to maintain their army and their navy in an efficient condition, and I believe that the twelve-inch guns along the coast of the Atlantic and the Pacific, with a well-drilled body of men in this country, will do far more toward maintaining peace than all the talk that all the good people of all the countries of the world could do in times that are not strenuous, and when everybody is sitting down to a good table, and has plenty to eat and is feeling happy, contented and well disposed towards all mankind.

Today I went driving through the park with one of the commissioners of the park, looking for a good camp where I can bring down some men from Fort Sheridan on the thirty-first of this month to give the populace of this city a chance to see a good parade. We passed up near the animal houses and some one told at that time about a happy family that it was said they

once had in Lincoln Park. The happy family, consisting of wild animals that were naturally antagonistic to each other, including a wolf, a fox, a lamb, a chicken and a duck, seemed to live very happily together, and the man in charge of the Zoo was asked how he kept that family so happy together. "Why," he said, "that is easy; we keep them fed and give them all they want to eat, and they get along. They have no reason for attacking each other; except now and then," he said, "we have to renew the chicken and the lamb (laughter), but otherwise they get along very well." Now, I think that is the way it is among nations. If nations are prepared to defend themselves and stand firmly, and a war is going to cost more than it is going to return, I think the patriotism of the people and the good judgment of the statesmen will prevent war. If one side has a great advantage over the other, I think your commercial men will insist on a war and bring it about, and the weaker one will pay for it.

I have talked quite enough, but I see many ladies here, and I heard a very wise suggestion from my friend Mr. Wu, from China, today, and it is a delight to me to find that the commissioners have accepted the situation. This was a gentleman's luncheon—he said he was sorry not to find any ladies, because if the Peace Commissions could only have ladies to talk to them he believed their influence would be to convince all classes of people of the value of peace, so that we would have real peace in this world. (Applause.)

SECOND SECTION OF BANQUET

The Gold Room, Auditorium Annex

Mr. HARRY A. WHEELER, Vice-President of the Chicago Association of Commerce, Presiding.

Invocation was offered by Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones.

MR. WHEELER:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: Since this room was opened to the public it has been the scene of many a brilliant function, but I doubt if there was ever gathered in the room a more brilliant assemblage than that which graces the last hours of the Peace Congress at this time. In this room have been discussed many matters of vital import to the life of our city and of our state and of the nation itself; yet I doubt if any cause that has been represented has been greater than the cause which you represent

tonight, because it has in it a significance that is world-wide and its beneficence touches all mankind. My task as toastmaster is a very easy task tonight, because by prearrangement it has been decreed that in both of the banquet halls precisely the same program shall be carried out. Therefore some of our speakers will during the course of the evening exchange places with those on the ninth floor of the Auditorium, and I can only ask you, if the schedule should run amiss in any way, to be a little patient and considerate of your Chairman. It is rather difficult to engineer a proposition of this kind on schedule time, not knowing exactly where the other fellows are, but we start just a little ahead of them and I think perhaps we will keep neck and neck throughout the entire dinner and program. I have also asked President Skinner if he would permit me the privilege of reading to you his address of welcome, in place of any remarks that I might make at the opening of this speaking, and he has very kindly consented. The only regret that I have is that you shall be deprived of hearing his words of welcome from his own lips.

(Mr. Wheeler then read the opening remarks of President Skinner.)

Chairman Wheeler then announced that the Swedish Minister had telegraphed that he would be unable to be present, and sent his regrets, and read letters from the Russian, French and Mexican Ambassadors.

He then introduced Dr. Wu Ting-fang, Mr. Alfred Mitchell Innes and Dr. Halvdan Koht, who spoke as at the banquet in the Auditorium Hotel.

(Following Mr. Koht's address, Miss Harriet Monroe was introduced, who read an original ode, "For Peace.")

Toastmaster Wheeler then read a letter addressed to Mr. Skinner, dated the 30th of April, from Charles J. Little, chairman of the Northwestern University Committee for the promotion of international peace and Christian unity.

Hon. Richard Bartholdt, Member of Congress, was next introduced.

Campaigning for Peace

HON. RICHARD BARTHOLDT, M. C.

MR. TOASTMASTER, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: Bob Ingersoll used to tell a story of a New York janitor who was too orthodox

to make a success of his job. He had been instructed by his employer, the landlord, to sublet the house, but not to a family with children. One day a gentleman looked at the house and said he was willing to take it. "Have you any children?" asked the janitor. "Yes, I have." "Then," replied the janitor sternly, "you cannot get the house." "But, my dear man," protested the gentleman, "my children are all grown up and live in California." "That makes no difference; you cannot get the house." Ten to one, if that janitor were living today, he would say: "If you want peace prepare for war," simply because somebody told him so. Every man who does a little independent thinking would naturally say, as we do: "If you want peace, prepare for peace."

And this raises the main question: How can we prepare for peace? A great representative congress like the one just closed, and which will redound to the lasting honor of Chicago, will help some provided the newspapers here and elsewhere will print our speeches. Perhaps it will also aid us to know how not to do it. As a deterring example, I refer to an organization which proposes to step into the limelight at Washington tomorrow night. Its members are for international arbitration and a bigger navy; that is, for peace and war at the same time. They have discovered a new seesaw. As we know it, one end goes up and the other goes down. That is, when War goes up Peace goes down, and vice versa. But they want both ends to go up at the same time. Joking aside, they believe it possible to enforce the peace of the world with the big stick and by the Middle Age rule of the mailed hand, forgetting entirely that in increasing armaments all the great powers would be determined to keep step with us so that at the end of a period of mad rivalry, exhausting the resources of the world, the relative strength of the greater nations would be exactly the same as when they started this suicidal policy. And it seems that these good gentlemen who wish us to regard a battleship as a white-winged dove of peace also ignore the fact that excessive armaments are a constant temptation to put them to use and that thus the danger of war is vastly increased. So by their agitation for more battleships our friends will easily get all they want, and more too, in the war line, but the peace they will secure would most likely be of the sort Pat pictured to his wife Bridget. They saw a dog and a cat

lying peaceably together and Bridget pointed to them as an example for Pat to emulate. "Why," said Pat, "you don't understand that. You and I are tied together by the bonds of holy matrimony. Just tie them together and see what will happen." I venture to say that battleships and peace, if linked together as is proposed by our misguided friends, would not harmonize much better, and the same thing will happen.

No, when in time of profound peace we are spending 60 per cent of the nation's resources for war and only 40 per cent for the legitimate civil functions of government, I for one am ready to take a stand in favor of calling a halt to ascertain whether our permanent peace cannot be secured by a better and more economical means and by means more in harmony with the culture and enlightenment of the twentieth century. Let us remember that in the last one hundred years two hundred and sixty international controversies have been settled by arbitration without a protest and without even an international police force. If that many, why not all? All we have to do is to rally around the banner of law and order and make governments agree to settle their differences in the same manner as differences between individuals are settled, in order that justice and civic order may take the place of arbitrary power, force and anarchy such as now prevail in international relations. I regard it as the sublimest mission of the American government to take the lead in this great movement and to insist first on the immediate appointment of the permanent judges of the Hague Tribunal, and secondly, on a general arbitration treaty between the nations providing that the sword shall never be drawn until the question at issue shall first have been submitted to a third power, or a commission of inquiry, or to the international court for investigation and report. This accomplished, and permanent peace will be assured at an outlay not exceeding the annual cost of maintenance of a single battleship.

But to achieve it we must organize. There should be a peace organization in every Congressional district to make its influence felt with the candidates for the national legislature. These district organizations should then merge into state organizations and into a great national body whose power and influence will shape legislation along peace lines and make Representatives,

Senators and even Presidents sit up and take notice. Business is with us, as this dinner shows. Now let us hope that business interests will control politics and politicians to the end that law may be substituted for brute force in international relations for the lasting benefit of all mankind.

Count Johann Heinrich von Bernstorff, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Germany, was next introduced and spoke substantially as at the Auditorium Hotel banquet.

TOASTMASTER WHEELER:

The President's representative at the Peace Congress is the Secretary of the Interior, and it is my pleasure to introduce to you tonight Hon. R. A. Ballinger, Secretary of the Interior. (Applause.)

America a Peace-loving Nation

HON. RICHARD A. BALLINGER.

MR. TOASTMASTER, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: The President of the United States, I can say to you tonight, is heartily in accord with the sentiments of universal peace. (Applause.) The first President of the United States was in accord with the sentiments of universal peace. William McKinley was in accord with the sentiments of universal peace. Theodore Roosevelt, who has done as much for civic righteousness as any man this country has ever seen, is in accord with the sentiments of universal peace. (Prolonged applause.) The world is better for these men having expressed themselves and having given forth their sentiments, not alone through words, but through the activities of their lives. All of the American presidents have more or less followed these lines, which have been marked out for American advancement. It is true we have had our struggles. We reverence our heroes and if we did not we would not be good American citizens. Those forefathers of the Americans who helped to make this country what it is, preserved and handed down to posterity, we reverence their names. God bless their activity and their courage in preserving and helping to make America what it is. (Applause.) But we are passing out of those periods of human activities when wars were necessary and we are passing into that period of civilization when the law regulates human activities; when good citizenship in the various nations in the world controls the activities of the nations, and

whenever we have throughout the various nations of the world true and faithful citizenship, law-abiding, controlled by justice and fair dealing, then we will have universal peace without the necessity of any legislative orders or any resolutions of any kind whatever. It will come naturally by universal accord, and it is coming by universal accord because it is necessary in the lives of the peoples of the earth as well as of the great nations of the earth.

I wish to say to you that there is something of the Chicago spirit out in Puget Sound, in the city of Seattle, where I live. That is the spirit which makes cities and makes trade, makes commerce and prosperity; and this spirit of activity, this keen and concentrated effort which you exhibit in your business affairs and in your lives will help to bring this country forward into the lines of peaceful avocations for the prosperity of this nation. The increasing wealth and the employment of the masses of the people of the country help to bring prosperity and happiness and that is the greatest safeguard against international disturbance and against foreign complications. Any people that are happy and prosperous are not looking for war or for trouble. We find sometimes in domestic affairs that the slightest thing will tip things up. I heard the other day of a southern gentleman who had come home about 3 o'clock in the morning. His wife said to him, "Why do you come home at this hour of the morning?" "Why," he said, "it is only 8 o'clock." She said, "Look at that clock. It says 3 o'clock." He says, "My dear, would you take a durned Yankee invention against the word of a Southern gentleman?" (Laughter.) So you see, sometimes the very slightest incident will tip things up and make trouble in the feelings of people as well as of nations, and I know of no one thing in the history of the world or in the condition of the world at the present that will do more to preserve universal peace than the great American spirit of fair dealing with all the peoples of the world. There is imbued in the American people, I believe, a spirit of tolerance, a spirit of "the square deal." And that same spirit exists to a more or less degree in many of the foreign countries of the world, and as it grows and as they knit together in this bond of international commerce, of international friendship, international brotherhood, the world is going to see the flags and the banners of the nations intertwined in universal peace. (Applause.)

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- Clair, J. C.
- Clark, Mrs. A. E., 2229 Calumet avenue.
- Clark, Mrs. Edwin, 2229 Calumet avenue.
- Coleman, Sarah J., 1157 Tripp avenue, representing St. Paul Congregational Church.
- Coon, Mrs. Andrew P., 968 South Sawyer avenue, representing Chicago Culture Club.
- Cowen, Israel, 672 East Forty-eighth street, representing K. A. M. Temple.
- Crandall, Mrs. J. N., 421 Hyde Park boulevard, representing Chicago South Side Club.
- Crissman, George R.
- Cunningham, George W., 87 South Canal street, representing Improved Order of Red Men.
- Cutler, Charles Henry, 4801 Kenwood avenue, representing Church of the New Jerusalem.
- Davis, James Ewing, 1410 100 Washington street, representing Grand Lodge Odd Fellows.
- Davis, Mrs. James Ewing, 5825 State street, representing America Rebekah Lodge No. 188, I. O. O. F.
- Dennis, Charles H., 123 Fifth avenue, R. 17, representing City of Chicago.
- Dewitz, Charles E., 4229 Indiana avenue.
- Dickey, Samuel, 10 Chalmers place.
- Dixson, Zella Allen, 5600 Monroe avenue.
- Donaldson, Mrs. Percy, 4359 Lake avenue.

- Dornblaser, Thomas F., 782 Hamilton court, representing Grace English Lutheran Church.
- Dows, Joseph W., Colonial Hotel.
- Dubbin, Brigadier Robert, 399 State street, representing Salvation Army.
- Dummer, Mrs. W. F., 107 Lincoln Park boulevard.
- Earl, Mrs. Jennie L., 11 Chalmers place, representing Belden Avenue Baptist Church.
- Earl, John A., 11 Chalmers place, representing Belden Avenue Baptist Church.
- Eisenhour, I. C., 663 South Ashland avenue, representing Church of the Brethren.
- Eldredge, J. Wm., 1073 East Fifty-sixth street, representing Washington Park Baptist Church.
- Ellacott, J. P., 710 Congress street, representing Home Lodge No. 416, I. O. O. F.
- Ferrier, Mrs. E. M., 1171 North Forty-first court, representing St. Paul Congregational Church.
- Field, Charles E., 5538 Washington avenue, representing Episcopal Diocese, Chicago.
- Fischkin, Dr. E. A., 1514 Humboldt boulevard, representing Chicago Hebrew Institute.
- Fixen, Laura G., 1047 Carmen avenue, representing World's Essene Circle.
- Flannery, M. H., 208 Gladys avenue, representing International Printing Press Union.
- Flint, C. J., 1041 West Twenty-first street, representing Chicago Lodge No. 55, I. O. O. F.
- Foin, Chin F., 279 South Clark street.
- Frain, Mrs. A. K., 6320 Woodlawn avenue, representing Woodlawn Woman's Club.
- Francis, Mrs. J. R., 40 Loomis street, representing Illinois State Spiritualist Association.
- Francisco, A. B., 49 Pierce avenue, representing Chicago Society of the New Jerusalem.
- Frank, Mrs. Henry L., 1608 Prairie avenue, representing Chicago Woman's Club.
- Freudenthal, Mr. Jos., Hotel Metropole.
- Frizell, Mrs. Loftus Fraser, 324 East Fifty-seventh street.
- Fudge, Miss Elsie Joe, 1204 Rokeby street, representing Sheffield Avenue Church of Christ.
- Fung, Rev. James, 297 South Clark street, representing Chinese Baptist Mission.
- Furnes, J. H., 585 Middle Drive Woodruff, representing Commercial Club.
- Galbreath, C. G., 637 West Sixty-ninth street, representing Englewood Lodge 858, I. O. O. F.
- Galitzki, Mr. Leo, 185 East VanBuren street.
- Gee, Mrs. Carrie L., 1203 West Fifteenth street, representing Degree of Pocahontas Improved Order of Red Men.

- Getchell, Edwin F., 180 East Twenty-ninth street, representing New England Society of Chicago.
- Getz, Mrs. Harry W., 5026 Washington avenue, representing Chicago Orphan Asylum.
- Gibson, G. W., 356 Dearborn street, representing International Association of Car Workers.
- Gillet, F. J., 2251 West Congress street, representing Christian Church of Disciples.
- Gorton, James, 530 Cuyler avenue.
- Grabham, Ralph, 1047 East Seventy-third street, representing Grace Episcopal Church.
- Gregory, S. S., 100 Washington street, representing American Bar Association.
- Grossman, Mrs. Albert B., 4935 Vincennes avenue, representing Chicago Woman's Club.
- Hall, Richard C., representing Association of Commerce.
- Hardinge, Henry H., 817 Perry street, representing Single Tax Club.
- Hart, Mrs. Harry, 4639 Drexel boulevard, representing National Council of Jewish Women.
- Hartung, Dr. Henry, 1704 Diversey boulevard, representing North American Gymnastic Union.
- Haskins, Charles Nelson, 3011 Prairie avenue, representing the Civic Club System.
- Hatfield, Mrs. Margaret M., 6030 Monroe avenue, representing Woodlawn Woman's Club and Woman's Christian Temperance Union.
- Hawley, Mary E., 5719 Madison avenue.
- Heath, Rose W., 6212 Jefferson avenue, representing South End Club.
- Heckman, B. F., 188 Hastings street, representing Church of the Brethren.
- Heinerich, Simon, 427 Chestnut street, representing Church of the New Thought.
- Henemann, Miss Magda, 168 Fremont street.
- Henrotin, Mrs. Charles, 251 Goethe street, representing General Federation of Women's Clubs.
- Henry, Mrs. Maggie, 3103 Prairie avenue, representing Universal Spiritual Church.
- Higginbotham, Harlow N.
- Hillis, David M., 140 Dearborn street, representing Independent Religious Society of Chicago.
- Hinshaw, Wm., M. D., 1551 Adams street.
- Hirsch, Rev. Emil G., Sinai Congregation.
- Hirschberg, Dr. Abram, 177 Lake View avenue, representing Associated Jewish Charities.
- Hofer, Miss Amalie, West Chicago.
- Horne, Dora C., Harvard Hotel.
- Horner, Henry, 821 Stock Exchange Building, representing Young Men's Associated Jewish Charities.
- Howes, Mildred I., 5719 Madison avenue.

- Hoyt, Mrs. Martha, 66 East Thirty-sixth street.
- Hulburt, Mrs. O. F., 6154 Monroe avenue, representing Woodlawn Woman's Club.
- Humble, C., 523 Northrop avenue.
- Hyde, Prof. Charles Cheney, 135 Adams street.
- Isaacs, Mrs. John D., Windermere Hotel.
- Jackman, Mrs. Wilbur S., 5730 Kimbark avenue, representing Chicago Woman's Club.
- Jackson, H. H., M. D., 118 South Leavitt street, representing I Will Lodge, I. O. O. F.
- Johnston, F. D., 1389 Humboldt boulevard, representing Weaver Memorial United Brethren Church.
- Jones, Rev. Jenkin Lloyd, Abraham Lincoln Centre.
- Jones, Rev. W. H. Miller, 1016 West Dokin avenue, representing Deering Lodge I. O. O. F. No. 717.
- Kahn, Arthur, 809 North Sixth street, representing Central Labor Union of Philadelphia.
- Kendall, Mrs. E. E., 6731 Euclid avenue, representing South End Woman's Club.
- Kern, Mrs. A. V., 1034 Jackson boulevard, representing Grace Reformed Church.
- Kimball, Miss Kate F., 5711 Kimbark avenue, representing Chautauqua, New York, Woman's Club.
- Kirkup, Miss M., 5649 Woodlawn avenue.
- Klein, Rabbi Jacob, 6938 Harvard avenue, representing Congregation Or-Chodosh.
- Kodicek, Sig., 1858 West Forty-seventh street, representing the First Hebrew Educational and Charitable Association of Chicago.
- Kohn, Joseph, 105 North Avers avenue, representing First Hebrew Educational and Charitable Association.
- Komaiko, S. B., 159 LaSalle street.
- Korsoski, Abe J., 4642 Vincennes avenue, representing Young Men's Associated Jewish Charities.
- Kriete, Arthur.
- Kriete, Mrs. C. L.
- Lackersteen, Mrs. E., Abraham Lincoln Centre.
- Larsen, A., 380 West Belden avenue, representing Church of the United Brethren in Christ.
- Leake, Dr. C. W., 2450 Indiana avenue.
- Leake, Mrs. Chas. W., 2450 Indiana avenue.
- Lester, Frances L., Lincoln Centre.
- Lewis, Mrs. Nathan B., 2490 Magnolia avenue, representing League Cook County Clubs.
- Limbach, Mrs. Chas. H., 1234 Washington boulevard, representing West Side Co-Educational Club.
- Lindahl, Joshua, 5700 Peoria street.
- Loele, Jos. I., 4432 Oakenwald avenue.

- Loewenthal, Mrs. C. F., 4534 Greenwood avenue.
 Loewenthal, J. Y., 4534 Greenwood avenue.
 Lorentz, John, 2060 Madison street, representing Excelsior Lodge 22, I. O. O. F.
 Lukens, Herman T., 550 Webster avenue.
 Luttenberger, Jno. G. M., 311 Tacoma Building.
 Lyman, Mrs. David B., Jr.
 Lyman, Mrs. Louise H., 5015 Madison avenue, representing Friends in Council.
 Lyman, William, 5015 Madison avenue.
 Marshall, Lieut.-Col. Stephen, 399 State street, representing Salvation Army.
 Mason, Fred B., 840 Tribune Building, representing Oberlin Association of Illinois.
 Mathews, Bishop G. M., 1391 Humboldt boulevard, representing United Brethren in Christ.
 Matsubara, Kazuo, 5735 Lexington avenue, Japanese Consul.
 McConnell, Mrs. J. S., 4359 Lake avenue.
 McDowell, Miss Mary E., 4630 Gross avenue, representing University of Chicago Settlement and American Health League.
 McGowan, Mrs. Nettie, 3437 Prairie avenue, representing Woman's Relief Corps.
 Melendy, Royal L.
 Melendy, Mrs. Royal L.
 Menge, Miss Carrie, 154 East Forty-second place.
 Merrett, Albert N., 6121 Madison avenue, representing Merchants' Exchange of Chicago.
 Meyer, J. H., 1465 Humboldt boulevard, representing Christ Norwegian Lutheran Church.
 Ming, M. L., 1421 West Madison street.
 Mitchen, Rev. Chas. Bayard, 4611 Ellis avenue.
 Montgomery, Dr. W. J., 5340 Cornell avenue, representing Southern Club of Chicago.
 Moran, W. F., 1375 West Polk street, representing Chicago Printing Business Union.
 Morris, Mrs. T. Ralston, 3650 Grand boulevard.
 Mowath, S. H., 275 LaSalle street, representing United Garment Workers of America.
 Mueller, Paul, 2331 North Forty-second avenue, representing City of Chicago.
 Nelson, Mrs. Walter C., 5120 Jefferson avenue.
 Newton, Joseph S., 2349 North Forty-first court, representing Irving Park Lodge No. 190, I. O. O. F.
 Nicholson, Mrs. Marion, 738 Kedzie avenue.
 Norris, Mrs. Wm. W., 347 South Troy street.
 Noven, Robert, 275 LaSalle street, representing United Garment Workers of America.
 Olcott, George C., 276 Washington boulevard, representing Chicago Single Tax Club.

- O'Keife, Mrs. D. D., 1563 West Adams street.
- Orr, Adam C., 924 South Albany avenue.
- Pack, W. F., 208, 98 Market street.
- Palmer, Mrs. Ida Jane, 3834 Lake avenue, representing the Association for International Conciliation.
- Patterson, Chas. M., 818 Bryn Maur avenue, representing Loyal Lodge 601, I. O. O. F.
- Patterson, S. P., 384 Warren avenue, representing American Peace Society and Chicago Record Herald.
- Patterson, Mrs. S. P., 384 Warren avenue, representing American Peace Society.
- Payne, William Morton, LL. D., 2246 Michigan avenue.
- Pearl, John C., 34 Artesian avenue, representing Men's P. S. A. Club.
- Pearson, Rev. S., 2154 North Seeley avenue.
- Pedersen, Carl M., 912 West North avenue, representing Norden Lodge No. 699, I. O. O. F.
- Perine, Josiah W., 2818 Calumet avenue, representing First Presbyterian Church.
- Perry, W. E., 8521 Carpenter street, representing Gresham Lodge No. 448, I. O. O. F.
- Pesowusky, H., 630 West Seventy-ninth street, representing Congregation Orr Chodosh.
- Pestefeld, Mrs. Ursula N., 317 Fifty-third street, representing Church of the New Thought.
- Peterson, B. C., 412 West Monroe street, representing Society of the Veritans.
- Pilo, Axel O., 929 Osgood street, representing Three Links Lodge No. 812, I. O. O. F.
- Pinckney, Mrs. M. W., Hotel del Prado.
- Polk, S. C., 926 First National Bank Building.
- Portman, Mrs. Edward C., 2170 Kenmore avenue, representing the North End Club.
- Price, James Russell, M. D., 87 South Canal street, representing Improved Order of Red Men.
- Reed, C. F., A. B. B. D., 6539 South Paulina street, Congregational minister.
- Reed, Mrs. Elizabeth A., 1311 Balmoral avenue, representing Illinois Woman's Press Association.
- Rhodes, Mrs. C. W., 1440 Montrose boulevard.
- Richardson, O. W., 58 Thirty-fourth street.
- Richmond, Rev. Cora L. V., 3802 Ridge avenue.
- Roberts, Rev. D. P., 3553 Vernon avenue, representing A. M. E. Church.
- Roberts, George E., president Commercial National Bank.
- Roberts, Mrs. Julia W., 6237 Ada street, representing St. John A. M. E. Church.
- Roe, Frances, 1459 Rokeby street, representing Social Economic.
- Root, Eliza H., M. D., 489 Monroe street, representing Woman's Medical Club.

- Rosenwald, Julius, 4901 Ellis avenue, representing Associated Jewish Charities.
- Rosenwald, Mrs. Julius, 4901 Ellis avenue.
- Roundy, Frank C., 190 South Clark street, representing Oriental Consistory.
- Sam, Tom, 279 South Clark street.
- Scherzer, Albert H., 1616 Monadnock Building.
- Schneider, Otto C., Tribune Building, representing North American Gymnastic Union.
- Schmidt, George A., 639 Wells street, representing North American Gymnastic Union.
- Selleck, W. R., Hyde Park Hotel.
- Shearman, Chas. E., 437 County Building, representing Oberlin Association of Illinois.
- Sherman, E. B., 501 Federal Building, representing American Institute of Civics.
- Shaffer, Bishop C. T., 3340 Rhodes avenue.
- Sikes, George C., 61 North Central avenue.
- Sikes, Madeline Wallin, 61 North Central avenue, representing Association of Collegiate Alumnae and Chicago Woman's Club.
- Simmonds, Mrs. Francis D.
- Skinner, Edward M., representing Association of Commerce.
- Smith, Mrs. Emmeline L., 2340 North Hermitage avenue.
- Smith, Gilman W., 860 Warren avenue.
- Smith, Mrs. Gilman W., 860 Warren avenue.
- Smith, Mrs. Horace F., 408 East Fifthieth street.
M. of W. E.
- Smith, Mrs. Jennie L., 326 East Fifty-seventh street.
- Smith, W. M., 6746 Madison avenue, representing International Brotherhood
- Soden, G. A., 5206 Kimbark avenue.
- Soden, Mrs. G. A., 5206 Kimbark avenue, representing Church of the New Thought.
- Solomon, Mrs. Henry, 4406 Michigan avenue, representing Local Committee of Women.
- Sonsteby, John J., 153 LaSalle street, representing United Garment Workers of America.
- Sly, Rev. W. J., 2194 Jackson boulevard, representing Garfield Park Baptist Church.
- Sly, Mrs. W. J., 2194 Jackson boulevard, representing Garfield Park Baptist Church.
- Starr, Frederick, University of Chicago, representing Universal Peace Society.
- Stewart, E. B., 4547 Champlain avenue, representing Third United Presbyterian Church.
- Stewart, Rev. H. E., 3825 Dearborn street, representing African Methodist Episcopal Church.
- Stolz, Rabbi Joseph, 4827 Langley avenue, representing Isaiah Temple.

- Strouss, Mrs. Henry X., 4200 Drexel boulevard, representing Chicago Woman's Aid.
- Stubbs, Mrs. Jessie Hardy, 618 East Forty-sixth street, representing Chicago Woman's Club.
- Swanite, Leon M., 210 Market street.
- Summerfield, Miss Hattie, 4908 Indiana avenue.
- Swift, Monroe A., 663 Park avenue, representing Tabernacle Baptist Church.
- Tallman, Alonson B., 8830 Elizabeth street, representing Seventh Presbyterian Church.
- Tatum, David.
- Taylor, Prof. Graham, representing Chicago Commons.
- Taylor, Ross, 1706 Arlington place, representing City of Alameda, Cal.
- Taylor, Mrs. Ross, 1706 Arlington place.
- Tolman, A. H., 5407 Woodlawn avenue.
- Tracy, Mrs. Frederick K., 545 Jackson boulevard.
- Trower, Rev. Wm. George, 8624 Sangamon street, representing Seventh Presbyterian Church.
- True, Mrs. Chas. Jackson, 5003 Madison avenue.
- True, Miss M. Elizabeth, 5003 Madison avenue.
- Vaughan, Dr. Elmer E., 321 Belden avenue, representing Belden Avenue Baptist Church.
- Vaughan, Mrs. Elmer E., 321 Belden avenue, representing Belden Avenue Baptist Church.
- Veasey, Charles M., 510 Orchestra Building.
- Vincent, Dean Geo. E., representing University of Chicago.
- Vittum, Harriet E., 122 Augusta street, representing Northwestern University Settlement.
- Vittum, Karl D., 122 Augusta street, representing Northwestern University Settlement.
- Vlasaty, Robert, 34 Yeaton street, representing Praha Lodge No. 213, I. O. O. F.
- VonDarden, E.
- Warner, George B., M. D., 238 Oakwood boulevard, representing National Spiritualist Association of United States of America.
- Waterman, A. N., 40 Groveland Park.
- Watkins, Mrs. George, 4740 Madison street, representing State Federation of Woman's Clubs.
- Weatherby, S. W., 6033 Ellis avenue.
- Weatherby, Mrs. S. W., 6033 Ellis avenue.
- Weeks, Miss H. G., 942 Winthrop avenue.
- Weinberg, Mrs. Moses A., 4948 Washington Park place, representing National Council of Jewish Women.
- West, Dr. A. M., 125 South Clark street, representing University of Pittsburgh.
- Wheeler, Harry A., representing Association of Commerce.
- Whitcomb, Mrs. H. S., 5131 Cornell avenue.

- White, Ella M., 6007 Kimbark avenue.
 Whitehead, H. C.
 Whitmore, Rev. S. L., D. D., 1185 Adams street, representing Grace Reformed Church.
 Whitmore, Mrs. S. L., 1185 Adams street, representing Grace Reformed Church.
 Wiens, A. F., 1769 Thirty-fifth street, representing Men's Rescue Mission.
 Winkelman, F. E.
 Wild, Mrs. Payson, S., 4465 Ellis avenue.
 Wilson, Robert E., D. D., 708 Austin avenue, representing A. M. E. Church.
 Wilson, Rev. Wm. White, 21 Aldine square, representing National Christian League for the Promotion of Purity and St. Mark's Episcopal Church.
 Witherell, Mr. A. W., 4927 Michigan avenue.
 Witherell, Mrs. A. W., 4927 Michigan avenue.
 Wolfe, Richard W., 550 Michigan avenue, representing Menier Lodge Knights of Columbus.
 Wright, Edwin R., Box No. 477, representing Illinois State Federation of Labor.
 Yudelson, A. B., M. D., 4539 Indiana avenue, representing South Side Hebrew Congregation.
 Zollinger, John, 211 South Hoyne avenue, representing Grace Reformed Church.

INDIANA.

- Arnold, Helen L., 330 South Sixth street, Terre Haute, representing City of Terre Haute.
 Barr, Rev. Daisy B., Fairmount, representing State of Indiana.
 Bradbury, Wilbern K., Richmond, representing Richmond Commercial Club.
 Brown, H. B., Valparaiso, representing Valparaiso University.
 Broyles, J. Riley, 301 Riverside avenue, Muncie.
 Brunk, A. C., Goshen, representing City of Goshen.
 Brunk, H. G., Goshen, representing City of Goshen.
 Bryan, President William Lowe, Bloomington, representing State of Indiana and Indiana University.
 Burkhart, George W., Logansport, representing Trade and Labor Assembly.
 Byers, N. E., Goshen, representing Intercollegiate Peace Society.
 Conner, J. D., Jr., Wabash.
 Cox, Lewis J., Terre Haute, representing City of Terre Haute.
 Cox, Mrs. U. O., Terre Haute.
 Deahl, Anthony, Goshen.
 Dodge, G. M., Valparaiso.
 Elam, Mrs. John W., Valparaiso.
 Earl, Mrs. Elizabeth Claypool, Connersville, representing City of Connersville.
 Elbel, Richard, South Bend, representing South Bend Associated Charities.
 Elbel, Mrs. Richard, 605 Portage avenue, South Bend, representing Impromptu Club.
 Gilliom, A. L., Goshen, representing City of Goshen.

- Goddard, Joseph A., Muncie, representing City of Muncie.
 Gwinn, Dow R., Terre Haute, representing City of Terre Haute.
 Hill, W. A., 33 Warren street, Hammond, representing Business Men's Association.
 Hine, Mary L., South Bend, representing Associated Charities.
 Howe, Thomas C., 48 South Audubon road, Indianapolis, representing State of Indiana.
 Iglehart, J. E., Evansville, representing State of Indiana.
 Johnn, Henry Webb, South Bend, representing State of Indiana.
 Johnson, Benjamin, 201 North Eleventh street, Richmond, representing Commercial Club.
 Kelly, Robert Lincoln, Richmond, representing Richmond Commercial Club, Richmond Tourist Club and Peace Association of Friends in America.
 Kenworthy, Truman C., Spiceland, representing Spiceland Quarterly Meeting of Friends Church.
 Kettring, Mrs. E. G., South Bend, representing Children's Aid Society of Indiana and the Progress Club of South Bend.
 Kinsey, Mrs. O. P., Valparaiso, representing State of Indiana and Indiana Federation of Women's Clubs.
 Kliewer, J. W., Berne, representing Mennonite Conference.
 Kolsem, J. C., Terre Haute, representing City of Terre Haute.
 Kriegbaum, Mrs. Charles M., 805 Leland avenue, South Bend, representing Progress Club.
 Leipziger, Emil W., 219 South Fifth street, Terre Haute, representing City of Terre Haute.
 Lowenstine, M. R., Valparaiso.
 McCullough, E. S., 1120 State Life Building, Indianapolis, representing United Mine Workers.
 McCullough, Florence, Indianapolis.
 Nicholson, Timothy, Richmond, representing State of Indiana, Commercial Club of Richmond and Peace Association of American Friends.
 Ogilire, Rev. Andrew U., Elkhart, representing City of Elkhart.
 Parks, Wade R., Mishawaka, representing City of Mishawaka.
 Paxton, W. G., Hammond, representing Business Men's Association.
 Perry, Edwin, Indianapolis, representing United Mine Workers of America.
 Pratt, W. B., Elkhart, representing City of Elkhart.
 Rein, Miss Carrie, South Bend, representing Associated Charities.
 Robinson, Frances M., Richmond, representing Yearly Meeting Indiana Friends.
 Russell, Prof. Elbert, Richmond, representing Intercollegiate Peace Association.
 Shirkie, Hugh, Terre Haute, representing City of Terre Haute.
 Sisson, P. L., Valparaiso.
 Skinner, L. R., Valparaiso.
 Smith, C. H., Goshen, representing Intercollegiate Peace Association.
 Smith, Samuel E., M. D., Richmond, representing State of Indiana and Richmond Commercial Club.

Stimson, Stella C., 828 South Seventh street, Terre Haute.
 Studebaker, J. M., South Bend, representing State of Indiana.
 Thayer, George H., Jr., Plymouth, representing Civic Club.
 Veasey Mrs. M. C., South Bend.

IOWA.

Andrews, William F., New Providence, representing Friends Church.
 Bollinger, James Wills, Davenport, representing City of Davenport.
 Brant, David, Iowa City, representing State of Iowa.
 Brown, Rev. E. Howard, New Sharon, representing Iowa Yearly Meeting
 Friends Church.
 Clark, Margaret V., M. D., Waterloo, representing Medical Association.
 Crippen, Mrs. J. H., Waterloo, representing City of Waterloo.
 Doty, P. A., Waterloo, representing City of Waterloo.
 Doyle, W. J., Davenport, representing City of Davenport.
 Edwards, David M., Oskaloosa, representing Iowa Yearly Meeting of
 Friends.
 Fifer, Rev. Orien W., 936 Eighteenth street, Des Moines, representing State
 of Iowa.
 Frineshribber, W. H., 217 East Fourteenth street, Davenport, representing
 City of Davenport.
 Garrigan, Rt. Rev. P. J., Sioux City, representing State of Iowa.
 Halligan, J. E., Davenport, representing City of Davenport.
 Hambleton, Albert F. N., Oskaloosa, representing Iowa Yearly Meeting
 Friends Church.
 Howard, Edwin B., Ames, representing Friends Church.
 Hukill, A. T., Waterloo, representing public schools.
 Jones, Effie McCollum, D. D., Waterloo, representing Ministerial Association
 of City of Waterloo.
 Lamson, C. O., Waterloo, representing Chamber of Commerce.
 Lamson, Mrs. C. O., Waterloo.
 McCandless, Mrs. C. R., Davenport.
 Ogle, J. B., Waterloo, representing Commercial Club and Board of Trade.
 Parrott, Mrs. Matt, Waterloo., representing Woman's Club.
 Raymond, W. R., Ames, representing Iowa State College.
 Ritter, Jacob, Centerville, representing United Mine Workers of America.
 Rowlands, H. O., Davenport, representing City of Davenport.
 Scott, Mrs. H. B., 1617 Dill street, Burlington, representing Humane Society.
 Shuler, D. Anne M., Davenport.
 Simonds, Mrs. Ida, Onawa.
 Sporle, T. H., Waterloo.
 Theophilus, Mrs. Wm., East River road, Davenport.

KANSAS.

Allen, Stephen H., Topeka, representing Topeka Commercial Club.
 Allen, Mrs. S. H., Topeka.
 Bigham, M. R., White City, representing State of Kansas.
 Northrup, L. L., Iola, representing State of Kansas.
 Roglie, Henry, Bazaar, representing State of Kansas.

KENTUCKY.

Baker, George, Central City, representing United Mine Workers of America.
 White, Miss Laura R., 500 Winchester avenue East, Ashland, representing
 State of Kentucky.

LOUISIANA.

Brice, A. G., 7733 Maple street, New Orleans, representing City of New
 Orleans.

MAINE.

Chase, President George C., 16 Frye street, Lewiston, representing Bates
 College.

MARYLAND.

Brown, Mrs. Marguerite M., 1701 Tenth street, Baltimore, representing
 Baltimore City Suffrage Club.
 Marburg, Theodore, 14 North Mt. Vernon place, Baltimore, representing
 City of Baltimore.
 Mullen, Miss Agnes, Towson, representing Baltimore City Suffrage Club.
 Wilson, Edward C., 1925 Park avenue, Baltimore, representing City of
 Baltimore.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Andrews, Mrs. Fannie Fern, 405 Marlborough street, Boston, representing
 American School Peace League.
 Beals, Charles E., Stoughton, representing American Peace Society.
 Beals, Mrs. Charles E., Stoughton, representing American Peace Society.
 Breed, Mrs. Alice Ives, 6 Sacramento street, Cambridge, representing Canta-
 brigia Club.
 Cutler, James H., Boston.
 Eckstein, Anna B., 30 Newberry street, Back Bay, Boston, representing
 American Peace Society and National German-American Alliance.
 Ginn, Edwin, Boston.
 Kingsbury, Mabel H., Newton Centre, representing American Peace Society.
 Lowell, Mrs. George F., Newtonville, representing American Peace Society.
 Mead, Edwin D., 20 Beacon street, Boston, representing American Peace
 Society.
 Mead, Mrs. Lucia Ames, 20 Beacon street, Boston, representing American
 Peace Society.
 Paine, Robert Treat, 6 Joy street, Boston, representing American Peace
 Society.
 Sawtell, Frank M., Malden, representing City of Malden.
 Sharpe, Maud R. L., 74 Commonwealth avenue, Chestnut Hill, Boston.
 Trueblood, Benj. F., Boston, representing American Peace Society.
 Tryon, James L., 31 Beacon street, Boston, representing American Peace
 Society.

MICHIGAN.

Bailey, Rachel A., Grand Rapids, representing Ladies of the Modern Macca-
 bees.
 Blekkink, E. J., Holland, pastor and editor.
 Boyle, Homer L., Lansing, author "History of Peace."

Boyle, Mrs. H. L., Lansing.

Boyle, Miss Lvena, Lansing.

Cunningham, Owen S., Saginaw, representing Knights of Pythias No. 10.

Flannery, Rev. T. D., Alpena, representing Alpena Chamber of Commerce.

Inui, Kiyo Sue, Ann Arbor, representing Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs.

Lewis, Frederick W., Saginaw W. S.

Marcellus, C. N., Grand Rapids, representing Board of Trade.

Mauck, Joseph William, Hillsdale, representing State of Michigan.

Moore, Judge Joseph B., Lansing.

Rogers, Herbert M., 501-3-5 Prudden Building, Lansing.

Sharp, Mrs. John C., Jackson, representing Michigan State Federation of Women's Clubs.

Smith, Mrs. Frances Wheeler, Hastings, representing Michigan State Federation of Women's Clubs.

West, Miss Bina M., Port Huron, representing Ladies of the Maccabees.

MINNESOTA.

Ankeny, A. T., Minneapolis, representing State of Minnesota.

Budlong, Rev. Fred G., Christ Church, St. Paul, representing State of Minnesota.

DuBois, Dr. J. A. Sauk Center, representing State of Minnesota.

DuBois, Mrs. J. A., Sauk Center.

Swan, Mrs. Mary B., Mahtomede, representing Merriam Park Woman's Club.

Tawney, Hon. James A., M. C.

MISSISSIPPI.

Jayne, Robert Kennon, Jackson, representing City of Jackson.

MISSOURI.

Bartholdt, Hon. Richard, M. C., St. Louis, representing Arbitration Group in Congress, Universal Peace Union of Philadelphia and American Peace Society.

Bush, Chas. M., Kansas City, representing State of Missouri.

Damon, Mrs. C. P., 3522 Washington avenue, St. Louis, representing Wednesday Club.

Howe, Charles M., 211 Logan Building, St. Joseph, representing City of St. Joseph.

Lowe, A. B., 3900 Olive street, St. Louis, representing International Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees.

Madden, Rev. Loyal W., 312 West Main street, Independence, representing City of Independence.

Mayer, Harry H., Kansas City, representing State of Missouri.

Moore, Mrs. Phillip N., St. Louis, representing General Federation of Women's Clubs.

Smith, Frederick M., 630 South Crysler street, Independence, representing City of Independence and Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

NEBRASKA.

Pound, Prof. Roscoe, representing State of Nebraska.

NEVADA.

Dignowity, Charles L., Reno.

NEW YORK.

- Buchanan, Hon. W. I., Buffalo, representing State of New York.
 Burton, Henry F., Rochester, representing City of Rochester.
 Casson, Herbert N., 274 West 140th street, New York City, representing Humane Society of New York.
 Commander, Mrs. Lydia Kingsmill, 274 West 140th street, New York City, representing National Progressive Woman Suffrage and Union.
 Crapsey, Rev. Algernon S., Rochester, representing Chamber of Commerce and City of Rochester.
 Duras, Victor H., 309 Broadway, New York City, representing the Peace Society of the City of New York.
 Glover, Rev. Dr. F. Nelson, Lock Box 174, Madison Square Postoffice, New York City, representing Madison Avenue Baptist Church.
 Goller, Miss Ray, New York City, representing Young People's League for International Federation.
 Holt, Hamilton, 130 Fulton street, New York City, representing State of New York and Peace Society of the City of New York.
 Huntington, Mrs. V. P., New York City.
 Leone, Luigi, New York City, Peace Propagandist.
 MacSweeney, Jos. P., Rochester, representing City of Rochester.
 Pierson, Miss Mary J., New York City, representing Peace Society.
 Rickert, T. A., 117 Bible House, New York City, representing United Garment Workers of America.
 Rowland, Eugene A., Rome, representing City of Rome.
 Schurman, President Jacob Gould, Ithaca, representing Cornell University.
 Short, Wm. H., New York City, representing Peace Society of City of New York.
 Weber, Joe N., 310 East Eighty-sixth street, New York City, representing American Federation of Musicians.
 Williams, Rev. L. O., Buffalo, representing City of Buffalo.
 Zucca, Antonio, 25 West Broadway, New York City, representing International Peace Society, Italian Branch.

NORTH CAROLINA.

- Blair, Prof. Franklin S., Guilford College, Guilford, representing Friends Church in North Carolina, Interdenominational State Sunday School Association and State of North Carolina.

NORTH DAKOTA.

- Beard, Rev. R. A., Fargo.

OHIO.

- Atkins, Harry T., 2311 Highland avenue, Walnut Hills, Cincinnati, representing City of Cincinnati.
 Berry, George L., Lyric Theater Building, Cincinnati, representing International Printing Pressmen.
 Church, President A. B., Buchtel College, Akron, representing City of Akron.
 Clark, Davis Wasgatt, Cincinnati, representing Cincinnati Peace Society.

Cooper, S. M., First National Bank Building, Cincinnati, representing City of Cincinnati.

Graham, Miss Louise, Cleveland.

Hermann, Dr. G. A., Hamilton, representing City of Hamilton.

Jeffrey, J. A., Columbus, representing Columbus Board of Trade.

Johnson, Herbert H., Wooster, representing Peace Association of the University of Wooster, Ohio.

Little, W. S., Cincinnati, representing City of Cincinnati.

Lowery, M. L., Granville, representing Denison University Peace Association.

Mahony, W. A., Columbus.

Mosiman, Eddison, West Middletown, representing Mennonite General Conference.

Rogers, Dean W. P., Cincinnati, representing Cincinnati Peace Society.

Seovel, Prof. Sylvester F., Wooster, representing American Peace Society, City of Wooster and Wooster University Peace Association.

Weston, Stephen F., Yellow Springs, representing Antioch College.

OREGON.

Galvani, Wm. H., Oregonian Building, Portland, representing State of Oregon.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Cadwallader, Mrs. M. E., 1243 North Thirteenth street, Philadelphia, representing I. State Spiritualist Association.

Cary, George L., Meadville.

Farquhar, A. B., York, representing American Peace Society, Pennsylvania Peace Society and National Association of Manufacturers.

Hartman, Samuel L., Lancaster.

Hull, Prof. Wm. I., Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, representing the Permanent Executive Committee of the Pennsylvania Conference on Peace and Arbitration and the American Peace Society.

PORTO RICO.

Fitzpatrick, John, 277 La Salle street, Chicago, representing the Free Federation of Workingmen of Porto Rico.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

Payne, Jason E., Vermillion.

TENNESSEE.

Burford, John T., Chattanooga.

Burford, Mrs. John T., Chattanooga.

Kealing, H. T., 206 Public Square, Nashville.

TEXAS.

Brooks, President S. P., Baylor University, Waco, representing Baylor University.

Isenhower, E. J., 1624 South Twelfth street, Waco, representing Philomathean Literary Society and Baylor University.

Penland, G. H., 203 Splight street, Waco, representing Eusophian Literary Society and Baylor University.

VERMONT.

DeBoer, Joseph A., Montpelier, representing State of Vermont.

VIRGINIA.

Morrhead, President J. A., Roanoke College, Salem, representing Roanoke College.

WISCONSIN.

Andres, Mr. J. P., Norwalk.

Bartholomew, Anne W., 816 College avenue, Racine, representing Associated Charities of Racine.

Cary, C. P., Madison, representing State of Wisconsin.

Chao, Guok-Tsai, 708 Langdon street, Madison, representing International Club of Wisconsin.

Cox, W. D., Milwaukee.

Dyke, LeGrande G., 436 Lake street, Madison, representing International Club of Wisconsin of A. C. C.

Fairchild, Mrs. A. N., 643 Shepard avenue, Milwaukee, representing Milwaukee College Endowment Association.

Frost, Edward W., Wells Building, Milwaukee, representing State of Wisconsin.

Goetz, Mr. M., Norwalk.

Gordon, Mrs. B. C., Oshkosh, representing State of Wisconsin.

Gordon, Dr. Kate, Winnebago, representing Consumers' League of Wisconsin.

Hamilton, A. K., Milwaukee, representing City of Milwaukee.

Knapp, Henry E., Menomonie, representing City of Menomonie.

Lochner, Louis P., 915 University avenue, Madison, representing Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs.

Mainland, Mrs. Wm., Oshkosh, representing Twentieth Century Club.

Matthews, E. P., Milwaukee, representing City of Milwaukee.

Neumann, F. E., 144 Eighth street, Milwaukee, representing Federated Trades Council.

Reinsch, Prof. Paul S., Madison, representing University of Wisconsin.

Rich, A. W., Milwaukee.

Rich, Miss Clara W., Milwaukee.

Rich, Miss Victoria P., Milwaukee.

Sato, Kinichi, 127 Langdon street, Madison, representing Wisconsin International Club.

Sheehan, James, 548 Fifth avenue, Milwaukee, representing Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

Sivyer, F. W., Milwaukee, representing City of Milwaukee.

Stout, J. H., Menomonie.

Sultaire, Joseph, 373 Seventeenth street, Milwaukee, representing Federated Trades Council.

Swensen, Mrs. Wm., 149 East Gilman, Madison, representing Woman's Club.

Thompson, Hon. Carl D., Milwaukee.

Wells, O. E., Wausau, representing City of Wausau.

Foreign Delegates

CHINA.

Ting-fang, Dr. Wu, E. E. and M. P.

Wang, C. F., Canton.

GERMANY.

von Bernstorff, Count Johann H.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Baker, Joseph Allen, M. P., London.

Innes, Alfred Mitchell, Counselor of the British Embassy, Washington, D. C.

JAPAN.

Bowles, Rev. Gilbert, Tokyo.

Matsubara, Hon. K.

NORWAY.

Koht, Dr. Halvdan, Christiania.

TURKEY.

Patrick, Miss Mary Mills, Constantinople.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS*

RIGHT HONORABLE EARL GREY, GOVERNOR GENERAL OF CANADA.

I am desired by the Governor General to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 3d instant, kindly extending an invitation from your committee to be present and deliver an address at a National Peace Congress to be held in Chicago on the 26th-28th of April next, and to request you to be good enough to thank your committee for their kind invitation and explain to them that His Excellency regrets his engagements in Canada will make it impossible for him to be present on that occasion.

I am yours faithfully,

ARTHUR F. SLADEN.

RIGHT HONORABLE DAVID LLOYD-GEORGE, CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER OF GREAT BRITAIN.

I am desired by Mr. Lloyd George to thank you for your letter of the 27th ultimo and to say that he regrets he cannot promise to be present at the National Peace Congress which is to be held at Chicago on April 26-28.

Yn Wladgar,

JOHN ROWLAND.

THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR.

There is, I fear, no chance of my being able to go from here to Chicago on the 26th of April, as I have engagements at Washington at that time. Pray convey my thanks for the invitation to attend and to address the Congress, and my sincere regret that it will not be possible for me to be with you.

I am, with best wishes for the success of the Congress,

Faithfully yours,

JAMES BRYCE.

THE PREMIER OF CANADA.

The Prime Minister regrets that his Parliamentary duties will not permit him to avail himself of your very kind invitation, . . . He begs you to accept and convey to the members of

*The following are samples of thousands of letters received.

the Executive Committee of the Congress, with his very sincere thanks, the renewed expression of his regret at his inability to attend at the International Session and at the banquet of the National Peace Congress. Yours very sincerely,

E. J. LEMAIRE, Private Secretary.

THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR.

As I find it impossible for me to attend the Second National Peace Congress to which you have kindly invited me, I am asking Mr. K. Matsubara, Japanese Consul at your city, to represent me at your meeting of Wednesday afternoon, the 5th of May, and also to attend the banquet to be given on that evening.

I enclose to you herewith a copy of my message of greeting which I wish you to have read at the Wednesday afternoon meeting of your Congress, either by you or by Mr. Matsubara, as it may conveniently be arranged. Yours very truly,

K. TAKAHIRA.

JUSTICE DAVID J. BREWER.

I have yours of the 26th ultimo inviting me to attend the National Peace Congress in Chicago, May 3-5. I regret that engagements at New Haven will prevent my being present.

Very truly yours,

D. J. BREWER.

HON. JOHN BARRETT, DIRECTOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL BUREAU OF AMERICAN REPUBLICS.

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your esteemed note of March 26, and to express my profound regret that other engagements, made a long time ago, will prevent my acceptance of your invitation to attend the Second National Peace Congress in Chicago, May 3-5, 1909. Yours very truly,

JOHN BARRETT.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

I thank you for your kind invitation to be one of the Vice Presidents of the Second National Peace Congress to be held in Chicago, May 3-5, 1909, and regret that my engagements are such that it will not be possible for me to attend. If, however, attendance is not necessary, you are at perfect liberty to name me as one of the Vice-Presidents.

Very truly yours,

P. C. KNOX.

THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

I shall not abate my interest in the Congress and shall do what I can to promote it, but it now looks as if I would be in Panama at the time of the meeting. The President is anxious for me to go there as soon as I can, and it is my purpose to do so about the middle or latter part of April.

Yours truly,

J. M. DICKINSON.

THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 18th instant, and to state in reply that it will give me pleasure to serve as one of the Vice-Presidents of the Second National Peace Congress, to be held in Chicago on May 3 to 5, 1909. Yours very truly,

GEORGE VON L. MEYER,
Secretary of the Navy.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL.

In reply to your favor of the 18th instant, I beg to say that I am happy to accept your invitation to be one of the Vice-Presidents of the Peace Congress, the principle of which, as had in view by those responsible for bringing about this Congress, has my hearty and unqualified approval.

Faithfully yours,

GEORGE W. WICKERSHAM.

**DEPARTMENT OF STATE—NORTH ATLANTIC COAST FISHERIES
ARBITRATION AT THE HAGUE.**

The creation of public opinion hostile to war is the most valued service that can today be rendered to humanity, for public opinion is the most potent force in the world, as it is in the nation. To it we must look for the final accomplishment of a universal and permanent state of peace and the supremacy of international justice over physical might.

With the earnest wish that the Congress will be eminently successful, I am very truly yours,

ROBERT LANSING.

THE GOVERNOR OF HAWAII.

Mrs. Frear and I thank you heartily for your cordial invitation to us to be present at the Second National Peace Conference

to be held in Chicago May 3-5, 1909. In all probability, however, we shall not be able to give ourselves the pleasure of being present.

Very truly yours,

W. F. FREAR, Governor of Hawaii.

THE UNITED STATES AMBASSADOR TO GERMANY.

I write to acknowledge receipt of your kind invitation of March 26 to attend the Second National Peace Congress, to be held in Chicago on May 3-5, 1909, and to express my regret that the duties of my post will prevent my acceptance.

Very truly yours,

DAVID J. HILL.

DR. EDWARD EVERETT HALE.

I wish I could go to the Congress. But I am afraid it will be impossible. If I am present I certainly will speak.

The Congress at New York, two years ago, was certainly a meeting of great importance, which achieved great results.

Truly yours,

EDWARD E. HALE.

SENATOR ELIHU ROOT.

I have your very kind invitation to attend the Second National Peace Congress in Chicago on May 3-5, 1909, and I regret to state that owing to the engagements I have already made I shall not be able to accept the same.

With kind regards, I am, very truly yours,

ELIHU ROOT.

HON. ELMER ELLSWORTH BROWN.

I should like to express anew my interest in and devotion to the cause of international arbitration.

With good wishes for your meeting at Chicago, I am, believe me, very truly yours.

ELMER ELLSWORTH BROWN,

United States Commissioner of Education.

HON. W. J. BRYAN.

I thank you for your invitation, and regret to say that it will not be possible for me to be with you at the Chicago meeting, owing to the pressure of other engagements. At least it does not seem possible at this time. If later I find that I can come, I will

let you know, but at this time it seems highly improbable. I hope that you can secure the adoption of the resolution which we adopted at New York providing for investigation in every case before a declaration of war. I regard this as the most important step that can be taken at this time.

Wishing you a very successful meeting, I am,

Very truly yours,

W. J. BRYAN.

HON. HORACE PORTER.

I have your very cordial letter requesting the use of my name as a Vice-President of the important Peace Congress which I am glad to know will be convened in Chicago in May next.

I shall accept with pleasure the position of one of the Vice-Presidents.

Assuring you of my earnest sympathy with the objects of the Congress, I am, very sincerely,

HORACE PORTER.

HON. ANDREW WHITE.

I recognize fully the great value of such a meeting, if properly carried out, and hope that you may succeed in your efforts to make it effective in increasing American sentiment in favor of international arbitration and other measures conducive to peace.

I remain, dear sir, very respectfully yours,

ANDREW D. WHITE.

MR. ANDREW CARNEGIE.

Yours of March 26 received. Much to our regret, we shall be in mid-ocean at the time of your Second National Peace Congress, but if there is a chance to send you by wireless greetings and best wishes for the success of the Congress, this will be done. But in any case consider it done now.

The present situation of the powers is the best answer to the contention that peace is to be achieved through armaments. On the contrary, they are the sure promoters of war. The other plan will soon have to be tried—a League of Peaceful Nations giving notice to the others who refuse to coöperate that the time has past when the peace of the world may not be broken.

Very truly yours,

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

HON. JOSEPH H. CHOATE.

Of course, I am greatly interested in the subject and should be quite willing to become a Vice-President of the Congress but for the fact that it will be impossible for me to be in Chicago at the time of its session or to take any part in its proceedings. If this is not prohibitory, you are quite at liberty to use my name as a Vice-President. Yours very truly,

JOSEPH H. CHOATE.

I cannot now say that I will be able to be present, but at least I am in entire sympathy with the movement, and this increased interest in peace matters is especially gratifying to me.

Yours truly,

WILLIAM W. COCKS, M. C.

I am greatly interested in the great work done by this National Peace Congress, and it would give me the greatest pleasure to attend, and I will be present if I possibly can. I am, with great respect, yours truly,

WILLIAM RICHARDSON, M. C.

I am in sympathy with the purpose of the Congress in the strengthening of public sentiment for international arbitration and the movement toward the realization of universal peace, and I hope the Congress may prove a most successful one.

Very truly yours,

A. F. DAWSON, M. C.

I am interested in this movement and hope that you will have a very successful session.

Very sincerely yours,

FRANK O. LOWDEN, M. C.

My sympathies are entirely with you in the good work, and I should enjoy your splendid program, but unfortunately I shall be unable to attend. Very truly yours,

JAMES L. SLAYDEN, M. C.

I am most warmly in sympathy with the movement.

Your faithfully,

GEORGE C. HOLT,

Of the District Court of the United States.

Sympathizing, as I do, with the objects of the National Peace Congress, I regret very much that, owing to my judicial duties here, I shall be unable to attend its meetings, May 3 to 5.

GEORGE GRAY,

Of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals.

I am in warm sympathy with the objects of the congress, and am utterly opposed to the present system of expending enormous sums in naval or for other military purposes.

Very respectfully,

HIRAM L. SIBLEY, Columbus, Ohio.

I regard the accomplishment of international peace the most important and practical subject before the nations of the world. So much has been done, we cannot doubt that reason, counsel and justice will soon take the place of war. The day of argument for it has passed and methods of adjustment only remain to be settled. Very sincerely yours,

JOHN H. STINESS, Providence, R. I.

Duties here will debar me the pleasure of attending the sessions of the Peace Congress in May, but if I can be of service in promoting the great good to mankind which the Peace Society was organized to secure, you are certainly at liberty to use my name and services. Sincerely yours,

FRANK T. LLOYD,

Circuit Court of New Jersey.

Your letter of March 26, 1909, extending an invitation to the City of Honolulu to be represented at the Second National Peace Congress, and to myself to become an Honorary Member, has been received. On behalf of the city and for myself, accept my thanks.

Owing to the short notice (the great distance being considered), it will not be possible for the city to be represented at the Congress, desirable as it would be to have it. With the many thousands who believe in the objects of the Congress, I join in wishing it the greatest possible success.

Very sincerely,

JOSEPH J. FERN, Mayor of Honolulu.

I am greatly in sympathy with your cause, and hope at some time in the near future I may be able to be of more benefit to you than I am at present.

Thanking you for your invitation, I am, truly yours,

A. L. HARRIS, EX-GOVERNOR OF OHIO.

I am certainly in sympathy with the movement, and hope this Congress will be as successful and influential as was that held in New York two years ago.

Again thanking you, I am, yours truly,

N. J. BACHELDER, Master National Grange.

(Ex-Governor of New Hampshire.)

Of course, my sympathies are enlisted in the cause for which the Congress is held. Yours truly,

JAMES B. ANGELL,

President of University of Michigan.

I have your very kind letter of March 11, and am writing to say that you are at liberty to enter my name as a Vice-President of your Congress. I wish to assure you that I appreciate the honor. I am always glad to be of any service possible.

Thanking you for your kind thought of me in this matter, I am, yours truly,

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON,

Principal of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute.

I beg to thank you for your kind invitation to participate in the Second National Peace Congress to be held at Chicago, May 3-5, 1909.

I regret to state, however, that my engagements for the month of May, preparatory to a trip to Great Britain, will prevent me from accepting your kind invitation to attend the Congress.

With best wishes for the success of the efforts of your Congress, I am, very truly yours,

K. S. WOODWARD,

President of the Carnegie Institute of Washington.

If my name is of any value in furthering the cause of national peace and international peace, I should certainly feel it incumbent upon me to join with those who, to my mind, are taking the most

progressive and far-reaching step in the furtherance of civilization. I am certainly cordially and heartily in sympathy with the movement. Sincerely yours,

M. G. BRUMBAUGH,
Superintendent of Schools, Philadelphia.

I very reluctantly have concluded to deny myself the pleasure of being present and delivering one of the addresses. I am sure you will have an excellent meeting and that good will follow from it. Sincerely yours,

HENRY WADE ROGERS,
Dean of Law School, Yale University.

While it would give me much pleasure indeed to be present at the National Peace Congress, to be held in Chicago on May 3 to 5 next, I regret to say my business engagements at that time, which cannot be delegated to others, will prevent my accepting your very kind invitation.

Thanking you sincerely for the invitation, I am,

Yours truly,

JAMES J. HILL.

It is with pleasure that I write this letter, introducing Mr. Charles N. Marcellus, who has been duly appointed by the Executive Committee, acting under authority of the Board of Directors, as the representative of the Grand Rapids Board of Trade in the Second National Peace Congress, which will be held in Chicago, May 3, 4 and 5, 1909.

Mr. Marcellus is authorized to select two associates to act with him. Respectfully yours,

CLARENCE A. COTTON,
Secretary Grand Rapids Board of Trade.

Be assured of our hearty endorsement of the purposes of the Congress. Very sincerely yours,

ALAMEDA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
F. A. Russell, Secretary Alameda Chamber of Commerce, Alameda, Cal.

Our Board some weeks since made appointment of delegates to attend the National Peace Congress, to be held in Chicago,

May 3-5, 1909, as follows: W. A. Mahony, Washington Gladden, J. A. Jeffrey, George D. Jones, E. O. Randall, R. E. Sheldon, W. O. Thompson. Very truly yours,

JOHN Y. BASSELL,
Secretary Columbus Board of Trade, Columbus, Ohio.

President T. H. Molton, of the Alabama Commercial and Industrial Association, has appointed the following delegates to the National Peace Congress: Belton Gilreath, Birmingham; Rabbi Alfred G. Moses, Mobile; Frank P. Glass, Montgomery; Dr. J. H. Phillips, Birmingham; Escar Floyd, Birmingham.

With best wishes for a successful meeting, I am,

Yours very truly,

JOSEPH B. BABB,
Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, of Birmingham, Ala.

I acknowledge receipt of your invitation to the Peace Congress to be held in Chicago May 3-5. It is altogether probable that I will be present.

Do you wish a delegation from the Chamber of Commerce of Pittsburgh? If so, I should be pleased to appoint one.

Very truly yours,

LEE S. SMITH,
President Chamber of Commerce of Pittsburg.

It would give me the very greatest pleasure to accept your invitation for May 2, but it is impossible for me to do it. It is a great grief to me to be obliged to write this.

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES E. JEFFERSON,
Pastor Broadway Tabernacle Church, New York.

May all success attend your efforts to put an end to what John Hay justly called that "most ferocious and futile of human follies, war!"

I remain, very truly yours,

CHARLES W. WENDTE,
Secretary National Federation of Religious Liberals.

Regret numerous engagements will prevent me from being present at National Peace Congress. CARDINAL GIBBONS.

I thank you for your letter of March 12, and for its invitation to the Second National Peace Congress in Chicago in May, and your invitation to become a member of the Committee of Religious Institutions.

I gladly accept this invitation, and wish that I could be present at the meeting in Chicago, but other engagements, made long since, will make that impossible. I shall, however, wish for the meeting and the cause every good thing, and believe that in the end its righteous principles will win.

Faithfully yours,

FRANCIS E. CLARK,

President United Societies of Christian Endeavor.

It would give me great gratification to be present at the Second National Peace Congress to be held in Chicago May 3-5 of the present year, as I believe thoroughly in the principles of the Congress, but other engagements make it physically impossible for me to be there.

You present a most attractive program and I trust that the influence of the Congress will be immediate and world-wide, as I believe it will.

Cordially yours,

JAMES L. BARTON,

Corresponding Secretary American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

I shall be very glad to be of any possible service on that committee, and wish I might attend the Congress, as the general subject is of the deepest interest to me, and many of the subjects on the program are of vital importance. I fear, however, that it will not be possible for me to be with you.

Hoping that the meeting will be abundantly successful, I am,

Yours faithfully, JOSIAH STRONG,

President of American Institute of Social Service.

We are very much interested in all the movements relating to this Congress. Of course, a great majority of our Chautauqua Circles are scattered all over the country, but we hope that some of them may be able to send delegates, and in our editorial columns we have called attention to the Congress and hope that many of our readers, even those who are unable to attend, will

watch for news of the Congress and make use of it in local Peace Day celebrations on May 18, which we appointed several years ago as one of our "memorial days."

Again thanking you, I am very cordially yours,

KATE F. KIMBALL,

Executive Secretary C. L. S. C.

Your invitation of March 26 is duly received. I may not be able to be present but heartily wish you great success for the meeting. Such gatherings as this will be are urgently needed all over the United States.

The principle of arbitration has indeed triumphed, and what is most needed now is the education of the individual as to the necessity for the practical application of the principle. An overwhelming popular support and early success for this great movement is assured. Please present my compliments to the officers. With best wishes, I am, faithfully yours,

W. O. STILLMAN,

President The American Humane Association.

We cannot let pass the opportunity to assure you of our complete and profound sympathy with the purposes of the Congress.

It has been a source of much gratification to the Red Cross to know that the international work of relief following great disasters, in which it has actively participated, has contributed to the strengthening of ties of friendship and mutual sympathy between the United States and other nations. In this connection we may refer to the work of the American Red Cross in Italy, Chili, China, Russia, Japan and other countries. The position of the Red Cross upon the question of peace among the nations was clearly defined by the official delegation representing the United States in the Geneva Convention of 1906, when it placed itself on record unequivocally in favor of international arbitration.

With the most cordial wishes for the success of the Congress, we beg to remain

Very respectfully,

THE AMERICAN RED CROSS,

By ERNEST P. BICKNELL,

National Director American Red Cross.

In the tenth regular session of the executive committee of the Free Federation of Workingmen of Porto Rico, held April 10-11, 1909, in the San Juan city, was elected delegate to the Second National Peace Congress our brother, John J. Fitzpatrick, Gen. Org. A. F. of L. for Chicago, Ill.

With such object in view I have the honor to request you in the name of our Free Federation of Workingmen of Porto Rico to recognize our brother John Fitzpatrick as our representative before Second National Peace Congress.

With kind regards, I remain fraternally yours,

RAFAEL ALONSO,

Sec. Gen. del Consejo Ejecutivo de la Federacion Libre de los Trabajadores.

Of course I shall be very glad to have my name go on the Committee on International Socialism, as you suggest. I hope, also, that it will be possible for me to attend the Conference in May.

The education of the public to the shame and waste of war is a great work, and I wish you all possible success in your efforts.

Very sincerely yours,

JOHN SPARGO.

I have your note, and I shall certainly be very glad to become a member of the Committee on International Socialism at the Second National Peace Conference. Certainly the entire international movement sympathizes with the purpose of the Congress.

Yours faithfully,

ROBERT HUNTER.

I greatly regret that important engagement will not permit acceptance of invitation to address International Peace meeting May 2.

JOHN MITCHELL.

Replying to your esteemed favor of April 19, desire to thank you for sending me an announcement of your National Peace Congress.

I regret very keenly my inability to be present as expressed in my other letter.

With the hope that the work of the Congress will be of lasting benefit to humanity, I remain, yours very truly,

T. L. LEWIS,
President United Mine Workers of America.

Your letter inviting me to participate in the Second Annual Peace Congress, which will be held in Chicago, May 3, 4 and 5, of this year, was duly received, and I appreciate the honor of your invitation to participate in the deliberations of the Congress. The date, however, occurs at a time of the month when it is impossible for me to leave our headquarters, as the business of our association at that time of the month demands my personal attention. I hope, however, that the Congress will measure up to the expectations of its promoters and that the great cause of peace, both at home and abroad, will be suitably furthered.

Yours truly,

JAMES DUNCAN,
International Secretary-Treasurer The Granite Cutters' International Association of America.

Your kind invitation of the 29th ult. to hand, and I regret very much our organization cannot be represented, owing to our convention being held almost the same time.

As far as I am personally concerned I can see no difference between war and murder. It is always murder, whether committed by an individual or under the guise of the law.

I remain with best wishes for the success of the movement.

Yours very truly,
OWEN MILLER,
Secretary American Federation of Musicians.

Your letter of April 8 received. I regret to say that the Order of Railroad Telegraphers will not be able to send representatives to the Second National Peace Congress on account of our biennial convention causing all the officers of the order to assemble at Atlanta, Ga., about that time. We regret this very much, because we are fully in sympathy with the work of the Congress, as we are growing away from the barbarisms of the past and hail

the new day when men shall confer together about their difficulties and arrange them by mutual concession.

Yours fraternally,

H. S. PERHAM,
President the Order of Railroad Telegraphers.

Your communication of March 26 enclosing invitation to attend the Second National Peace Congress May 3 to 5 received. Was pleased to receive the invitation and if possible will make an effort to be there.

Thanking you for the invitation, I am

Very truly yours,

F. M. RYAN,
President International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

I am just in receipt of yours of the 29th ult. extending an invitation for our organization to participate in the Second National Peace Congress, to be held in Chicago, May 3-5, and in reply wish to say we are in sympathy with the objects of your movement and will be represented in the Congress if possible.

Again thanking you for your kindness, I am,

Yours very truly,

RALPH V. BRANDT,
Grand Secretary-Treasurer Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers' International Union.

By unanimous vote I was also instructed to say that the Council is in perfect sympathy with the movement, that it approves of same and that it wishes you every success.

Very truly yours,

ANDREW J. GALLAGHER,
Secretary San Francisco Labor Council.

I beg to advise you that the executive board of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor will send one delegate to the National Peace Congress May 3-5, 1909.

Sincerely yours,

FRED BROCKHAUSEN,
Secretary-Treasurer Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

We are very much interested in the outcome of the Peace Congress which you expect to hold there in Chicago next month.

I regret very much that I will not be able to attend on account of our New York meetings for the unemployed, but it is possible that our secretary or some one else may.

Would you kindly send us a program and any other information regarding the same.

With best wishes to all the comrades and friends,

Very sincerely yours,

J. EADS HOWE, *Chairman*.

CORA D. HARVEY, *Secretary*,

The National Committee for the Unemployed.

I was so sorry to have to wire you the other day that I could not go to Chicago to speak on May 2, but my time is all taken up just now and for several weeks hence, and it is impossible for me to arrange it. I was sorry for several reasons: first, because of my heartiest sympathy with the proposed Peace Conference, and I should like to contribute my part toward making the event an influential success; and secondly, I should have esteemed it a high honor to speak to such an inspiring audience as the labor men would offer on the day you suggest, especially with Mr. Gompers on the stage at the same time. It is a matter of regret to me, I say, that I cannot be there, and I wish you would assure your confreres of that fact.

Yours ever sincerely,

BRAND WHITLOCK,
Mayor of Toledo.

I shall be most happy to become a Vice President of the National Peace Congress and wish that I might attend its sessions in Chicago.

Yours for the great cause of peace,

FANNY GARRISON VILLARD.

In my own name and the name of my wife I have to give you thanks for cordial invitation to attend the Congress on May 3-5, but alas, in the same breath I must decline. Time and distance—those inexorable modes of space—forbid, although it is not impossible I may be in your country somewhat later on.

My joyful remembrance of the Congress at Philadelphia last summer, and of the Congress at Boston nearly four years ago, as well as of my numerous wanderings and experiences in other parts of your country in connection with the cause, apprise me too sadly what I shall miss by being absent from your gathering at Chicago.

You will meet under the stimulus and incentive given by your government in its (apparently) fixed and final policy of naval expansion—a policy which gives us all in these old European centers of militarism, cause to mourn, and removes from our speeches the grand illustration we used to be able to give of the greatest country in the world without a big fleet and standing army. You have joined the imperial race, and your giant strides make it heavier for us all.

One thing, with the United States as competitor, it will be impossible for us to maintain the “Two-power” naval standard; which being surrendered, we may then be more willing to agree to the abolition of the right of capture of private merchandise and vessels at sea; so out of evil good may come in the old pre-ordained way. Amen!

Now may the great spirit preside over your gatherings!

Cordially yours,

WALTER WALSH,

Minister of Gilfillan Memorial Church, Dundee, Scotland.

Mr. J. H. Lindgren's Deed of Gift to the Northwestern University

“Deeply interested in the promotion of International Peace and desiring also to further Interdenominational Harmony and the ultimate Unity of Christendom, I, John R. Lindgren, of Chicago, Illinois, hereby donate to the Northwestern University, located at Evanston, Illinois, the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars, the income thereof to be devoted to the aforesaid purposes.

“In consideration of this gift I desire the Trustees of the University to agree to the following stipulations:

“First, that they will set aside annually for the ends already

mentioned, a sum of not less than \$1,000, to be at the disposal of the Committee of Direction hereinafter named.

"Second, that the Committee of Direction shall consist of Charles J. Little, President of Garrett Biblical Institute; Abram Winegardner Harris, President of Northwestern University; John R. Lindgren and Helge A. Haugan, of Chicago, and the Rev. Dr. Henry C. Mabie, of Rochester, N. Y., and that any vacancies occurring in their number by death, resignation or otherwise, shall be filled by the remaining members of the Committee, subject, however, to the approval of the Trustees of the University at their next ensuing regular meeting.

"Third, that the Committee of Direction shall for the promotion of the causes heretofore described, hold conferences at such times as may be deemed most expedient, these conferences to be opened by an address from some distinguished advocate of International Peace, or Christian Unity, which address shall be followed by free discussion of the topics and propositions introduced.

"The Committee may also offer from time to time, if deemed advisable, prizes for essays upon topics which they consider germane to the purposes of this fund. In case of an award the essay thus crowned shall be published in whole or in part and made a basis for discussion at the next ensuing conference. These conferences shall be held always in some building of the University, but preferably in Evanston. All other particulars are left to the discretion of the Committee of Direction, which shall be known as the Northwestern University Committee for the Promotion of International Peace and Christian Unity, and which shall be convened by the first named member of it at the earliest possible date.

"Fourth, this Committee shall report annually to the Trustees of the University its proceedings and expenditures. Any unexpended portion of an annual income shall remain at the disposal of the Committee for future expenditures.

"Fifth, this Committee may, as it seems expedient, seek counsel and co-operation from other universities and theological seminaries in furtherance of the ends for which the fund has been created.

(Signed) JOHN R. LINDGREN."

FOR PEACE

BY HARRIET MONROE.

Flowers grow in the grass,
Baby footfalls pass
Over the fields once red,
Over the hero's head—

For Peace.

A lad trips off to school;
A thrush dips in a pool,
Then mounts far and away,
Chanting the rising day—

For Peace.

A youth and a maid, sweethearting,
Afraid of nothing but parting,
Follow a winding path
Through the ancient place of wrath—

For Peace.

The hero whom War would kill
Plods on, a hero still;
Labors and loves and dares,
Life's burden and glory bears—

For Peace.

The summer weaves airy spells
And tales of magic tells,
While she covers the waste of War
Till the earth shows never a scar—

For Peace.

Brave little wires are spun
For the news to fly upon.
Words out of the clouds are caught
From some witch's woof of thought—

For Peace.

And the cataract's foamy troubles
 Illumine a million bubbles,
 In some city far away
 Turning the night to day—

For Peace.

Great trains bring far to near,
 Make nation to nation dear,
 Piercing the mountain's crown,
 Tread the barriers down—

For Peace.

And ships that pound the sea,
 Set the human spirit free,
 Show the whole round world unrolled
 Ere the crescent moon grows old—

For Peace.

And the white-winged aeroplane
 Laughs, in her mad disdain,
 At limits and barricades
 And cruisers and cavalcades—

For Peace.

And the scholar searches the clod
 For the latest news of God;
 Or seeks through our joy and ruth,
 For the hidden ways of Truth—

For Peace.

* * * * *

Oh battles huge and dire!
 Cold games of death's desire!
 When will your armies brave
 Their shining banners wave

For Peace!

We've had enough of war!
 Weary the nations are!
 Of slaughter make an end—
 Draw near, as friend to friend,

For Peace!

INDEX

A

- Abeel, Mrs. Ella J., 465.
 Abraham Lincoln Centre, 5, 465, 469.
 Abyssinia, 26, 28.
 Ackley, Lemuel M., 465.
 Adams, Charles Francis, 24, 227, 228.
 Adams, President John, 36.
 Addams, Miss Jane, 4, 9, 10, 11, 15, 17, 149, 157, 158, 159, 168, 169, 248, 252-254, 264, 272, 454, 458, 459, 465.
 Adler, Prof. Felix, 459.
 Advance of Civilization, 115, 194, 215, 301, 302, 330, 424.
 "Advance Registered by Two Hague Conferences," 16, 203-221.
Advocate of Peace, 108, 109.
 Afghanistan, 109.
 Africa, 402.
 African M. E. Church, 466, 471, 472, 474.
 Agriculture, International Bureau of, 117.
 Air, War in, 213, 375.
 Airships, 65, 66, 96, 213, 375.
 Akers, John W., 465.
 Alabama, 4, 16.
 Alabama Claims, 24, 25, 227, 228, 446.
 Alabama, Delegates from, 463.
 Alabama, Governor of, 461.
 Alabama State Association of Commerce, 16, 463.
 Alameda Chamber of Commerce, 491.
 Alaska, 429.
 Alaska Boundary Tribunal, 9, 25, 225, 226.
 Alderman, President E. A., 4, 455.
 Alexander the Great, 102.
 Alexander, Harnet C. B., 465.
 Algiclas, 258.
 Algiers, 137.
 Allens, 209, 239.
 Allens House Tax Case, 439.
 Allen, James Lane, 460.
 Allen, Stephen H., 476.
 Allen, Mrs. Stephen H., 476.
 Alleviation, 207, 220.
 Allinson, T. W., 460.
 Alverstone, Lord, 226.
 Ambassadors, 5, 10, 19, 88, 363, 365, 422, 423, 425, 438, 439, 440, 486.
 Amberg, William A., 457.
 America, 416-420, 428, 441-443.
 "America the Exemplar of Peace," 287-292.
 "America a Peace-loving Nation," 452-453.
 "America Should Lead," 74-75, 276, 277, 286, 287-292, 396, 415, 451.
 American Bar Association, 5, 9, 468.
 American Board Commissioners Foreign Missions, 493.
 American Federation of Labor, 4, 160-165, 463, 464, 465, 475.
 American Forestry Association, 5.
 American Humane Association, 494.
 American Institute of Civics, 464, 472.
 American Institute of Instruction, 49.
 American Institute of Social Service, 493.
 American Journal of International Law, 227.
 American Peace Society, 1, 5, 9, 14, 20, 81, 91, 149, 356, 362, 367, 374, 379-380, 395, 455, 463, 464, 471, 477, 480.
 American Red Cross, 494.
 American-Scandinavian Society, 363, 364.
 American School Peace League, 13, 13, 44, 45, 46-50, 360, 378-382, 392, 455, 456, 477.
 American Society of International Law, 5, 20.
 Anarchy, 68.
 Anderson, Bishop C. P., 4, 13, 56, 460, 465.
 Anderson, Florence E. L., 465.
 Anderson, Louise C., 465.
 Andersonville, 106.
 Andes, Christ of, 21, 84, 86, 241, 281.
 Andres, J. P., 481.
 Andrews, Mrs. Fannie Fern, 10, 13, 18, 46-50, 378-382, 455, 477.
 Andrews, William F., 476.
 Angell, President James Burrill, 4, 490.
 Animalism of Man, 70.
 Ankeny, A. T., 478.
 Antioch College, 480.
 Anti-slavery, 39, 40.
 Antwerp Peace Congress, 20.
 Apia, Shelling of, 307.
 Ap Madoc, Hon. W. Tudor, 456.
 Ap Madoc, William, 45, 460, 465.
 "Appilication of Arbitration," 16, 242-247.
 Appropriations, House Committee on, 181, 191, 434.
 Arbitral Justice, International Court of, 97, 113, 215, 218, 219, 220, 234, 238, 242, 243, 344, 345.
 Arbitration, 16, 20, 21, 22-34, 94, 95, 108, 109, 110, 111, 194, 205, 214, 215, 216, 217, 221-234, 236, 237, 242-247, 282-287, 290-291, 345, 374, 399, 400.
 Arbitration, International Court of, 96, 97, 110, 205, 218, 344.
 Arbitration Treaties, 21, 31, 95, 97, 100, 108, 109, 111, 226, 227, 276, 345, 399-400, 403.

- Arbuckle, Hon. James, 15, 457.
 Archbishops, 5, 460.
 Argentina, 21, 86, 109, 241, 244, 276, 281.
 Arid Lands, Reclamation of, 430.
 Arizona, Delegates from, 463.
 Arizona Federation of Women's Clubs, 17, 268, 463.
 Armament, 67, 71, 72, 96, 99, 213, 239, 240, 299-306, 307-319, 345, 375, 409.
 "Armaments as Irritants," 17, 67, 191, 258, 307-319, 433-434.
 Armaments, Limitation of, 17, 213, 239, 240, 299-306, 345, 346, 400-401.
 Armed Peace, 431-438.
 Armistice, 207.
 Armour Institute of Technology, 455.
Armstrong, The General, Case, 228.
 Army, Appropriations for, 435, 436.
 Arnold, Mrs. Charles C., 463.
 Arnold, Mrs. Elizabeth T., 458.
 Arnold, Helen L., 474.
 Arnold, Miss Sarah Louise, 459.
 Arnoldson, K. P., 21, 414.
 "Arrest of Armament," 17, 299-306, 439.
 Art, 102.
 Asia, 73, 383-389, 429.
 Asphyxiating Gases, 96, 207.
 Asquith, British Prime Minister, 377, 378, 434.
 Associated Press, 456.
 Association of Collegiate Alumnae, 17, 250.
 Association of Commerce, Chicago, 4, 5, 10, 11, 19, 305, 373, 420, 422-453, 439, 468, 472, 473.
 Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs, 17, 292-297, 372, 373, 380, 478, 481.
 Association for International Conciliation, 20, 365, 395, 471.
 Assouan Dam, 180, 181.
 Atherton, Mayor Herbert, 461.
 Atkins, Harry T., 479.
Atlantic Monthly, The, 456.
 Attorney-General, U. S., 5, 485.
 Atwater, Mayor James B., 461.
 Auditor of Peace Congress, 5.
 Austerlitz, 137, 283.
 Austria-Hungary, 21, 25, 108, 109, 210, 237, 263, 265, 283.
 Austrian, Della, 465.
 Azemar, Mrs. L. Pouissing, 465.

B

- Baber, Miss Blanche, 463.
 Baber, Zonia, 465.
 Bache, Prof. Joseph A., 455.
 Bachelder, Ex-Gov. Nahum J., 490.
 Bacon, Mrs. George R., 463.
 Bailey, Edward P., 459, 465.
 Bailey, Prof. Henry Turner, 391.
 Bailey, Rachel A., 477.
 Bajzer, Frederick, 21.
 Baker, Alfred L., 11, 454.
 Baker, George, 477.
 Baker, Hon. Joseph Allen, 199, 200-202, 482.
 Baldwin, Jesse A., 272, 456.
 Balkan, 192, 402.
 Ballinger, Hon. Richard A., 4, 11, 19, 416-420, 427-430, 452-453, 463.
 Balloons, 96. See also Airships.
 Ballou, Adln, 21.
 Baltimore, Mayor of, 462.
 Bancroft, Mrs. Charles D., 16.
 Bancroft, Edgar A., 77, 78-79, 460, 465.
 Banks, 181.
 Banquet, 10, 19, 422-453, 441.
 Baptist Churches, 466, 467, 472, 473, 479.
 Bar Association, American, 5, 468.
 Barnes, Clifford W., 13, 14, 48, 56, 57, 59, 62, 69, 458.
 Barnes, J. Mahlon, 457.
 Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, 31, 391, 395.
 Barr, Rev. Daisy B., 474.
 de la Barra, Ambassador, 423, 449.
 Barrack Morality, 137, 315.
 Barrett, Hon. John, 4, 484.
 Barrows, Mayor F. L., 461.
 Bartholdt, Hon. Richard, 4, 11, 17, 19, 327-332, 357, 398, 403, 405, 410, 412-413, 415-416, 421, 449-452, 457, 478.
 Bartholomew, Anne W., 481.
 Bartlett, Rev. A. Eugene, 11, 14, 79-82, 454, 459, 465.
 Barton, Rev. James L., 493.
 Barton, Rev. William E., 9, 460.
 Bates College, 455, 477.
 Bates, Prof. Robert F., 455.
 Battlefield, 274, 283.
 Battle-fleet Cruise, 305.
 Battles, 137, 142, 282-283.
 Battleships, 66, 67, 177, 306, 421. See also Dreadnaughts, Invincibles.
 Bay of Fundy, 25.
 Baylor University, 4, 18, 455, 480.
 Beach, Elmer E., 454, 456, 465.
 Beals, Rev. Charles E., 1, 9-12, 35, 46, 50, 51, 193, 356, 422, 430, 454, 458, 477.
 Beals, Mrs. Charles E., 477.
 Beals, Hardin Wallace, 460.
 Beard, Rev. Reuben A., 459, 479.
 Becker, David J., 465.
 Becker, Mrs. F. W., 459.
 Beckwith, Rev. George C., 21.
 Beers, Mrs. J. H., 465.
 Behrman, Mayor Martin, 461.
 Belgium, 25, 109, 237, 265.
 Bell, Mayor F. E., 461.
 Belligerents, 207, 208, 218, 228, 229.
 Bellows, Mrs. Mabel Goodwin, 465.
 Bennett, Mrs. A. A., 465.
 Bentham, 21, 92.
 Beresford, Arthur, 15, 158.
 Bering Sea, 229.
 Berlin, Congress of, 27.
 Berne Peace Bureau, 20, 93.
 Berne Peace Congress, 20.
 von Bernstorff, Count J. H., 19, 398, 399-402, 425-427, 452, 482.
 Berry, George L., 479.
 von Bieberstein, Baron Marschall, 88, 209, 216, 217.
 Blgham, M. R., 476.
 Billings, Dr. Frank A., 455.
 Billings, Josh, 59.
 Billingsley, John E., 465.
 Binan, Fr., 465.
 Biology of War, 130-148.
 Birmingham Chamber of Commerce, 492.
 Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine, 303.
 Birth-rate, 248, 249, 250.
 Bishop, Mrs. L. B., 465.

- Bishops, 4, 5, 14, 369, 376, 459, 460, 470, 472, 476.
 Bismarck, 70.
 Blaine, Mrs. Emmons, 459, 460.
 Blair, Prof. Franklin S., 479.
 Blanchard, President Charles A., 455.
 Blaustein, David, 465.
 Blekkink, Rev. E. J., 477.
 Bloch, Jean de, 21.
 Blockade, 31, 211, 238.
 "Blood of the Nations," 101, 130-148.
 Board of Trade, 476, 478, 480, 491-492.
 Bode, Frederick, 4, 11.
 Boer War, 28, 107, 181, 201, 202, 446.
 Bohemia, 263.
 Bolivia, 109.
 Bollinger, James Wills, 476.
 Bombardment, 96, 113, 207, 235, 276.
 Bombs, 96, 205.
 Borden, Miss Josephine C., 460.
 Boston, 1, 4, 5.
 Boston Peace Congress, 20, 51, 389.
Boston Transcript, 456.
 Boston University, 455.
 Boundary, 111, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 244.
 Bowe, Eugene E., 463.
 Bowen, Mrs. Joseph T., 458, 465.
 Bowes, Mrs. Ella E. Lane, 465.
 Bowles, Rev. Gilbert, 18, 383-389.
 Boxers, 100.
 Boyle, Homer L., 477.
 Boyle, Mrs. Homer L., 478.
 Boyle, Miss L., 478.
 Boys, 137, 139, 140, 248, 376.
 Boys, Sherwood School, Glee Club, 13, 51.
 Brackett, Jeffrey R., 458.
 Bradbury, Wilbern K., 474.
 Brady, Governor J. H., 461.
 Brand, Horace L., 466.
 Brandt, Ralph V., 497.
 Brant, David, 476.
 Braunwarth, Anna M., M. D., 466.
 Brazil, 109, 218, 365, 423, 449.
 Breckenridge, Miss S. P., 459.
 Breed, Mrs. Alice Ives, 477.
 Brethren, United, 464, 467, 468, 469, 470.
 Brewer, Arthur T., 466.
 Brewer, Justice David J., 4, 11, 456, 484.
 Brice, A. G., 477.
 Bridge Workers, 497.
 Bright, John, 21, 304.
 Bright, Mrs. Orville F., 17, 251-252, 459.
 British Ambassador, 365, 406, 483.
 British Embassy, 441, 482.
 British Gulana, 226.
 Brooks, Governor Bryant B., 461.
 Brooks, President S. P., 4, 18, 333-342, 454, 455, 480.
 Brown, Rev. E. Howard, 476.
 Brown, Judge Edward Osgood, 9, 11, 344, 349, 352, 354, 357, 358, 454, 457, 466.
 Brown, Hon. Elmer Ellsworth, 49, 382, 486.
 Brown, F. J., 466.
 Brown, H. B., 474.
 Brown, Mayor Huntington, 461.
 Brown, John, 39.
 Brown, Mayor Jonathan S., 461.
 Brown, Mrs. Marguerite M., 477.
 Browning, Mrs. E. B., 308.
 Broyles, J. Riley, 474.
 Brumbaugh, Dr. Martin G., 455, 490-491.
 Brunk, A. C., 474.
 Brunk, H. G., 474.
 Brussels, Declaration of, 207.
 Brussels Peace Congress, 20.
 Bryan, Hon. William Jennings, 4, 11, 486-487.
 Bryan, President William Lowe, 474.
 Bryant, C. W., 466.
 Bryce, Ambassador, 365, 406, 483.
 Bryn Mawr College, 456, 459.
 Buchanan, Hon. W. I., 4, 16, 241, 242-247, 388, 479.
 Buchtel College, 455.
 Budapest Peace Congress, 20.
 Budgets, National, 71, 300, 301, 375.
 Budgets, Peace, 93, 112, 114, 199, 346, 413.
 Budlong, Rev. Fred G., 478.
 Buenos Aires, 83, 84, 86.
 Bulgaria, 26, 237, 276.
 Bullets, 205, 207.
 Burdette, Rev. Robert J., 57, 58-59, 69, 314, 463.
 Burdette, Mrs. Robert J., 267, 463.
 Bureau of Education, U. S., 295.
 Bureau, Hague, 29, 215.
 Bureau, International, of American Republics, 4, 20.
 Bureau International Labor Legislation, 265.
 Burford, John T., 480.
 Burford, Mrs. John T., 480.
 Burnham, George, Jr., 454.
 Burkhart, George W., 474.
 Burritt, Elihu, 21, 92, 386.
 Burton, Henry F., 479.
 Burton, Pierce, 464.
 Burton, Senator Theodore E., 4, 11.
 Burt, Joseph B., 11, 15, 149-156, 353, 354, 454, 458, 466.
 Bush, Charles M., 478.
 Bushnell, Carl, 466.
 Bushnell, Mrs. Carl, 466.
 Business, 16, 324, 491. See also Commerce, Economic, Industry, Trade.
 Business Men's Associations, 464, 467, 470, 474, 475, 476, 478, 479.
 "Business Men Want Peace," 16, 193-195.
 Business Session of the Congress, 18, 343-359.
 Busse, Mayor Fred A., 14, 77, 461.
 Butler, Edward B., 460.
 Butler, J. J., 466.
 Butler, Prof. Nathaniel, 272.
 Butler, Walter, 466.
 Button, Peace, 3.
 Byers, President Noah E., 371, 374.
 C
 Cadman, James P., 466.
 Cadwallader, Mrs. M. E., 480.
 Caesar, Julius, 282.
 Calhoun, William J., 16, 203.
 California, 306-307, 366.
 California, Delegates from, 463.
 California, Governor of, 461.
 California Peace Societies, 367, 463.
 California, University of, 367, 370.
 Calkins, Capt. Carlos Gilman, 142.
 Call, Arthur Deerin, 454.
 Call, The, of To-day, 8, 336-342.

- "Campaigning for Peace," 449-452.
 Campbell, A. B., 466.
 Campbell, H. O., 466.
 Canada, 20, 229, 276, 442-443.
 Canada, Governor General of, 483.
 Canada, Premier of, 483-484.
 Canadian Border, 20, 186, 187, 188, 258, 276, 340, 406.
 Cantabrigia Club, 477.
 Capital, 166, 167.
 Capitulation, 207.
 Capton, Mrs. Edmond L., 464.
 Capture, 96, 212, 218, 375.
 Car Workers' Association, 468.
 Cardinal Gibbons, 492.
 Carey, Rev. A. J., 466.
 Carey, Mrs. A. J., 466.
 Carlyle, Thomas, 316.
 Carman, Prof. G. N., 455.
 Carnegie, Andrew, 4, 11, 110, 128, 193, 245, 362, 363, 487.
 Carnegie Institute, 490.
 Carpenter, Prof. J. Estlin, 376.
 Carr, Clyde M., 454.
 Carroll, Governor B. F., 461.
 Cartago, 245.
 Carthage, 101.
 Cary, C. P., 481.
 Cary, George L., 480.
 Casablanca Affair, 32, 94, 400.
 Case, Rev. Lorenzo D., 459, 466.
 Case School of Applied Science, 455.
 Cases Settled by The Hague, 31, 110.
 See also Pius Fund, Casablanca, Fisheries.
 Casson, Herbert N., 479.
 Catholic, 5, 376.
 Catholic Women, League of, 17.
 Causes of War, 28, 30, 33, 45, 71, 136, 170, 277-282, 315, 340, 347-349, 351, 353, 377, 408-409.
 Central America, 25, 26, 28, 29, 94, 109, 110, 293.
 Central American Court of Justice, 20, 233, 241, 245.
 Chambers of Commerce, 476, 478, 479, 491.
 Chan, Tom Kee, 466.
 Chancellor of the Exchequer, 71, 377, 483.
 Chandler, Elizabeth J., 464.
 Changing Man's Nature, 58, 59, 70, 256, 257, 362, 416-417.
 Channing, Rev. William Ellery, 21, 316.
 Chao, Guok-Tsal, 481.
 Chaplain of U. S. Senate, 4, 35, 486.
 Charitable Organizations, 464, 465, 468, 469, 472, 473, 474, 475, 481.
 Charity Organizations, Committee on, 458.
 Charlemagne, 102.
 Charles, Thomas, 464.
 Chase, President George C., 455, 477.
 Chautauqua, 469, 494.
 Chicago, 1, 3, 4, 5, 38, 39, 40, 41, 44, 57, 60-62, 78-79, 80, 373, 428, 429.
 Chicago Association of Commerce, 4, 5, 10, 11, 19, 305, 373, 420, 422-453, 439, 468, 472, 473.
 Chicago City Club, 9.
 Chicago Columbian Exposition, 4, 5, 195-199, 200.
 Chicago, Commercial National Bank, 5, 471.
 Chicago Commons, 455, 463, 473.
 Chicago, Cosmopolitan Population of, 423-424.
Chicago Daily Socialist, 347, 457.
 Chicago, Delegates from, 465, 474.
 Chicago Fire, 60.
Chicago, Guide to, 10.
 Chicago, Hamilton Club, 22.
 Chicago Industrial Club, 4, 5, 10, 11.
 Chicago, Lincoln's Nomination, 33, 40, 60.
 Chicago, Mayor of, 14, 77, 461.
 Chicago, New England Society of, 468.
 Chicago, Parliament of Religions, 60, 195.
 Chicago Peace Congress of 1893, 20.
 "Chicago and the Peace Congress," 60-62.
 Chicago Peace Society, 81.
Chicago Record-Herald, 456, 471.
 Chicago, State Bank of, 12.
 Chicago Sunday Evening Club, 13, 56-72.
 Chicago Theological Seminary, 10.
 Chicago, Union Stock Yards, 410.
 Chicago, University of, 10, 271, 455, 459, 470, 473.
 Chicago, Welcome to, 14, 78-79, 423.
 Chicago Woman's Club, 16, 248, 464, 467, 468, 473.
 Chickamanga, 106.
 Child Labor, 159, 160.
 Children, 51-55, 389-396.
 Chile, 21, 86, 109, 241, 244, 276, 281.
 China, 19, 25, 100, 109, 129, 186, 205, 211, 258, 402, 403-406, 440-441, 446.
 China, Delegates from, 482.
 Chinese, 73, 292, 370, 467.
 Chinese Minister, 19, 363, 403-406, 425-426, 439, 448, 449, 482.
 Choate, Hon. Joseph H., 4, 29, 75, 211, 220, 234, 365, 488.
 Christ of the Andes, 21, 84, 86, 241, 281.
 Christian Church, 369.
 Christian Endeavor, 493.
Christian Endeavor World, 456.
 Christian Unity, 11, 12, 430-431, 449, 499-500.
 Christianity, 158, 190-193, 201, 292, 315, 342, 447.
 Church, President Augustus B., 455, 479.
 Churches, 4, 5, 13, 346, 369, 376, 459, 468-481.
 Chytraus, Judge Axel, 460.
 Clisike, Charles H., 466.
 Cincinnati Law School, 14, 99, 456.
 Cincinnati, Mayor of, 462.
 Cincinnati Peace Society, 479, 480.
 Citizenship, Good, 418, 419, 452-453.
 City Club, Chicago, 9.
 Civics, American Institute of, 464, 472.
 Civil War, American, 20, 76, 101, 105, 106, 108, 227, 249, 283, 315.
 "Civilization a Cry for Peace," 336-342, 409.
 "Civilizing Features of International Commerce," 15.
 Claims, Pecuniary, 224.
 Clair, J. C., 466.
 Clancy, 282-287.
 Clark, Mrs. A. E., 459, 466.
 Clark, Davis Wasgatt, 460, 479.
 Clark, Mrs. Edwin, 466.
 Clark, Rev. Francis E., 459, 493.

- Clark, Prof. J. B., 457.
 Clark, Margaret V., M. D., 476.
 Clay, Henry, 284.
 Clement, Edward H., 456.
 Clergy, 323, 346, 459, 476, 492-493.
 Cleveland, President Grover, 224.
 Clothiers, National Association of, 16.
 Clubs, 369, 463-481.
 Cobden, Richard, 21, 302, 358.
 Cocks, Hon. William W., 488.
 Code of International Law, 200, 207, 218.
 Coffin, Roscoe C., 464.
 Coleman, Sarah J., 466.
 Collection of Contract Debts, 29, 96, 111, 112.
 Colleges, 43, 271-298, 375: Antioch, 480; Bates, 455, 477; Bryn Mawr, 456, 459; Buchtel, 455; of City of New York, 455; Colorado, 455; Dickinson, 455; Goshen, 371; Guilford, 479; Iowa State, 476; Lake Forest, 10, 18, 455, 464; Lombard, 464; Macalester, 455; Milligan, 455; Mount Holyoke, 456; Oberlin, 470, 472; Pomona, 369; Radcliffe, 459; Roanoke, 481; Rush Medical, 455; Simmons, 459; Smith, 455; Swarthmore, 16, 203, 480; Wellesley, 455, 459; Wheaton, 455; for Women, 459. See also Universities.
 College Presidents, 4, 5, 11, 14, 18, 43, 333, 366, 367, 369, 371, 386, 455-456, 459, 464, 474, 481, 490.
 College Women, 250, 251.
 Collegiate Alumnae, Association of, 17, 250, 472.
 Colorado College, 455.
 Colorado, Delegates from, 463.
 Colorado, Federation of Women's Clubs, 16.
 Columbia, 230.
 "Columbian Ode," 196, 427.
 Columbian Exposition, 4, 5, 195-199, 201.
 Columbus Board of Trade, 480, 491-492.
 Comer, Governor B. B., 461.
 Comlty, International, 205.
 Commander, Mrs. Lydia K., 479.
 Commerce, 15, 64, 210, 216, 405, 427, 491.
 Commerce, Association of, Chicago. See Chicago Association of Commerce.
 "Commerce and Industry," 15, 179-202.
 Commerce and Industry, Committee on, 457.
 Commerce and Labor, Department of, 5.
 "Commerce and Peace," 425-427.
 Commercial National Bank, Chicago, 5, 471.
 Commercialism, 64, 65, 425.
 Commission of Inquiry, International, 26, 30, 31, 214, 231.
 Committees, 5, 9, 11; on Charity Organizations, 458; Commerce and Industry, 457; Educational Institutions, 455-456; Executive, 5, 74, 373, 454; Finance, 454-455; Fraternal Orders, 354, 458; General, 460; International Socialism, 457; Judiciary and Legislatures, 456; Labor Organizations, 457; Organizations and Delegates, 458; Press, 456; Program, 458; Reception, 459-460; Religious Institutions, 459; Resolutions, 16, 203, 344, 353, 355, 457; Socialism, 457; Women's Organizations, 459.
 Committees, List of, 454-460.
 "Competitive Ship-building," 434.
 Competitive Spirit, 311.
 Compulsory Arbitration, 97, 98, 217, 236, 244, 344, 345, 399-400.
 Conciliation, Association for International, 20, 365, 395, 471.
 Conference of Peace Workers, 18, 343-359.
 Conflagration, War a, 31, 417.
 Congo, 125, 279-282.
 Congregational Churches, 464, 466, 467, 471.
 Congress of Mothers, 17, 251-252, 464.
 Congress of Nations, 92, 97.
 Congress, U. S., 345, 410.
 Congresses, Peace. See Peace Congresses.
 Congressmen, 488; see also Bartholdt, Cocks, Dawson, Hobson, Lowden, Richardson, Slayden, Tawney.
 Conner, J. D., Jr., 474.
 "Conquerors, The," picture, 102.
 Conquest, 101, 431-432.
 Conscription, 139, 140.
 Conservation League, 4.
 Conservation of Resources, 377, 430, 437; see also Economic.
 Constant, Baron d'Estournelles de, 31, 391, 395.
 Constitution, U. S., 23, 36, 37, 38, 291, 292.
 Consuls, 4, 12, 15, 19, 423, 438.
 Consumers' League, 481.
 Contents, Table of, 6, 7.
 Contraband, 31, 211, 238.
 Contract Debts, 29, 96, 111, 112, 215, 217.
 Convention Bureau of Association of Commerce, 10.
 Conway, E. C., 457.
 Cooley, Dr. Edwin G., 460.
 Cooley, Stoughton, 464.
 Coon, Mrs. Andrew P., 466.
 Cooper, Dr. Henry, 459.
 Cooper, S. M., 480.
 Co-operation, 116, 117.
 Corda Fratres, 294.
 Cornell University, 14, 69, 479.
 Cosmopolitan Clubs, The, 17, 292-297, 372, 373, 380, 478, 481.
 "Cost of Armed Peace," 431-438.
 Cost of War, 105, 106, 107, 181-190, 275; see also Economic, National Debts.
 de Costa, Senora, 83-86.
 Costa Rica, 28, 109, 233, 245.
 Court, International, of Arbitral Justice, 97, 110, 113, 215, 219, 220, 234, 242, 243, 345.
 Court, International, of Arbitration, 96, 97, 110, 205, 218, 219.
 Court, International, of Prize, 29, 96, 206, 212, 215, 217, 218, 238, 301.
 Courtney, Lord, 377.
 Couzins, John E., 463.
 Couzins, Miss Phoebe W., 463.
 Cowen, Israel, 466.
 Cox, Lewis J., 474.
 Cox, Mrs. U. O., 474.
 Cox, W. D., 481.
 Crandall, Mrs. J. N., 466.

- Crane, Mayor Walter P., 461.
 Crapsey, Rev. Algernon S., 203, 221, 234, 241, 247, 479.
 Craycroft, Mayor C. E., 461.
 Credit, 442.
 Cremer, Sir William Randal, 21, 160, 406.
 Crimean War, 20, 283.
 Criminals, 118.
 Crippen, Mrs. J. H., 476.
 Crissey, Forrest, 456.
 Crissman, George R., 466.
 Cromwell, Oliver, 146.
 Crowder, Mayor A. C., 461.
 Crowell, John H., 458.
 Crulce, Timothy, 457.
 Cruise of the Battle-fleet, 305, 314.
 Cuba, 71, 126, 446.
 Culture Club, 466.
 Cunningham, George W., 466.
 Cunningham, Owen S., 478.
 Curry, Governor George, 461.
 Cutler, Charles Henry, 466.
 Cutler, James H., 477.
 Czar of Russia, 25, 28, 88, 112, 239.
- D
- "Damage and Cost of War to Commerce and Industry," 181-190.
 Damon, Mrs. C. P., 478.
 Darling, M. W., 464.
 Darwin, Charles, 40, 45.
 Davidson, Governor J. O., 461.
 Davies, Rev. J. W. F., 460.
 Davis, General George B., 209.
 Davis, James Ewing, 354, 458, 466.
 Davis, Mrs. James Ewing, 466.
 "Dawn of Universal Peace," 14, 99-114.
 Dawson, Hon. A. F., 488.
 Deadliness of Modern Weapons, 194.
 Deahl, Anthony, 474.
 DeBoer, Joseph A., 481.
 Debts, Contract, 29, 96, 111, 112, 215, 217, 303.
 Debts, National, 105, 106, 107, 181.
 Decadence of Nations, 130-148, 248, 249, 250.
 Declaration of Brussels, 207.
 Declaration of Paris, 205.
 Declaration of St. Petersburg, 207.
 Declaration of War, 96, 111, 208.
 Decline of War, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45.
 DeForest, Rev. John H., 367.
 Delegates, List of, 463-482.
 Delegates, Registration of, 14.
 Democracy, 146, 376-377, 443-445.
 Demolins, 138.
 Deneen, Governor Charles S., 4, 14, 75, 460, 461, 464.
 Denison University, 272, 480.
 Denison University Peace Society, 480.
 Denmark, 21, 25, 31, 109, 110, 233, 265, 346, 364, 444.
 Dennis, Charles H., 466.
 Denny, President George H., 4.
 Desertions, 314.
 Deterioration of Nations, 101, 102, 130-148, 248, 249, 250.
 Dewey, Admiral George, 307.
 Dewitz, Charles E., 466.
 Dicker, Judge Edward A., 460.
 Dickey, Samuel, 466.
 Dickinson College, 455.
 Dickinson, Hon. Jacob M., 4, 9, 11, 22-34, 99, 213, 226, 305, 485.
 Dignowity, Charles L., 478.
 Dimmick, Mayor J. Benjamin, 462.
 Diplomacy, 418.
 Disarmament, 17, 20, 21, 34, 186, 187, 188, 191, 192, 213, 239, 240, 258, 276, 345, 404, 437.
 Disasters, 418, 421.
 Disciples, Church of, 468.
 Discontent, Social, 44, 68.
 Disputes Settled by Arbitration, 20, 26, 28, 29, 31, 93, 107, 109, 110, 111, 216, 221-234, 451.
 District of Columbia, Commissioners of, 462.
 District of Columbia, Delegates from, 463.
 Distrust, International, 433; see also Fear.
 Divine, Man's Kinship with the, 70.
 Dixson, Zella Allen, 466.
 Dodge, David L., 21, 94, 361.
 Dodge, G. M., 474.
 Dogger Bank Incident, 31, 214, 231, 276.
 Dominion, 101, 131, 139, 146, 431-432.
 Donaldson, Mrs. Percy, 466.
 Dornblaser, Rev. T. F., 459, 467.
 Doty, Mayor R. A., 462.
 Doty, P. A., 476.
 Douglas, George L., 458.
 Dows, Joseph W., 467.
 Doyle, W. J., 476.
 Draper, Governor Eben S., 461.
 "Drawing Together of Nations," 15, 115-148.
 Dreadnaughts, 164, 213, 258, 298, 304, 400, 405, 434, 440, 441.
 Drill, 375, 376.
 Dublin, Brigadier Robert, 467.
 Du Bois, Dr. J. A., 478.
 Du Bois, Mrs. J. A., 478.
 Ducommun, Elie, 21.
 Duel, 103, 104, 122, 123, 255, 256, 272, 275, 284, 285, 340, 341, 344.
 Du Maurier, 302.
 Dum-dum Bullets, 205.
 Dummer, Mrs. William F., 460, 467.
 Dunant, Henri, 21.
 Duncan, James, 496.
 Dunne, Hon. E. F., 460.
 Duras, Victor Hugo, 479.
 Dutton, Prof. Samuel T., 11, 454.
 Dyke, Le Grande G., 481.
 Dymond, Jonathan, 21.
- E
- "Each for All and All for Each," 206.
 Eagle, Mrs. Elizabeth A., 17, 460.
 Earl, Mrs. Elizabeth C., 474.
 Earl, Mrs. Jennie L., 467.
 Earl, John A., 467.
 Earley, Mayor Thomas, 462.
 Ebell, The, 17, 266, 267, 369, 463.
 Eckstein, Miss Anna B., 14, 87-91, 168, 169, 356-357, 477.
 Economic Age, 179-181.
 "Economic Aspects of Internationalism," 10, 170.
 Economic Burden of Armaments and War, 33, 43, 44, 52, 67, 68, 71, 72, 99, 105, 106, 107, 170-173, 177, 178, 179-202, 213, 239, 240, 273, 276, 299.

- 306, 345, 375. See also Social Unrest, Tariff, Taxes.
 Ecuador, 109.
 Edens, William Grant, 354, 458.
 Edgerton, Mayor H. H., 462.
 Edinburgh Peace Congress, 20.
 Editor of the Proceedings, 1, 12.
 Education, 10, 11, 35, 46-54, 62, 363-364; see also Teachers, Schools.
 Education for Peace, 17, 100, 114, 316, 319-326, 363-364, 375, 377, 378-382, 389-396, 418.
 Education, U. S. Bureau of, 295.
 Educational Institutions, Committee on, 455-456.
 Edward VII, 378, 406.
 Edwards, David M., 476.
 Egypt, 101, 180, 181.
 Eisenhower, I. C., 467.
 Elam, Mrs. John W., 474.
 Elbel, Richard, 474.
 Elbel, Mrs. Richard, 474.
 Eldredge, J. William, 467.
 Eliot, President Charles W., 43, 255.
 Ellacott, J. F., 467.
 Ely, Robert E., 458.
 Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 21, 40, 41, 291, 315, 316.
 Emperor William II, 402.
 Empire, Strife for, 101, 146, 431-432.
 Endowment, Peace, 11, 12, 430-431, 449, 499-500.
 Enemy, 207.
 England, see Great Britain.
 Enlisting, 355.
 Enthusiasm, 81.
 Environment, Peace, 33, 62-69.
 Episcopal Church, 468, 474; see also Protestant Episcopal, Reformed Episcopal.
 Equality of Nations, 29; see also Sovereignty.
 Erasmus, 21.
 Essenes, 467.
 d'Estournelles de Constant, Baron, 31, 391, 395.
 Ethics, National, 68, 104, 105, 190-193, 275, 284, 328, 329, 330, 372.
 Everett, Mrs. F. B., 460.
 Everett, Mrs. Francis D., 16.
 Evolution and Peace, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 61, 62, 74, 102, 103, 115-121, 194, 252-254, 272-277, 336-342, 344.
 "Evolution of World Peace," 272-277, 301-302.
 Exchequer, Chancellor of British, 71, 377, 463.
 Excuses for War, 63, 64, 65, 66, 445-448.
 Executive Committee, 5, 74, 373, 454.
 Exemption from Capture, 96, 212.
 Exhaustion of Nations, 101, 102, 130-148, 240, 299-306.
 Explosives, 96, 205, 375.
 Expositions, International, 4, 5, 195-199.
 Extradition, 111.
 F
 Fairchild, Mrs. A. N., 481.
 Fallacies, 17, 254-260.
 Fallows, Bishop Samuel, 460.
 "Farmers' Peace, The," 444.
 Farquhar, A. B., 190-193, 359, 480.
 Farquhar, Henry, 463.
 Favill, Dr. Henry B., 460.
 Fear, International, 339, 340, 408-409.
 Federated Trades Council, 481.
 Federation of Labor, 4, 160-165, 463, 464, 465, 475.
 "Federation of the World," 18, 29, 37, 38, 45, 297, 333-335, 433.
 Fern, Mayor Joseph J., 462, 489.
 Ferrier, Mrs. E. M., 467.
 Festival, International Peace, 363.
 Feuds, Private, 256, 257.
 Fichte, 21.
 Fields, Charles E., 467.
 Field, David Dudley, 21.
 Flfer, Rev. Orien W., 476.
 Fighting Instinct, 58-59, 69.
 Fignelra, Joseph, 464.
 Finance Committee, 10, 11, 454-455.
 Financing the Congress, 10, 11.
 Finley, President John H., 455.
 Fire Drill, 376.
 First Hague Conference, 21, 25, 27, 31, 38, 42, 49, 94, 96, 97, 110, 208, 212, 213, 217, 219, 234, 235, 236, 239, 299, 300, 301.
 First National Peace Congress 9, 20, 53, 362.
 Flschkin, Dr. E. A., 467.
 Fisher, James, 463.
 Fisher, President Lewis Beals, 464.
 Fisher, Walter, 4, 460.
 Fisheries Question, 32, 94, 229, 233, 485.
 Fishing Vessels, 96, 211, 212, 214, 231.
 Flsk, Everett O., 455.
 Flske, John, 316.
 Fitch, A. H., 464.
 Fitzpatrick, John J., 480.
 "Five Dangerous Fallacies," 17, 254-260.
 Fixen, Laura G., 467.
 Flag, Peace, 318, 319.
 Flags of Truce, 207.
 Flannery, M. H., 467.
 Flannery, Rev. T. D., 478.
 Flint, C. J., 467.
 Flint, Harold P., 287-292, 297.
 Florida, Governor of, 461.
 Foin, Chln F., 467.
 "For Peace," Poem, 427, 449, 501, 502.
 Forbes, Mrs. J. Malcolm, 454.
 Force, 257, 450.
 "Forces Which Make for Peace," 69-73.
 Foreign Delegates, 481.
 Foreign Relations, U. S., 187, 223, 224.
 Foreign Students in U. S., 292-297, 384.
 Foreigners, 121, 239, 295.
 Forestry, American, Association, 5.
 Forgan, David R., 14, 56, 454.
 Foster, Prof. George B., 460.
 Foster, Hon. John W., 4, 11.
 Fox, George, 21.
 Frain, Mrs. A. K., 467.
 France, 5, 21, 25, 31, 39, 41, 44, 85, 94, 102, 105, 109, 137-140, 228, 248, 258, 265, 266, 283, 400, 435.
 Francis, Mrs. J. R., 467.
 Francisco, A. B., 467.
 Franco-Prussian War, 41, 65.
 Frank, Mayor Charles, 462.
 Frank, Mrs. Henry L., 467.
 Frankfort Peace Congress, 20.
 Franklin, Benjamin, 36, 132, 133, 134.
 "Fraternal Orders and Peace," 15, 149-156, 353-354.
 Fraternal Orders, Committee on, 458.

Frear, Governor W. F., 461, 485-486.
 Freedom, 131.
 Freeman, Joseph H., 464.
 French Ambassador, 423, 449.
 Freudenthal, Joseph, 467.
 Freund, Prof. Ernst, 460.
 Friends, The, 369, 374, 392, 464, 475, 476.
Friends in Council, 470.
 Friends, Peace Association of, 475.
 Frineshrilber, W. H., 476.
 Frittel, Pierre, 102.
 Frizell, Mrs. Loftus F., 467.
 Frost, Edward W., 481.
 Fudge, Miss Elsie Joe, 467.
 Fulk, George, 18, 371-373, 454, 464.
 Fulk, J. G., 464.
 "Function of a Peace Congress," 62-69, 70, 407.
 Fundy, Bay of, 25.
 Fung, Rev. James, 467.
 Fur Seal Arbitration, 25, 229.
 Furnam University, 455.
 Furnes, J. H., 467.

G

Galbreath, C. G., 467.
 Gallitzki, Leo, 467.
 Gallery, Mrs. Daniel, 460.
 Galvani, William H., 346, 480.
 Garfield, President James A., 191.
 Garment Workers, 470, 472, 479.
 Garner, Prof. James W., 456, 464.
 Garrett Biblical Institute, 500.
 Garrigan, Bishop P. J., 476.
 Garrison, William Lloyd, 21, 39.
 Gates, President George A., 369.
 Gates, Hon. W. Almont, 369.
 Gault, Thomas H., 456.
 Geo, Mrs. Carrie L., 467.
General Armstrong, The, 228.
 General Committee, 9, 460.
 General Federation of Women's Clubs, 16, 248, 260-262, 468.
 General Survey of Peace Movement, 19, 74-114, 359-396.
 General Treaty of Obligatory Arbitration, 233, 236, 237.
 Geneva Arbitration, 25, 226, 228, 446.
 Geneva Convention (Red Cross), 111, 137, 207.
 George, Henry, 316.
 Georgia, 128.
 Georgia, University of, 456.
 German Ambassador, 19, 398, 399-402, 425-427, 452, 482.
 German American Peace Society, 363, 380, 477.
 German Emperor, 402.
 Germany, 19, 25, 31, 41, 44, 65, 66, 72, 87, 88, 94, 98, 105, 108, 109, 205, 210, 216, 217, 225, 237, 249, 250, 258, 265, 283, 292, 304, 398, 399-402, 403, 427, 428, 435, 444, 486.
 Germany, Delegate from, 482.
 Getchell, Edwin F., 468.
 Gettysburg, 106.
 Getz, Mrs. Harry W., 468.
 Ghent, Treaty of, 24, 108.
 Gibbons, Cardinal, 492.
 Gibson, G. W., 468.
 Gibson, William A., 11.
 Gifford, Robert L., 458.
 Gilchrist, Governor Albert W., 461.
 Gillet, F. J., 468.
 Gillett, Governor J. N., 461.
 Gilliom, A. L., 474.
 Gilreath, Belton, 4, 15, 189, 199, 457, 463, 492.
 Ginn, Edwin, 4, 17, 319-326, 357, 477.
 Gladden, Rev. Washington, 492.
 Gladstone, William E., 304.
 Glaser, Edward L., 460.
 Glasgow Peace Congress, 20.
 Glasscock, Governor William E., 461.
 Glee Clubs, 13, 18, 51.
 Glessner, J. J., 460.
 Glessner, Mrs. J. J., 460.
 Glory, 66, 69, 102, 315.
 Glover, Rev. F. Nelson, 479.
 Gobat, A., 21.
 Goddard, Joseph A., 475.
 Goddard, Leroy A., 460.
 Goetz, M., 481.
 Golling, Judge J. T., 456.
 Goller, Miss Rae, 10, 54, 55, 267, 268, 479.
 Gompers, Samuel, 4, 15, 158-165, 457, 463.
 Good Offices, Tender of, 26, 29.
 Goodman, Mayor Calvin C., 462.
 Gordon, Mrs. B. C., 481.
 Gordon, Dr. Kate, 481.
 Gorton, James, 468.
 Goshen College, 371.
 Governmental Peacemaking, 20.
 Governors, 4, 461, 485, 490.
 Grabham, Ralph, 468.
 Graham, Miss Louise, 480.
 Grand Rapids Board of Trade, 491.
 Grange, National, 490.
 Granite Cutters, 496.
 Grant, General Frederick D., 445-448.
 Grant, Prof. John C., 455.
 Grant, General U. S., 30, 76, 446, 447.
 Gray, Judge George, 489.
 Great Britain, 19, 20, 21, 24, 25, 31, 32, 41, 44, 71, 94, 105, 107, 108, 109, 140, 141, 143-146, 181, 203, 211, 214, 215, 223, 224, 225, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 240, 253, 265, 266, 304, 345, 346, 375, 377, 399, 405, 406-409, 435, 441, 442, 443, 446, 499.
 Great Britain, Delegate from, 482.
 Greece, 25, 101, 109, 221, 237.
 Green, Marion, 14.
 Greene, Mayor C. T., 462.
 Greene, Henry E., 460.
 Greetings, 82-86, 398-421, 483-490.
 Gregory, S. S., 468.
 Grey, Earl, Governor General of Canada, 483.
 Grey, Sir Edward, 179, 181, 404, 409.
 Grimke, Thomas S., 21.
 Groffman, Mayor C. A., 462.
 Grossman, Mrs. Albert B., 468.
 Grotius, Hugo, 21, 23, 206, 241, 386.
 Guatemala, 233, 246.
Guide to Chicago, 10.
 Guilford College, 479.
 Gunsaulus, Rev. Frank W., 455.
 Guthrie, Mayor Leonidas A., 462.
 Guy, Rev. H. H., 369.
 Gwinn, Dow R., 475.
 Gymnastic Union, 468, 471.

H

Habit, Peace, 33, 54, 62-69.
 Hadley, Governor H. S., 461.

- Hagerup, 206.
 Hague, The, 37, 38.
 Hague, The, Bureau of Court at, 29, 215.
 Hague, The, Cases Settled by, 31, 110.
 Hague Conferences, see First Hague Conference, Second Hague Conference, Third Hague Conference.
 Hague Day, 20, 47, 49, 50, 360, 367, 382, 390.
 Hague, The, Temple of Peace at, 110.
 Haiti, 109, 257.
 Hale, Rev. Edward Everett, 4, 35, 486.
 Hale, Senator Eugene, 71.
 Hall of Knights at The Hague, 37, 38, 205.
 Hall, Prof. James Parker, 457.
 Hall, Richard C., 4, 11, 457, 468.
 Halligan, J. E., 476.
 Hambleton, Albert F. N., 476.
 Hamburg Peace Congress, 20.
 Hamilton, A. K., 481.
 Hamilton, Alexander, 284.
 Hamilton Club, Chicago, 22.
 Hamlin, Frank, 458.
 Handel's *Messiah*, 15, 158.
 Hanseatic League, 426, 444.
 Harbert, Elizabeth B., 463.
 Harbors, Rivers and, 437.
 Harcourt, L. V., 377.
 Harder, Mayor J. E., 462.
 Hardinge, Henry H., 468.
 Harper, S. M., 456.
 Harper, William Hudson, 11.
 Harris, Ex-Governor A. L., 490.
 Harris, President Abram W., 455, 500.
 Harris, Dwight J., 464.
 Harris, Mayor S. D., 462.
 Hart, Mrs. Harry, 468.
 Hart, Sir Robert, 405.
 Hartford, Mayor of, 462.
 Hartman, Samuel L., 349, 350, 351, 480.
 Hartman, Mrs. William F., 16.
 Hartung, Dr. Henry, 468.
 Harvard University, 43.
 Harvey, Lorenzo Dow, 455.
 Haskins, Charles N., 468.
 Hatfield, Mrs. Margaret M., 468.
 Haugan, Helge A., 500.
 Hawaii, Governor of, 461, 485-486.
 Hawk, Walter D., 456.
 Hawley, Rev. Fred V., 460.
 Hawley, Miss Mary E., 460, 468.
 Hay, Hon. John, 185, 230, 492.
 Hayes, Mayor J. J., 462.
 Hayti, 109, 257.
 Hazard, President Caroline, 455, 450.
 Head, Franklin H., 272.
 Health, 118, 379, 470.
 "Hear, O Ye Nations," Hymn, 8, 13.
 Heath, Rose W., 468.
 Heberd, Robert W., 458.
 Hebrews, 65, 66, 121, 465, 467, 468, 469, 471, 472, 474.
 Heckman, B. F., 468.
 Helzer, Mayor David N., 462.
 Heinerich, Simon, 468.
 Henermann, Miss Magda, 468.
 Henrotin, Hon. Charles, 4.
 Henrotin, Mrs. Charles (Ellen M.), 5, 11, 16, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 254, 260, 263, 264, 266, 267, 268, 454, 459, 460, 468.
 Henry, Mrs. Maggie, 468.
 Henry IV, of France, 21, 92.
 Hermann, Dr. G. A., 480.
 Heroism, 310, 311, 452.
 Hess, Mrs. John M., 17, 463.
 High Court of Nations, Central American, 20, 233, 241, 245.
 Higinbotham, Hon. Harlow N., 4, 16, 195-199, 200, 305, 306, 438, 468.
 Hill, President Albert Ross, 455.
 Hill, Hon. David Jayne, 88, 486.
 Hill, James J., 491.
 Hill, W. A., 475.
 Hillis, David M., 468.
 Ilne, Mary L., 475.
 Hinstaw, Dr. W. W., 17, 319, 468.
 Hirsch, Rev. Emil G., 5, 8, 10, 11, 14, 15, 59, 62-63, 115, 120, 454, 458, 468.
 Hirschberg, Dr. Abram, 468.
 History, Teaching, 13, 41, 42, 43, 48, 62, 380, 381, 394-395.
 Hobson, Hon. Richmond P., 310, 341, 367.
 Hodgman, President T. M., 455.
 Hofer, Miss Amalle, 468.
 Holland, 109, 110, 129.
 Hollis, Hon. Frederick W., 27.
 Holt, Judge George C., 488.
 Holt, Hamilton, 11, 18, 333-335, 456, 479.
 Holy Roman Empire, 431.
 Holy See, 25.
 Honduras, 28, 233, 246.
 Honolulu, Mayor of, 489.
 Honorary President of the Congress, 4.
 Hooker, Mayor Edward W., 462.
 Horne, Dora C., 468.
 Horner, Henry, 468.
 Horrors of War, 8, 101, 102.
 Horton, Rev. R. F., 376.
 Hosmer, Rev. Frederick L., 8, 14.
 Hospitality, International, 93, 108, 199, 346, 365, 377, 440-441.
 Hostilities, Opening of, 96, 111, 208, 212.
 House Committee on Appropriations, 181, 191, 434.
 House of Representatives, 4; see also Congressmen.
 Howard, Edwin B., 476.
 Howard, Roland B., 21.
 Howe, Charles M., 478.
 Howe, President Charles S., 455.
 Howe, Thomas C., 475.
 Howes, Mildred L., 468.
 Hoyt, Mrs. Martha, 469.
 Hubbard, Charles C., 464.
 Hughes, Governor Charles E., 365, 461.
 Hugo, Victor, 21, 84, 317.
 Hukill, A. T., 476.
 Hulburd, Mrs. O. F., 469.
 Hull, President Lawrence C., 455.
 Hull, Prof. William L., 10, 16, 203-221, 458, 480.
 Hull House, 17, 465.
 "Human Harvest, The," 130-148.
 Humane Societies, 463, 465, 466, 476, 479, 494.
 Humanitarianism, 193.
 Humble, C., 469.
 Hungary, 263, 265; see Austria-Hungary.
 Hunter, Robert, 457, 495.
 Huntington, Mrs. V. P., 479.
 Huntington, President William H., 455.

Huntington, Rev. William R., 393.
 Hyde, Prof. Charles Cheney, 16, 221-234, 460, 469.
 Hyde, W. E., 354, 458.
 Hymn by Hosmer, 8, 13.
 Hymns, Peace, 13, 14, 390, 420.

I

Idaho, Governor of, 461.
 Idealists, 146, 147, 249.
 Iglehart, J. E., 353, 475.
 Illinois, Delegates from, 463-474.
 Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs, 16.
 Illinois, Governor of, 4, 14, 75, 460, 461, 464.
 Illinois State Suffrage Association, 17.
 Illinois, University of, 456, 464.
 Illinois, Welcome to, 14, 75.
 Illinois Wesleyan University, 287.
 Immigration, 72, 140, 141, 168, 264, 291, 408.
 Immunity from Bombardment, 96, 113, 207.
 Imperial University of Japan, 386.
 Inaugural Address of President Taft, 111, 303, 499.
 Indemnity, 100, 258, 307.
 Independence of Nations, 15, 25, 26, 31, 116.
Independent, The, 18, 333, 456.
 Indiana, Delegates from, 474.
 Indiana, Governor of, 461.
 Indiana University, 474.
 Indians, American, 124, 125, 190.
 "Industrial Basis for International Peace," 15, 165-168.
 Industrial Club, Chicago, 4, 5, 10, 11.
 Industrial Condition of Women, 159, 160, 249, 263-266.
 "Industrialism, Woman In," 263-266.
 Industry, 15, 117, 181-182, 495-497.
 Innes, Hon. Alfred Mitchell, 19, 406-409, 441-443, 449, 482.
 Inquiry, Commission of, International, 26, 30, 31, 214, 231.
 Instinct, Fighting, 58-59, 69.
 Institute of Civics, 464, 472.
 Institute of International Law, 21, 209.
 Insurance and Peace, 298, 440-441.
 Intercollegiate Oratorical Contest, 17, 271-297.
 Intercollegiate Peace Association, 17, 18, 20, 271, 371-373, 380, 464, 474, 475.
 Intercourse between Nations, 63, 64, 72, 73, 194, 407.
 Interdependence of Nations, 15, 34, 115-121, 166-168, 419, 428, 429, 433.
 "Interdependence versus Independence of Nations," 15, 115-121.
 Intergovernmental Peacemaking, 20.
 Interior, Secretary of, 4, 11, 19, 416-420, 427, 430, 452, 453, 463.
 "International Arbitrations," 225, 228.
 "International Arbitration and Peace," 282-287.
 International Bureau of American Republics, 4, 20, 484.
 International Bureau of Peace, Berne, 20, 93.
 International Bureaus, 21, 117, 118.
 International Commissions of Inquiry, 26, 30, 31, 214, 231.
 International Conciliation, Association for, 20, 365, 395, 471.
 International Conventions and Societies, 33.
 International Court of Arbitral Justice, 97, 113, 215, 219, 220, 234, 242, 243, 345.
 International Court of Arbitration, 96, 97, 110, 205, 218, 219.
 International Court of Prize, 29, 96, 206, 212, 215, 217, 218, 238.
 International Ethics, 68, 104, 105, 190-193, 275, 284, 328, 329, 330, 372.
 International Greetings, 19, 398-421.
 International Hospitality, 93, 198, 199, 346, 365, 377, 440-441.
 International Law, 30, 206, 215, 218, 222, 224.
 International Law Association, 20, 386.
 International Law, Institution of, 21.
 International Law, American Society of, 5, 20.
 International Library of Peace, 4, 35, 323, 395.
 International Peace Congresses, 20, 93.
 International Peace Festival, 363.
 International Prize Court, 29, 96, 206, 212, 215, 217, 218, 238.
 "International School of Peace," 319-326.
 "International Socialism as a Peace Force," 15, 170-178.
 International Unions, 117, 118.
 Internationalism, 10, 115-121, 292, 384.
 Interparliamentary Union, 4, 20, 39, 40, 93, 335, 379, 412-413, 478.
 Interstate Oratorical Contest, 17, 271-297.
 Intervention, 26, 28, 214, 215, 230.
 Introductory Note, 9-12.
 Inul, Klyo Sue, 478.
 Invincibles, 400.
 Iowa, Delegates from, 476.
 Iowa, Governor, 461.
 Iowa State College, 476.
 "Irritants, Armaments as," 17, 307-319.
 Irwin, Miss Agnes, 459.
 Isaacs, Mrs. John D., 469.
 Eisenhower, E. J., 480.
 Italian Peace Society of New York, 363, 380, 396-397, 479.
 Italy, 21, 25, 31, 109, 110, 136, 137, 233, 237, 265, 266, 396-397, 418, 421, 444.

J

Jackman, Mrs. Willbur S., 469.
 Jackson, H. H., M. D., 469.
 Jackson, Mrs. Jonathan W., 464.
 James, President Edmund J., 457.
 Janney, Samuel McPherson, 190, 191.
 Japan, 19, 25, 27, 28, 31, 67, 109, 129, 142, 237, 247, 298, 302, 305, 306, 307, 363, 367, 369, 383-389, 410-412, 438-439.
 Japan, Delegates from, 482.
 Japan, Imperial University of, 386.
 Japan Peace Society, 18, 383-389.
 Japan Society, New York, 363.
 "Japan's Desire for Peace," 383-389, 438-439.
 Japanese, 73, 370, 383-389.
 Japanese Ambassador, 365, 411-412, 438, 484.

Jay, Hon. John, 24, 223, 224.
 Jay Treaty, 24.
 Jay, Judge William, 21, 92.
 Jayne, Robert K., 478.
 Jefferson, Rev. Charles E., 5, 492.
 Jefferson, President Thomas, 36.
 Jeffrey, J. A., 480, 492.
 Jenna, 137, 140.
 Jesus, 56, 57, 66.
 Jewish Women, National Council of, 17, 251, 468, 473.
 Jews, 65, 66, 121, 465-467, 468, 469, 471, 472, 474.
 Jingo, 71.
 John, Henry W., 475.
 Johnson, Benjamin, 475.
 Johnson, Governor John A., 461.
 Johnson, Herbert H., 480.
 Johnson, Bishop Joseph H., 369.
 Johnston, F. D., 469.
 Johnnot, Rev. R. F., 459, 464.
 Joint Commissions, 243, 244.
 Jones, Charles R., 464.
 Jones, Rev. Effie McC., 476.
 Jones, George D., 492.
 Jones, Rev. Jenkin Loyd, 5, 9, 11, 14, 17, 59, 60-62, 74, 268-270, 307-319, 349, 350, 354, 356, 357, 420, 421, 448, 454, 458, 469.
 Jones, Mayor Llewellyn, 462.
 Jones, Rev. W. H. Miller, 469.
 Jordan, President David Starr, 5, 15, 17, 101, 130-148, 250, 262, 272, 292, 297, 298, 299, 306, 307, 319, 326, 327, 366, 369, 440, 457, 463.
 Jordan, Mrs. Frederick, 459.
 Journal International Law, American, 227.
 Jubilees, Peace, 20.
 Judges, 456, 488-489.
 Judges in Oratorical Contest, 272.
 Judges of Permanent Hague Court, 97, 113, 219, 220, 238, 242, 243.
 Judiciary and Legislatures, Committee on, 456.
 Judson, President Harry Pratt, 455.
 Judson, Mrs. Harry Pratt, 460.
 Jusserand, Ambassador, 423, 449.
 Justice, 67, 375, 412, 413, 416, 418, 445, 453.
 "Justice and Peace," 277-282.

K

Kahn, Arthur, 355, 469.
 Kansas, Delegates from, 476.
 Kansas, Governor of, 465.
 Kant, Immanuel, 21, 92, 317, 334.
 Kealing, H. T., 15, 121-129, 480.
 Keck, Mrs. W. T., 464.
 Kelly, Robert L., 475.
 Kendall, Mrs. Anna N., 464.
 Kendall, Mrs. E. E., 469.
 Kent, William, 5, 460.
 Kentucky, Delegates from, 477.
 Kentucky, Governor of, 461.
 Kentucky, State University, 455.
 Kenworthy, Truman C., 475.
 Kern, Mrs. A. V., 469.
 Kershner, President Frederick D., 455.
 Ketrting, Mrs. E. G., 475.
 Kimball, Kate F., 469, 493-494.
 King Edward VII, 378, 406.
 King Philip's War, 190.
 Kings, 443-445.
 Kingsbury, Miss Mabel H., 477.

Kingsley, Sherman C., 454, 458.
 Kinsey, Mrs. O. P., 475.
 Kipling, Rudyard, 13, 144, 145, 146, 314, 319, 408.
 Kirchwey, Dean George W., 456.
 Kirkup, Miss M., 469.
 Kiser, S. E., 456.
 Kitchin, Governor W. W., 461.
 Klein, Rabbi Jacob, 469.
 Kliever, J. W., 475.
 Kline, Mahlon H., 454.
 Knapp, Arthur, 142.
 Knapp, Henry E., 481.
 Knights of Columbus, 474.
 Knights, Hall of, at The Hague, 37, 38, 205.
 Knights of Labor, 160.
 Knights of Pythias, 463, 478.
 Knox, Hon. Philander C., 5, 220, 360, 484.
 Kodicek, Sig., 469.
 Kohler, Mayor Charles, 462.
 Kohlsaat, Mrs. H. H., 460.
 Kohn, Joseph, 469.
 Koht, Dr. Halvdan, 19, 413-415, 443-445, 449, 482.
 Kolsem, J. C., 475.
 Komaiko, S. B., 469.
 Korea, 28, 143.
 Korsoski, A. J., 469.
 Kriegbaum, Mrs. Charles M., 475.
 Kriete, Arthur, 469.
 Kriete, Mrs. C. L., 469.
 Krupp Guns, 198, 256, 309.

L

Labor, 13, 15, 72, 117, 158-165, 166, 167, 265, 266, 346, 348, 351, 354, 469, 478, 480, 481, 495-497; see also American Federation of Labor, Organized Labor.
 Labor, Department of Commerce and, 5.
 Labor Organizations, Committee on, 457.
 "Labor, Organized, and Peace," 6, 158-165, 497.
 Lackenstein, Mrs. E., 469.
 Ladd, William, 21, 92.
 Lagercrantz, Ambassador H. de, 19, 422, 449.
 Lake Forest College, 10, 18, 455, 464.
 Lake Mohonk Arbitration Conference, 4, 5, 18, 20, 93, 232, 358, 359, 362, 371, 379, 454.
 Lambeth Conference, 376.
 Lamont, Mayor John F., 462.
 Lampert, Nelson N., 354, 458.
 Lamson, C. O., 476.
 Lamson, Mrs. C. O., 476.
 Lansing, Robert, 485.
 Larson, A., 469.
 Lathers, 497.
 Lathrop, Mrs. Byron, 460.
 Latin-American Republics, 205, 206, 217.
 Latter Day Saints, 478.
 Laurier, Sir Wilfred, 483-484.
 Law, Evolution of, 103.
 Law Schools, 456; Cincinnati, 14, 99, 456; Northwestern University, 456; University of Pennsylvania, 456; Yale, 456.
 Lawrence, A. W., 460.
 Lawrence, Prof. T. J., 215.
 Lawyers, 14, 99, 456.

- LeGallienne, Richard, 419.
 League of Catholic Women, 17.
 League of Peace, 193.
 Leake, Dr. C. W., 469.
 Leake, Mrs. C. W., 469.
 Leake, Mrs. Elizabeth M., 458.
 Lecky, 315.
 "Legal Aspects of the Peace Movement," 16, 203-247.
 "Legal Problems Capable of Settlement by Arbitration," 16, 221-234.
 Lehmann, Hon. Frederick W., 5.
 Leibnitz, 21.
 Leighton, Mayor Adam P., 462.
 Lelpsic, 137.
 Lelpsig, Emil W., 475.
 Leland Stanford, Jr., University, 5, 272, 366, 440, 463.
 Lemonnier, Charles, 21.
 Leone, Luigi, 479.
 Leopold, King, 279, 280, 282.
 Lester, Frances L., 469.
 Letters, 82, 83-86, 343-344, 411-412, 483-499.
 Levy, Rabbi J. Leonard, 454.
 Lewis, Frederick W., 478.
 Lewis, George S., 464.
 Lewis, M. H., 464.
 Lewis, Mrs. Nathan B., 469.
 Lewis, T. L., 496.
 Lewis, Dean William Draper, 456.
 Lewis, Mrs. William T., 17, 266-267, 463.
 Liberals, Religious, 492.
 Liberia, 28, 109.
 Library, International, of Peace, 4, 35, 323, 395.
 Life Guards, 376.
 Life-saving Drill, 376.
 Limbach, Mrs. Charles H., 469.
 Limitation of Armaments, 17, 213, 239, 240, 299-306, 345, 346, 375, 400-401.
 Lincoln, Abraham, 39, 40, 45, 76.
 Lincoln Centre, 5, 465, 469.
 Lindgren, John R., 11, 430-431, 449, 464, 499-500.
 Lindahl, Joshua, 469.
 Literature, Peace, 4, 35, 47, 48, 323, 367, 371, 381, 395.
 Lithuania, 264.
 Little, President Charles J., 431, 449, 500.
 Little, W. S., 480.
 Lives Sacrificed by War, 8, 136-148.
 Lloyd, Judge Frank T., 489.
 Lloyd-George, Rt.-Hon. David, 71, 377, 483.
 Loans, War, 358.
 Lochner, Louis P., 17, 292-297, 481.
 Locke, 21.
 Locke, Dr. Charles E., 369.
 Lockwood, Homer N., 463.
 Lodi, 283.
 Loele, Joseph L., 469.
 Loewenthal, Mrs. C. F., 470.
 Loewenthal, J. W., 470.
 Lombard College, 464.
 London Peace Congress of 1908, 18, 35, 93, 373, 374-378.
 London Peace Congresses, 20.
 Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth, 21, 317.
 Lorentz, John, 470.
 Los Angeles, 367, 368, 369, 370, 463.
 Loss of Life by War, 8, 100, 136-148, 257.
 Loubet, Ex-President, 85, 92.
 Louis, Napoleon, 228.
 Louisiana, Delegates from, 477.
 Louisiana, Governor of, 461.
 Love, Alfred H., 18, 454.
 Love, Charles A., 464.
 Lovette, Dr. T. S., 460.
 Lowden, Hon. Frank O., 488.
 Lowe, A. B., 478.
 Lowell, Mrs. George F., 10, 459, 477.
 Lowell, James Russell, 21, 317.
 Lowell, Mrs. Josephine Shaw, 51, 389.
 Lowenstine, M. R., 475.
 Lowery, M. L., 272, 480.
 Luccock, Rev. George, 459.
 Lucerne Peace Congress, 20.
 Lukens, Herman T., 470.
 Lutheran Church, 467, 470.
 Lutzenberger, John G. M., 470.
 Luxemburg, 25, 237, 265, 266.
 Lyman, Mrs. David B., Jr., 470.
 Lyman, Mrs. Louise H., 470.
 Lyman, William, 470.
 Lynch, Rev. Frederick, 459.
 Lyons, Mayor James, 462.

M

- Mable, Rev. Henry C., 500.
 Macalester College, 455.
 Maccabees, 477, 478.
 MacDonald, Rev. James H., 459.
 Mack, Judge Julian W., 9, 460.
 MacSweeney, Joseph P., 479.
 Madden, Rev. Loyal W., 478.
 Magenta, 136.
 Magill, Henry P., 460.
 Mahony, W. A., 11, 15, 181-190, 457, 480, 492.
 Mahool, Mayor J. Barry, 462.
 Mail Service, Inviolability of, 96, 212.
 Maine, Delegates from, 477.
 Mainland, Mrs. William, 481.
 "Man a Fighter," 58-59.
 "Man of the Hoe," 137.
 Man, Kinship with Divine, 70.
 Manchuria, 28, 143.
 Mangau, John, 457.
 "Manhood, War and," 15, 130-148.
 Manila, Battle of, 142.
 Manners, International Good, 365.
 Manning, John L., 456.
 Manufacturers, 480.
 Marburg, Theodore, 476.
 Marcellus, C. N., 478, 491.
 Maritime, 31, 207, 211, 218, 238, 239, 427.
 Maritime Conference, 31.
 Markbreit, Mayor L., 462.
 Markets, Foreign, 170, 171, 347-349.
 Marks, Marcus M., 16, 193-195, 457.
 Marquette University, 282.
 Marshall, Lt.-Col. Stephen, 470.
 Marshall, Governor Thomas R., 461.
 Martial Spirit, 419, 420, 428.
 Maryland, Delegates from, 477.
 Mason, Fred B., 470.
 Masons, 149-156, 472.
 Massachusetts, Delegates from, 477.
 Massachusetts, Governor of, 461.
 Mathews, Bishop G. M., 470.
 Mathews, Mayor J. R., 462.
 Matsubara, Hon. Kazuo, 19, 410-412, 438-439, 470, 482, 484.
 Matthews, E. P., 481.
 Mauck, Joseph William, 478.
 Maxwell, Dr. William H., 391.

- Mayer, Harry H., 478.
 Mayer, Levy, 460.
 Mayor of Chicago, 14.
 Mayors, List of, 461-462.
 McCall, Peter, 464.
 McCandless, Mrs. C. R., 476.
 McCash, Rev. I. N., 369.
 McClellan, Mayor George B., 462.
 McClintock, President Euphemia, 459.
 McClung, Mayor Benjamin, 462.
 McConnell, Mrs. J. S., 470.
 McCormick, Alexander A., 10, 11, 454.
 McCormick, Mrs. Cyrus, 460.
 McCormick, Mrs. Harold, 460.
 McCullough, E. S., 475.
 McCullough, Florence, 475.
 McDowell, Bishop W. F., 5, 459.
 McDowell, Miss Mary E., 17, 159, 263-266, 460, 470.
 McGowan, Mrs. Nettle, 470.
 McKinley, President William, 71, 77, 224, 416, 452.
 McMullen, Mrs. Roger B., 464.
 McPherson, Rev. W. H., 460.
 Mead, Edwin D., 11, 13, 17, 35-45, 46, 48, 50, 299-306, 358, 395, 454, 457, 458, 477.
 Mead, Mrs. Edwin D., 5, 10, 17, 52, 53, 254-260, 261, 262, 267, 268, 455, 477.
 Mediation, 26, 28, 214, 215.
 Medical Associations, 465, 471, 476.
 Megan, Charles P., 455.
 Melendy, Royal L., 5, 9, 11, 82, 84, 203, 343, 344, 351, 352, 353, 355, 356, 454, 470.
 Melendy, Mrs. Royal L., 470.
 Melhauser, Mayor Frank H., 462.
 Menge, Mrs. Carrie, 470.
 Mennonites, 475, 480.
 Merchants, 193, 194, 195, 444, 470.
 Merchant Ships, 212, 218, 375.
 Merrett, Albert N., 470.
 Messiah, Handel's, 15.
 Methodist Episcopal Church, 3, 369.
 Mexican Ambassador, 423, 449.
 Mexican International Conference, 27.
 Mexico, 24, 25, 27, 31, 109, 110, 205.
 Meyer, Hon. George von L., 5, 485.
 Meyer, J. H., 470.
 Michigan, Delegates from, 477-478.
 Michigan, Governor of, 461.
 Michigan Military Academy, 455.
 Michigan, University of, 4, 277, 459, 490.
 Miles, Frank P., 464.
 Miles, Mrs. Frank P., 464.
 "Might, Right Makes," 405.
 Milan Peace Congress, 20.
 Miles, James B., 21.
 Militarism, 33, 61, 62, 71, 100, 101, 130-148, 184, 185, 275.
 Military Drill, 375.
 "Military Expenditures in an Economic Age," 179-181, 434-438.
 Military Stature, 137, 139, 248.
 Miller, H. I., 454.
 Miller, Hubert F., 11.
 Milligan College, 455.
 Miller, Owen, 496.
 Milton, John, 45.
 Mine Workers, 475, 476, 477, 495-496.
 Mines, Submarine, 96, 111, 207, 210, 211.
 Ming, M. L., 470.
 Ministers, 323, 346, 459, 476, 492-493.
 Ministers' Meetings, 11, 476.
 Minnesota, Delegates from, 478.
 Minnesota, Governor of, 461.
 Mint, U. S., Washington, D. C., 5.
 Missions, American Board, 493.
 Mississippi, Delegates from, 478.
 Mississippi, Governor of, 461.
 Missouri, Delegates from, 478.
 Missouri, Governor of, 461.
 Missouri, University of, 455.
 Mitchell, John, 495.
 Mitchen, Rev. Charles B., 470.
 Mitigation of War, 30, 31, 96, 111, 207, 208, 209.
 Mixing of Races, 63, 64.
 Mohonk Arbitration Conference, 4, 5, 18, 20, 93, 232, 353, 359, 362, 371, 379, 454.
 "Mollycoddles," 66, 67.
 Molton, T. H., 16, 189, 457, 463, 492.
 Monaco Peace Congress, 20.
 Monaco, Principality of, 26.
 Moneta, E. T., 21.
 Montenegro, 25, 237.
 Montesquieu, 21.
 Monroe, Miss Harriet, 427, 449, 501, 502.
 Monroe Doctrine, 75, 217, 303.
 Montgomery, Dr. W. J., 470.
 Moody, Walter D., 11, 460.
 Moore, Mayor C. Herbert, 462.
 Moore, Prof. John Bassett, 225, 228, 232.
 Moore, Judge Joseph B., 18, 343, 350, 352, 353, 355, 357, 358, 359, 365, 371, 373, 378, 382, 389, 396, 477.
 Moore, Mrs. Philip N., 16, 248, 250, 260-262, 478.
 Moors, The, 101.
 Moral Aspect of War, 60, 61, 62, 68, 69, 73, 124, 137, 275, 309, 314, 315, 405, 416.
 Moral Progress, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 73, 124; see Evolution.
 Moran, W. F., 470.
 Morley, John, 25.
 Morocco, 26, 109, 177, 192.
 Morrhead, President J. A., 481.
 Morris, Mrs. Ira N., 460.
 Morris, Mrs. T. Ralston, 470.
 Moscow, 137, 140.
 Mosiman, Eddison, 480.
 Mothers, 17, 251-252, 464.
 Mott, John R., 342.
 Moulton, General George M., 460.
 Mount Holyoke College, 456.
 Monravieff, Count, 299.
 Mowath, S. H., 470.
 Mueller, Paul, 470.
 Muldoon, Bishop P. J., 459.
 Mullen, Miss Agnes, 477.
 Munich Peace Congress, 20.
 Munster Peace Conference, 27.
 Murphy, John B., 460.
 Murphy, Mayor J. W., 462.
 Muscat, 26, 31.
 Musicians, 479, 496.
 Myers, Prof. P. V. N., 460.

N

- Nabuco, Senor, 365.
 Nagel, Hon. Charles, 5.
 Napoleon I, 24, 101, 102, 138, 139, 140, 248, 249, 283, 401.

Napoleon, Louis, 228.
 Nation in Arms, 401.
 National Association of Clothiers, 16.
 National Council of Jewish Women,
 17, 251, 468, 473.
 National Debts, 105, 106, 107, 181.
 National Educational Association, 49,
 455.
 National Ethics, 68, 104, 105, 190-193,
 275, 284, 328, 329, 330, 372.
 National Federation of Religious Lib-
 erals, 492.
 "National Honor," 25, 26, 31, 32, 34,
 214, 226, 227, 228, 229, 231, 232,
 306, 315, 345, 400.
 National Peace Congresses, 9, 20.
 National Policy, 258, 259, 292.
 Nationalism, 13, 65, 66, 316, 337, 338,
 452-453.
 Nations, Congress of, 92.
 Nature, Changing Man's, 58, 59, 70,
 256, 257, 362, 416-417.
 Naval Conference, London, 31, 207,
 211, 218, 238.
 Naval Warfare, 207, 238, 239, 427.
 Navigation, 210.
 Navy, Appropriations for, 435, 436.
 Navy Department, 5.
 Navy League, 258.
 Navy, Secretary of, 5, 485.
 Nebraska, 4, 464.
 Nebraska, Delegate from, 478.
 Nebraska, Governor of, 461.
 Neely, Judge Charles G., 456.
 Negro, 39, 40, 121, 124-129.
 Nelidow, 87, 116.
 Nelson, Mrs. Walter C., 470.
 Nesbit, Wilbur D., 456.
 Netherlands, 25, 31, 109, 225, 233,
 265, 266.
 Neumann, F. E., 355, 481.
 Neutralization, 111, 258, 276.
 Neutrals, 30, 31, 96, 111, 208, 209,
 210, 211, 218, 220, 227, 228, 235,
 239, 358.
 Nevada, Delegates from, 478.
 New England Society, 468.
 New Hampshire Federation of Women's
 Clubs, 16.
 New Hampshire, Governor of, 461.
 New Jerusalem Church, 466, 467.
 New Mexico, Governor of, 461.
 New Orleans, Mayor of, 461.
 New Thought, Church of, 466, 468,
 471, 472.
 New York, 4, 5.
 New York, College of City of, 455.
 New York, Delegates from, 479.
New York Evening Post, 456.
 New York, Governor of, 365, 461.
 New York, Mayor of, 462.
 New York Peace Congress, 9, 20, 53,
 362, 374, 391.
 New York, Peace Office in, 18, 361-365.
 New York Peace Society, 4, 18, 20, 94,
 361-365, 479.
Newer Ideals of Peace, 4, 268.
 Newfoundland, 229.
 Newspapers, 47, 71, 257, 303, 304, 305,
 373, 410, 420, 456, 457.
 Newton, Joseph S., 470.
 "Next Steps in Peacemaking," 17, 298-
 332.
 Nicaragua, 233.
 Nicholas II, Czar, 25, 28, 88, 112, 239,
 258.

Nicholson, Mrs. Marion, 470.
 Nicholson, Timothy, 458, 475.
 Nile, River, 180, 181.
 Niles, Henry C., 18, 359-361, 456.
 Nobel Peace Prize, 160, 414.
 Noel, Governor E. F., 461.
 Nollen, President John S., 11, 18, 333,
 336, 454, 455, 458, 460, 464.
 Non-combatants, 207, 220.
 Norris, Mrs. William W., 470.
 North Carolina, 128.
 North Carolina, Delegates from, 479.
 North Carolina, Governor of, 461.
 North Dakota, Delegates from, 479.
 North Sea Incident, 31, 214, 231, 276.
 Northern California Peace Society,
 367.
 Northington, Mayor M. C., 462.
 Northrup, L. L., 476.
 Northwestern University, 10, 12, 430-
 431, 449, 455, 476, 499-500.
 Northwestern University Law School,
 456.
 Norton, Charles D., 460.
 Norway, 19, 25, 28, 94, 206, 233, 258,
 276, 364, 413-415, 443-445.
 Norway, Delegate from, 19, 413-415,
 443-445, 449, 482.
 Norwegian State University, 413.
 Noven, Robert, 470.
 Novicow, J., 21.
 Noyes, Frank B., 456.

O

O'Bryan, Mayor W. M., 462.
 O'Callaghan, Rev. Peter J., 459.
 O'Connell, Daniel, 284.
 O'Keefe, Mrs. D. D., 471.
 O'Neil, Rev. Ernest, 459.
 Oberlin College, 470, 472.
 Obligatory Arbitration, 97, 98, 217,
 236, 244, 344, 345, 399-400.
 Occupied Territory, 207.
 Odd Fellows, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469,
 470, 471, 473.
 Office of the Peace Congress, 10.
 Officers of the Peace Congress, 4-5.
 Ogden, Miss Althea A., 13, 45.
 Ogden, Rollo, 456.
 Ogilvie, Rev. Andrew U., 475.
 Ogle, J. B., 476.
 Ohio, 4.
 Ohio, Delegates from, 479-480.
 Ohio, Ex-Governor of, 490.
 Ohio Wesleyan University, 456.
 Olcott, George C., 470.
 Olney, Hon. Richard, 223, 224.
 Olney-Pauncefoote Treaty, 224, 259.
 Onahan, William J., 460.
 Orange Free State, 26.
 Oratorical Contests, 17, 271-297, 368,
 369.
 Order of R. R. Telegraphers, 497.
 Oregon, 225, 346.
 Oregon, Delegates from, 480.
 Organizations and Delegates, Commit-
 tee on, 458.
 "Organized Labor and Peace," 15, 158-
 165, 346, 348, 351, 354, 495-497.
 Organizing for Peace, 92, 93, 94, 327-
 332, 449-452.
 Orient, 73, 383-389, 429.
 Orr, Adam C., 471.
 Ortmann, Rudolph, 5, 11.
 Osborne, Bishop Edward W., 14.

Osborne, Dr. Thomas D., 458.
Osnabruck Peace Conference, 27.
Outlines of Study, 17.

P

- Pacific Coast, 306-307, 327, 366-371, 429.
Pacific Coast Peace Agency, 18, 366-371.
Pacific Ocean, 429.
Pacific Settlement of Disputes, 20, 26, 28, 29, 93, 107, 108, 109, 111, 216, 221-234, 451.
Pacifism, 119, 372.
Pack, W. F., 471.
Paine, Hon. Robert Treat, *Frontispiece*, 5, 14, 74-75, 77, 87, 91, 99, 157, 158, 357, 373, 477.
Palace of Peace, Cartago, Central America, 245.
Palace of Peace at The Hague, 110, 129, 215, 220.
Palmer, Mrs. Ida Jane, 471.
Panama, 9, 230.
Panama Canal, 429, 436.
Pan-American Congress, 20.
Panic, War, 320.
Paris, Declaration of, 205.
Paris, Fur Seal Arbitration, 25, 229.
Paris, Peace Conference of 1763, 27.
Paris Peace Congresses, 30.
Parks, Wade R., 475.
"Parliament of Man," 29, 37, 38, 42, 93, 98, 276, 330, 334, 424.
Parliament of Religions, 60, 195, 201.
Parrott, Mrs. Matt, 476.
Passamaquoddy Bay, 225.
Passy, Frederick, 21.
Patrick, Miss Lucy S., 463.
Patrick, Miss Mary Mills, 482.
Patriotism, 13, 65, 66, 316, 337, 338, 452-453.
Patterson, Charles M., 471.
Patterson, President J. K., 455.
Patterson, Governor M. R., 461.
Patterson, Sheldon P., 460, 471.
Patterson, Mrs. Sheldon P., 471.
Pauncefoote, Olney —, Treaty, 224, 259.
Paxton, W. G., 475.
Payne, Jason E., 480.
Payne, Dr. William Morton, 457, 471.
Peace, Armed, Cost of, 179-181, 431-438.
Peace Association of Friends, 475.
Peace Budget, 93, 112, 114, 199, 346, 413.
Peace Congress, Function of, 62-69.
Peace Congresses, 9, 20, 53, 359, 361, 362, 374, 391.
"Peace, The Dawn of Universal," 99-114.
"Peace and Education," 35.
Peace Endowment, 11, 12, 430-431, 449, 499-500.
"Peace, For," Poem, 501-502.
Peace, International Library of, 4, 35, 323, 395.
Peace Jubilees, 20.
Peace, League of, 193.
Peace League, American School, see American School Peace League.
Peace Movement, General Survey, 14, 20, 39, 40, 42, 43, 71, 72, 73, 74, 92-98, 99-114, 298-332, 359-397.
Peace Movement, Inclusiveness of, 61.
Peace Movement, Legal Aspects of, 20, 203-247.
Peace Movement, Political Aspect of, 39, 40, 173-177, 324.
"Peace Movement, Popularizing and Organizing," 327-332.
"Peace Movement, Present Position of," 14, 20, 22-34, 39, 40, 42, 43, 71, 72, 73, 74, 92-98, 99-114, 298-332, 359-397; see also Peace Societies.
Peace Prize, Nobel, 21.
Peace, Progress of, 22, 115, 194, 203-221, 301, 302, 330, 424.
"Peace, Retrospect and Prospect," 14, 74-114.
Peace Societies, 20, 374; see also American Peace Society, American-Scandinavian Society, American School Peace League, Association for International Conciliation, Berne Peace Bureau, Cincinnati Peace Society, Corda Fratres, Cosmopolitan Clubs, Denison University Peace Society, Friends' Peace Association, German-American Peace Society, Intercollegiate Peace Association, Interparliamentary Union, Italian Peace Society of New York, Japan Peace Society, Japan Society of New York, New York Peace Society, Northern California Peace Society, Pennsylvania State Peace Society, South American Association for Universal Peace, Southern California Peace Society, Universal Peace Union, Wooster University Peace Association, Young People's International Federation League.
Peace, A Song of, 13.
Peace Study, Outlines of, 17.
Peace Sunday, 20.
Peace, Temple of, 110, 129, 215, 220, 229, 245.
Peace Workers, 17, 21, 81, 343-397.
"Peacemaking Factors in Modern Society," 15, 149-178.
"Peacemaking, Next Steps in," 17, 298-332.
Pearl, John C., 471.
Pearson, Rev. S., 471.
Pecuniary Claims, 224.
Pedersen, Carl M., 471.
Penland, G. H., 480.
Penn, William, 21, 38, 92, 125, 190, 359, 386.
Pennington, Levi T., 272-277, 297.
Pennsylvania, Governor of, 359.
Pennsylvania, Delegates from, 480.
Pennsylvania State Peace Congress, 18, 359-361, 480.
Pennsylvania State Peace Society, 480.
"Pennsylvania's Experiment," 190-193.
Pensions, 191.
"People's Peace in Scandinavia," 443-445.
Perham, H. S., 496-497.
Perine, Josiah W., 471.
Periodic Congress of Nations, 240, 241, 344, 345.
Perkins, Miss Emma M., 459.
Perkins, E. T., 463.
Permanent Court at Hague, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 42, 94, 96, 97, 110, 113, 205, 215, 218, 229, 238, 242, 243, 272, 276, 344; see also International

- Court of Arbitral Justice, International Court of Arbitration, International Court of Prize.
- Perry, Prof. Bliss, 456.
- Perry, Edwin, 475.
- Perry, Commodore O. H., 384.
- Perry, W. E., 471.
- Persia, 25, 109.
- Peru, 109.
- Pesowusky, H., 471.
- Pestefeld, Mrs. Ursula N., 471.
- Peterson, B. C., 471.
- Petition to Third Hague Conference, 14, 87-91, 169, 356-357.
- Pharsalia, 282.
- Phelps, Dr. Arthur S., 369.
- Philadelphia, 36, 37, 38.
- Philadelphia, Mayor of, 462.
- Philippine Islands, 65, 69, 307.
- Phillips, H. C., 18, 359, 454.
- Phillips, Wendell, 39.
- Pictures, Peace and War, 102.
- Pierson, Miss Mary J., 13, 51-55, 267, 349, 389-396, 455, 479.
- Pilo, Axel O., 471.
- Pinckney, Mrs. M. W., 471.
- Pioneers, Peace, 21, 92.
- Piper, Charles E., 354, 458.
- Pirie, John T., Jr., 454.
- Pittsburg Chamber of Commerce, 492.
- Pittsburg, University of, 465, 473.
- Plus Fund, Case, 27, 31, 110.
- Piracy, 212, 255.
- Platform of the Congress, 18, 344-346.
- "Plea for International Hospitality," 440-441.
- Poem, by Miss Harriet Monroe, 501, 502.
- Poem, by Torrence, 8.
- Poets and Peace, 45, 419.
- Police Function, 254, 255, 256, 298.
- Policy, National, 258, 259.
- Political Aspect of Peace Movement, 39, 40, 111, 173-178, 324.
- Polk, President James K., 225.
- Polk, S. C., 471.
- Pollman, Mayor William, 462.
- Pomona College, 369.
- Pon, Gerrit, 460.
- Pope, The, 25, 376.
- "Popularizing and Organizing the Peace Movement," 327-332.
- Porter, Hon. Horace, 5, 217, 487.
- Portland, Me., Mayor of, 462.
- Portman, Mrs. Edward C., 471.
- Porto Rico, Delegate from, 480.
- Porto Rico Federation of Workmen, 495.
- Portsmouth, Peace of, 215.
- Portugal, 25, 109, 228, 265.
- Post, Louis F., 460.
- Postal Union, Universal, 21, 117.
- Poteat, President Edwin M., 455.
- Pothier, Governor Abram J., 461.
- Pound, Prof. Roscoe, 464, 478.
- Pratt, Hodgson, 21.
- Pratt, W. B., 475.
- Prayer, 14, 56, 421, 422, 448.
- Prejudice, 73, 120, 121, 339, 353, 387-388, 407-408, 416.
- Preliminary Meetings, 13, 22-55.
- Preparatory Committee, Third Hague Conference, 235, 236, 346.
- "Prepare for War," 67, 191, 257, 258, 298, 404; see also Armaments, Armaments as Irritants.
- Presbyterian Church, 471, 472, 473.
- "Present Position of Peace Movement," 14, 20, 22-34, 39, 40, 42, 43, 71, 72, 73, 74, 92-98, 99-114, 298-332, 359-397.
- President of the Peace Congress, 4, 9, 11, 22-34, 99, 213, 226, 305, 485.
- President of the United States, 4, 9, 11, 82-83, 95, 108, 109, 111, 213, 303, 345, 360, 365, 415, 416, 427, 428, 452.
- Press, 47, 71, 257, 303, 304, 305, 346, 364, 373, 410, 420, 456, 457, 465.
- Press Committee, 456.
- Press Organizations, 456, 465, 471, 479.
- Prevention of War, 213, 214, 215, 386.
- Price, James Russell, 471.
- Pride, 311, 312, 434.
- Prime Minister, British, 377, 434.
- Primer of Peace*, 52, 53, 390.
- Printers' Organizations, 467, 470.
- Prisoners of War, 207.
- Private Property, 211, 212, 235, 345, 375, 427.
- Private War, 344.
- Privateering, 212, 228, 229.
- Prize, International Court of, 29, 96, 206, 212, 215, 217, 218, 238, 301.
- Prize, Nobel Peace, 21.
- Prizes (Capture), 209, 211, 238.
- Prizes, Oratorical Contest, 297.
- Program Committee, 458.
- Program of the Congress, 13-19.
- "Progress of Peace Principles," 22-34; see also Present Position of Peace Movement.
- Prohibition Party, 464.
- Propaganda, Peace, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 93, 319-326, 327-332, 363-364, 366, 367-370, 371-373, 378-382, 413, 449-452.
- Property, Private, at Sea, 211.
- Prosperity, 418-419, 429, 453.
- Protestant Episcopal Church, 4, 14, 369, 465, 467.
- Prouty, Governor George H., 461.
- Psychology of War, 307-319.
- Public Opinion, 340, 412, 451-452.
- Publications, Peace, see Literature, *Advocate of Peace*.
- Puffendorf, 21.
- Puget Sound, 453.
- Pugsley, Hon. C. H., 455.
- Purity League, 474.
- Pythias, Knights of, 463, 478.

Q

- Queen Wilhelmina, 25, 112, 318.
- "Questions Capable of Settlement by Arbitration," 221-234.
- "Questions Likely to Be Considered at the Third Hague Conference," 16, 234-241.
- Quetelet, 147.
- Quigley, Archbishop J. E., 5, 460.
- Quinby, Governor Henry B., 461.
- Quincy, Hon. Josiah, 21.

R

- Race Antagonism, 73, 120, 121, 339, 353, 387-388, 407-408.
- Races, 73, 407, 408; see also Jews, Negro, Orient.
- Races, Intermingling of, 62, 63, 64.

"Racial Progress Towards Universal Peace," 15, 39, 40, 121-129.
 Radcliffe College, 459.
 Railroads, 117, 210.
 Randall, E. O., 492.
 Ratification of Treaties and Conventions, 109, 111.
 Ravages of War, 8, 102, 103.
 Raymond, W. R., 476.
 Rebekah, Daughters of, 466.
 Reception Committee, 14, 79-82, 459-460.
 Receptions, 10, 14, 114.
Recessional, Kipling's, 13.
 Reclamation of Arid Lands, 430.
 Recognition of New Nation, 230.
 Recruiting for Army and Navy, 355.
 Red Cross, 111, 137, 207.
 Red Cross, American, 494.
 Red Men, 466, 467, 471.
 Reed, Rev. C. F., 471.
 Reed, C. L., 462.
 Reed, Mrs. Elizabeth A., 471.
 Reed, President George E., 455.
 Reform, Greatest, 378.
 Reformed Church, 469, 474.
 Reformed Episcopal Church, see Fallows, Bishop.
 Reformers, 23, 33, 39, 92, 272, 273, 378.
 Registration of Delegates, 14.
 Rein, Miss Carrie, 475.
 Reinsch, Prof. Paul S., 15, 115-121, 481.
 Reitzel, Rev. John R., 464.
 Relief Corps, 470.
 Religion, 201, 416; see also Christianity, Ethics, Moral.
 Religious Institutions, Committee on, 459.
 Representatives, see Congressmen.
 Republican Party, 111, 365.
 Republics, International Bureau of American, 4, 20, 484.
 Resolutions Adopted by the Congress, 344-346, 351-354, 356, 373, 420.
 Resolutions Presented But Not Adopted, 347-349, 353, 354, 355, 356-357, 358.
 Resolutions, Committee on, 16, 203, 344, 350, 351, 457.
 Results of War, 105, 106, 107, 130-148, 182-183, 274-275, 411.
 "Retrospect and Prospect," 14, 74-114, 362-365.
 Revell, Alexander H., 460.
 Revolution, American, 41, 42, 146-147.
 Reyburn, Mayor, John E., 462.
 Reynolds, Albert H., 277-282.
 Reynolds, George M., 464.
 Reynolds, Hon. James B., 454.
 Rhine, 400-401.
 Rhode Island, Governor of, 461.
 Rhodes, Mrs. C. W., 471.
 Rhodes Scholarships, 292, 323.
 Rich, A. W., 481.
 Rich, Miss Clara W., 481.
 Rich, Miss Victoria P., 481.
 Richard, Prof. Ernst, 11, 362, 454.
 Richard, Henry, 21.
 Richards, Mayor George L., 462.
 Richardson, Mayor D. C., 462.
 Richardson, O. W., 471.
 Richardson, Hon. William, 488.
 Richmond, Rev. Cora L. V., 471.
 Rickert, T. A., 479.

Riddick, Mayor James G., 462.
 "Right Makes Might," 405.
 Righteousness, 124, 125, 283; see Justice.
 Ritter, Jacob, 476.
 Rivalry in Armament, 311, 312, 345, 346, 433-434.
 Rivers and Harbors, 437.
 Roanoke College, 481.
 Roberts, Rev. D. P., 471.
 Roberts, Hon. George E., 5, 11, 15, 179-181, 189, 190, 199, 454, 455, 460, 471.
 Roberts, Mrs. Julia W., 471.
 Roberts, Lord, 258.
 Robins, Mrs. Raymond, 159, 264, 460.
 Robinson, Frances M., 475.
 Roe, Frances, 471.
 Rogers, Dean Henry Wade, 456, 491.
 Rogers, Herbert M., 478.
 Rogers, Dean W. P., 14, 99-114, 456, 480.
 Roglie, Henry, 476.
 Roman Catholic Church, 5, 376, 460.
 Rome, 101, 131.
 Rome Peace Congress, 20.
 Roosevelt, Ex-President, 21, 27, 28, 74, 77, 81, 82, 95, 99, 100, 109, 112, 215, 241, 314, 327, 334, 412, 424, 452.
 Root, Senator Elhu, 5, 11, 31, 85, 95, 109, 217, 220, 234, 305, 365, 377, 443, 486.
 Root, Eliza H., M. D., 471.
 Root, Robert C., 10, 18, 366-371, 454, 463.
 Rose, Mayor David S., 462.
 Rosen, Baron, 422, 449.
 Rosenwald, Julius, 5, 458, 460, 472.
 Rosenwald, Mrs. Julius, 460, 472.
 Rouen Peace Congress, 20.
 Roumanla, 25, 237.
 Roundy, Frank C., 354, 458, 472.
 Rousseau, 21, 279.
 Rowland, Eugene A., 479.
 Rowlands, H. O., 476.
 Rules of Warfare, 30, 31, 96, 111, 205, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 238, 276.
 Rush Medical College, 455.
 Russell, Prof. Elbert, 454, 475.
 Russell, F. A., 491.
 Russell, Lord John, 24, 227, 228.
 Russia, 25, 27, 28, 31, 105, 109, 214, 231, 233, 257, 263.
 Russia, Czar of, 25, 28, 88, 112, 239, 258.
 Russian Ambassador, 422, 449.
 Russo-Japanese War, 27, 28, 74, 77, 99, 181, 211, 215, 386, 410.
 Ryan, F. M., 497.

S

Saint-Laurent, Baron de, 423.
 Salisbury, Lord, 223, 409.
 Salvador, 109, 233, 246.
 Salvation Army, 466, 467, 470.
 Sam, Tom, 472.
 Samoa, 307.
 Samuraj, 143.
 San Domingo, 126.
 San Francisco Labor Council, 497.
 San Francisco, Mayor of, 462.
 San Marino, 26.
 Sanders, Governor J. Y., 461.

- Sanitation, 117, 379, 470.
 Santiago, 142.
 Sato, Kinichi, 481.
 Sawtell, Frank M., 477.
 Scandinavia, 364, 413-415, 433-445.
 Scandinavian-American Society, 363, 364, 380.
 Schaeffer, Dr. Nathan C., 49, 381.
 Schaffner, Joseph, 455.
 Scharnfarber, Rabbi T., 459.
 Schelling, 21.
 Scherzer, Albert H., 472.
 Schiller, 130.
 Schillinger, Mayor Richard, 462.
 Schmidt, George A., 472.
 Schneider, Otto C., 455, 472.
 Schoen, Baron, 399.
 Scholarship, 271.
 Scholarships, 292-293.
 School of Peace, 319-326.
 School Peace League, see American School Peace League.
 Schools, 10, 11, 13, 49, 127, 128, 267-268, 346, 368, 375, 376, 378-382, 389-390, 491.
 Schunk, Mayor H. A., 462.
 Schurman, President Jacob Gould, 14, 69-73, 479.
 Science, 117.
 Scotland, 41.
 Scott, E. H., 457.
 Scott, Mayor George W., 462.
 Scott, Mrs. H. B., 476.
 Scott, Hon. James Brown, 5, 11, 16, 75, 227, 234-241.
 Scott, Dr. John A., 457.
 Scovel, Prof. Sylvester P., 480.
 Scriptures, 13, 56.
 Scudder, Prof. Vida D., 457.
 Sea, Warfare at, 31.
 Sear, Rev. J. W., 464.
 Seattle, 383, 453, 456.
 Second Hague Conference, 4, 5, 16, 21, 28, 29, 30, 37, 38, 75, 87, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 100, 112, 205, 209, 212, 216, 217, 219, 220, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 241, 300, 327, 345, 374.
 Second National Peace Congress, 1-21, 60-62, 344-346, 374, 420, 421.
 Secretary, of Commerce and Labor, 5; Interior, 4, 415, 416-420, 427-430, 463; Navy, 5, 485; State, 4, 5, 360, 484; War, 4, 99, 213, 485.
 Secretary of the Peace Congress, 5, 9.
 Sedan, 137.
 Seck, Dr. Otto, 133, 135, 139.
 Seelye, President L. Clark, 455.
 Selection, Law of, 130-148.
 Selfishness of Nations, 417, 433.
 Self-restraint, 246, 247, 387-388.
 Selleck, W. R., 472.
 Senate, U. S., 4, 5, 27, 71, 95, 109, 111, 317.
 Senators, U. S., 4, 5, 71, 486.
 Sentiment, 317.
 Servia, 25.
 Sesostriis, 102.
 Shaffer, Bishop C. T., 472.
 Shaffer, J. C., 460.
 Shallenberger, Governor A. C., 461.
 Sharp, Mrs. John C., 478.
 Sharpe, Maud R. L., 477.
 Shaw, Rev. John Balcom, 454, 459.
 Shearman, Charles E., 472.
 Sheehan, James, 481.
 Sheldon, R. E., 492.
 Shepard, Stuart C., 458.
 Sherman, E. B., 472.
 Sherman, General W. T., 149, 315.
 Sherwood School Boys' Glee Club, 13, 51.
 Shippen, Joseph, 456.
 Shirkie, Hugh, 475.
 Short, William H., 18, 361-365, 479.
 Shuler, D. Anne M., 476.
 Slam, 25.
 Sibley, Judge Hiram T., 456, 489.
 "Significance of a Permanent Peace Congress," 272.
 Sikes, George C., 11, 454, 456, 472.
 Sikes, Mrs. George C., 17, 250, 251, 472.
 Simmonds, Mrs. Francis D., 472.
 Simmons College, 459.
 Simonds, Mrs. Ida, 476.
 Simons, A. M., 11, 347-349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 454, 457, 464.
 Simons, Mrs. A. M., 460.
 Single Tax, 466, 468, 470.
 Sisson, P. L., 475.
 Sivyver, F. W., 481.
 Skinner, Edward M., 5, 10, 11, 422, 423, 425, 427, 430, 431, 438, 439, 443, 445, 449, 457, 472.
 Skinner, Mrs. Edward M., 459.
 Skinner, Mrs. Emmeline L., 472.
 Skinner, H. M., 464.
 Skinner, L. R., 475.
 Slayden, Hon. James L., 5, 488.
 Slocum, President W. F., 455.
 Sly, Rev. W. J., 472.
 Sly, Mrs. W. J., 472.
 Small, Charles A., 456.
 Smiley, Hon. Albert K., 5, 358.
 Smiley, Daniel, 454, 457.
 Smith, Adam, 21.
 Smith, A. J., 465.
 Smith, C. H., 475.
 Smith College, 455.
 Smith, Mrs. Frances Wheeler, 478.
 Smith, Rev. Frank G., 459.
 Smith, Frederick M., 478.
 Smith, Gerrit, 21.
 Smith, Gilman W., 460, 472.
 Smith, Mrs. Gilman W., 472.
 Smith, Mrs. Horace F., 472.
 Smith, Prof. Howard L., 457.
 Smith, Mrs. Jennie L., 472.
 Smith, Mrs. Jerome, 463.
 Smith, Lee S., 492.
 Smith, Samuel E., M. D., 475.
 Smith, W. M., 472.
 Social Clubs, 463-481.
 Social Service, American Institute of, 493.
 Social Unrest, 44, 68.
 Socialism, 15, 72, 167, 168, 170-178, 347-349, 351-353, 495.
 Socialism, Committee on International, 457, 495.
 Socialist Party, 464.
 Socialists, 13, 347-349, 351, 352, 353, 358, 365, 495.
 Society of International Law, American, 5, 20.
 Soden, G. A., 472.
 Soldier, 59, 258-259, 314, 315, 445-448.
 "Soldier's Plea for His Profession," 445-448.
 Solferino, 137.
 Solidarity of Human Race, 15, 115-121,

- 166-168, 205, 206, 419, 428, 429, 433.
 Solomon, Mrs. Henry, 17, 251, 460, 472.
 Song, Peace, 13, 45.
 Sonstebly, John J., 472.
 South African Republic, 25.
 South African War, 28, 107, 181, 201, 202, 446.
 South America, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 83-86, 94, 109, 293, 302, 303.
 South American Association of Universal Peace, 83-86.
 South Dakota, Delegates from, 480.
 South Dakota, Governor of, 461.
 Southern California Peace Society, 367, 463.
 Sovereignty, 29, 34.
 Spain, 24, 25, 71, 101, 109, 142, 205, 233, 265.
 Spangler, Mayor W. A., 462.
 Spanish-American War, 71, 76, 106, 181, 446.
 Spargo, John, 457, 495.
 Spies, 207.
 Spiritualists, 467, 473, 480.
 Sporie, T. H., 476.
 Statesmanship, 306.
 St. Croix River, 224.
 St. Petersburg, Declaration of, 207.
 St. Pierre, Abbé de, 21, 92.
 Staal, Baron de, 234.
 Stanford University, 5, 272, 366, 440, 463.
 Starr, Prof. Frederick, 472.
 Starring, Mason B., 5.
 State Bank of Chicago, 12.
 State Department, 4, 5, 16, 227, 234, 484, 485.
 State Peace Congresses, 18, 359-361.
 State, Secretary of, 4, 5, 220, 360, 484.
 Statesmen, 388.
 Stead, William T., 391.
 Stedman, Seymour, 457.
 Stereopticon Lecture, 18, 335.
 Sterling, William R., 459.
 Stevenson, Mrs. Alexander, 460.
 Stewart, E. B., 472.
 Stewart, Rev. H. E., 472.
 Stewart, Mrs. O. W., 17, 460.
 Stimson, Stella C., 476.
 Stiness, Hon. John H., 456, 489.
 Stock, Charles A., 465.
 Stolz, Rabbi Joseph, 459, 472.
 Stoughton, Mass., 477.
 Stout, J. H., 481.
 Stowe, Harriet Beecher, 39.
 Straub, Mayor F. H., 462.
 Straus, Hon. Oscar S., 5, 362, 457.
 Strength, National, 67, 257, 298, 405.
 Strong, Rev. Josiah, 459, 493.
 Strouss, Mrs. Henry X., 473.
 Structural Iron Workers, 497.
 Stubb, Mrs. Jessie H., 473.
 Stubbs, Governor W. R., 461.
 Studebaker, J. M., 476.
 Students, Foreign, in U. S., 292-297, 384.
 Study, Outlines of, 17.
 Sturge, Joseph, 374.
 "Subjects Likely to Be Considered by the Third Hague Conference," 234-241.
 Submarine Mines, 96, 111, 207, 210, 211.
 Sufferings in Battle, 274.
 Suffrage, Woman's, 17, 250, 440, 477, 479.
 Sultaire, J. J., 355, 481.
 Summer School of the South, 49.
 Summerfield, Mrs. Hattie, 473.
 Sumner, Charles, 21, 39, 92, 316.
 Sumner, Rev. Walter T., 458, 460.
 Sunday Evening Club, Chicago, 13, 56-72.
 Sunday Services of the Congress, 13, 56, 73.
 Superintendents of Schools, 49.
 Supreme Court, U. S., 4, 484.
 "Survival of Fittest," 63, 70, 138.
 Suttner, Baroness von, 21.
 Swan, Mrs. Mary B., 478.
 Swanite, Leon M., 473.
 Swansen, Governor Claude A., 461.
 Swarthmore College, 16, 203, 480.
 Sweden, 12, 19, 21, 25, 94, 109, 233, 265, 276, 364, 414, 443-445.
 Swedenbargian Church, 465.
 Swedish Ambassador, 19, 422, 449.
 Swensen, Mrs. William, 481.
 Swift, Monroe A., 473.
 Switzerland, 25, 109, 141, 142, 205, 226, 237, 265, 266.
 Sympathy in Disasters, 418, 421.
- T
- Taber, Sidney Richmond, 454, 458, 465.
 Taber, Mrs. Sidney Richmond, 465.
 Taft, President William Howard, 4, 9, 11, 82-83, 95, 109, 111, 213, 303, 343, 360, 365, 415, 416, 427, 428, 452.
 Takahira, Baron K., 365, 411-412, 438, 484.
 Talbot, Miss Marion, 459.
 Tallman, Alonson B., 473.
 Tamerlane, 102.
 Tammany, 365.
 Tariff, 99.
 Tatum, David, 473.
 Tausick, Mayor Eugene, 462.
 Tawney, Hon. James A., 11, 19, 431-438, 478.
 Taxes, 34, 68, 71, 99.
 Taylor, Mayor Edward A., 462.
 Taylor, Mayor Edward R., 462.
 Taylor, Prof. Graham, 15, 165-168, 455, 473.
 Taylor, Ross, 473.
 Taylor, Mrs. Ross, 473.
 Teachers, 13, 35, 43, 44, 46-54, 367-368, 369, 378-382, 464.
 Teaching, 62, 375, 378-382, 394-395.
 Telegraph, 209.
 Telegraphers' Organizations, 117, 497.
 Temple of Peace, see Palace of Peace.
 Tender of Good Offices, 26, 29.
 Tennessee, Delegates from, 480.
 Tennessee, Governor of, 461.
 Tennyson, 45; see "Parliament of Man."
 Terao, Dr., 386.
 Territorial Disputes, 111, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227.
 Territory, Neutral, 208, 209.
 Territory, Occupied, 207.
 Tewksburg, Mrs. L. S., 15.
 Texas, 4, 5.
 Texas, Delegates from, 480.
 Text-books, 47-48.

- Thanks, Resolutions of, 356, 373, 420.
 Thayer, George H., Jr., 476.
 Theological Seminary, Chicago, 10.
 Theological Seminars, 500.
 Theophilus, Mrs. William, 476.
 Thermopylae, 282.
 Thibet, 446.
 Thiers, 84.
 Third Hague Conference, 14, 16, 21, 30, 87-91, 98, 211, 234-241, 346, 356, 357.
 Third Hague Conference, Preparatory Committee, 235, 236, 346.
 Thirty Years' War, 241.
 Thomas, Rev. Hiram W., 343, 344.
 Thomas, President M. Carey, 456, 459.
 Thompson, Hon. Carl D., 15, 170-178, 457, 481.
 Thompson, President W. O., 492.
 Threat, 104.
 Thwing, President Charles F., 456.
 Ting-fang, Dr. Wu, 19, 363, 403-406, 425, 426, 439, 448, 449, 482.
 To-day, The Call of, 8.
 Togo, Admiral, 410.
 Tokio, 18, 382, 383-389.
 Toledo, Mayor of, 498.
 Tolman, A. H., 473.
 Tolstoy, Count Leo, 21, 129, 318.
 "Tommy Atkins," 310, 311, 314.
 Torpedoes, 210.
 Torrence, Ridgely, 8.
 Tracy, Mrs. F. H., 460.
 Tracy, Mrs. Frederick K., 473.
 Trade, 65, 405; see Business, Commerce, Economic.
 Trade, Boards of, 491, 492.
 "Trade as a Bond of Peace," 405, 427-430.
 Trade Union League, Women's, 17, 264.
 Trade Unions, 160-165, 174, 175, 348, 375.
 Transformation of Merchant Ships, 212.
 Transvaal, see Boer War.
 Trask, Mrs. Kathrina, 53, 55.
 Treasurer of the Congress, 5.
 Treasury Department, U. S., 435.
 Treat, Curt M., 11.
 Treaties, Arbitration, 21, 31, 95, 97, 100, 108, 109, 110, 111, 215, 226, 227, 236, 237, 276, 330, 345, 399-400, 403.
 Treaty of 1818, 229.
 Treaty of Ghent, 24.
 Treaty, Jay, 24.
 Treaty with Mexico, 24.
 Treaty with Spain, 1795, 24.
 Treaty of Washington, 24, 25, 228.
 Tree, Hon. Lambert, 456.
 Trefethren, Rev. E. B., 459.
 Trial by Combat, 103.
 Tribunal, War as a, 255, 266, 285, 329.
 Triple Alliance, 237.
 Trower, Rev. William George, 473.
 Truce, Flags of, 207.
 True, Mrs. Charles Jackson, 473.
 True, Miss M. Elizabeth, 473.
 Trueblood, Dr. Benjamin F., 11, 14, 58, 91, 92-99, 105, 108, 200, 296, 350, 351, 355, 357, 361, 454, 457, 458, 477.
 Tryon, Rev. James L., 18, 234, 373, 374-378, 477.
 Turgot, 21.
 Turkey, 26, 76, 108, 109, 221, 237, 375.
 Turkey, Delegate from, 482.
 Tuskegee Institute, 5, 43, 490.
 "Two-Power Standard," 499.
 U
 Ulm, 137, 140.
Uncle Tom's Cabin, 39.
 Unemployed, National Committee for, 498.
 Unfortified Cities, Bombardment, 96, 113, 207, 276.
 Uniform, Soldier's, 312, 313.
 Union Stock Yards, 410.
 United Brethren, 464, 467.
 United Mine Workers, 475, 476, 477, 495-496.
 United Societies of Christian Endeavor, 493.
 United States, 25, 27, 31, 32, 36, 37, 44, 71, 75-77, 82-83, 109, 110, 148, 207, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 233, 240, 246, 276, 375, 387, 389, 399, 403, 405, 408, 409, 415, 416-420, 435, 436, 441-443, 499; see America.
 United States: Attorney General, 5, 485; Congress, 345; Constitution, 23, 36, 37, 38, 291, 292; Department of Commerce and Labor, 5; Department of Interior, 4, 11, 19, 416-420, 427-430, 452-453, 463; House of Representatives, see Congressmen; Navy Department, 5, 485; President, see President of U. S.; Senate, 4, 5, 27, 71, 95, 109, 111, 317, 486; State Department, 4, 5, 16, 227, 234, 484, 485; Supreme Court 4, 484; Treasury Department, 435.
 Unity, Christian, 12, 499-500.
 Unity of World, 116; see Interdependence, Solidarity.
 Universal Peace Congresses, 20, 93.
 Universal Peace Union, 18, 343, 344, 472, 478.
 Universal Postal Union, 21.
 Universalist Church, 464, 465.
 Universities: Baylor, 4, 18, 480; California, 367, 370; Chicago, 10, 271, 455, 459, 470, 473; Cornell, 14, 69, 479; Denison, 272, 480; Georgia, 456; Illinois, 456, 464; Illinois Wesleyan, 282; Imperial, of Japan, 386; Indiana, 474; Leland Stanford, Jr., 5, 272, 366, 440, 463; Marquette, 282; Michigan, 4, 277, 459, 490; Missouri, 455; Northwestern, 10, 12, 430-431, 449, 473, 499, 500; Norwegian State, 413; Ohio Wesleyan, 456; Pennsylvania, 456; Pittsburg, 465, 473; State, Kentucky, 455; Valparaiso, 10, 474; Virginia, 4, 455; Washington and Lee, 4; Western Reserve, 456; Wisconsin, 115, 292, 293, 481; Wooster, 480; see also Colleges.
 "Universities and Colleges," 18, 333-342.
 Unnecessary, War, 30, 33.

Upham, Fred W., 455.
 Upham, Thomas C., 21.
 Uruguay, 109.
 Utopians, 23, 39, 84, 92, 116, 194,
 238, 254-255, 272, 416.
 Utrecht Peace Conference, 27.

V

Valparaiso University, 10, 474.
 Van Nest, Mayor M. M., 462.
 Van Sands, Robert, 354, 458.
 Van Sickle, Prof. James, 456.
 Vattel, 21.
 Vaughn, Dr. Elmer E., 473.
 Veasey, Charles N., 473.
 Veasey, Mrs. M. C., 476.
 Venezuela, 4, 27, 29, 31, 94, 226, 227,
 241, 244, 247.
 Vermont, Delegates from, 481.
 Vermont, Governor of, 461.
 Vessey, Governor R. S., 461.
 Vice Presidents of the Congress, 4-5.
 Vienna, Congress of, 27.
 Villard, Mrs. Henry (Fanny Garrison),
 5, 498.
 Vincent, Dean George E., 17, 271, 272,
 277, 282, 287, 292, 297, 473.
 Virginia, 127.
 Virginia, Delegates from, 481.
 Virginia, Governor of, 461.
 Virginia, University of, 4, 455.
 "Vital Interests" of Nations, 25, 26,
 31, 34, 214, 227, 228, 229, 231, 232,
 306.
 Vittum, Harriet E., 473.
 Vittum, Karl D., 473.
 Vlasaty, Robert, 473.
 Von Darden, E., 473.

W

Wager of Battle, 103.
 Wagram, 137, 140.
 Walling, William English, 457.
 Walling, Willoughby G., 460.
 Walsh, Rev. Walter, 498-499.
 Wang, C. F., 482.
 War, 290, 291, 316, 332, 409, 411.
 War: in Air, 213; Anarchy, 33, 68;
 a Conflagration, 31, 417; Cost of,
 105, 106, 107 and see Cost, Economic,
 National Debts; Decline of,
 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45; Department,
 355, and see Secretary of War; Ex-
 cuses for, 63-66; *War and Manhood*,
 15, 130-148; Mitigation of, 30, 31,
 96, 111, 207-209; Necessary no
 longer, 30, 33, 63, 64, 65, 67, 68,
 108; Obsolete, 30, 33, 74, 345; and
Peace (Grotius), 23; Poem, 8; Pre-
 vention of, 212-215; Restriction of,
 96; Results of, 105, 106, 107; Secre-
 tary of, 4, 9, 22-34, 99, 213, 226,
 305, 485; with Spain, 71; as a
 Tribunal, 255, 256, 285, 329; Rules
 of, 30, 31, 96, 111, 205, 207-212,
 238, 276; Waste, see Economic,
 Losses, Ravages.
 Warner, Ezra, Jr., 11, 454.
 Warner, Governor Fred M., 461.
 Warner, George B., M. D., 473.
 Wars: see Boer, Civil, Crimean,
 Franco-Prussian, King Philip's,
 Revolution, Russo-Japanese, Span-
 ish-American, Thirty Years'.

Washington, D. C., 4, 5, 233.
 Washington, Dr. Booker T., 5, 490.
 Washington, George, 36, 37, 75, 223,
 332, 416, 452.
 Washington and Lee University, 4.
 Washington, Treaty of, 24, 25, 228.
 Waste of War, 102, 103, 108, 316;
 see Cost, Economic, Losses.
 Waterloo, 137.
 Waterman, Judge Arba N., 456, 473.
 Waters, Rev. W. O., 459.
 Watkins, Mrs. George, 473.
 Weakley, Judge, 456.
 Weapons, Deadliness of, 194, 240.
 Weatherby, S. W., 473.
 Weber, J. N., 479.
 Webster, Townner K., 455.
 Weeks, Miss H. G., 473.
 Weinberg, Mrs. Moses A., 473.
 Welch, President Herbert, 456.
 Welcome to the Congress, 14, 57, 75,
 423.
 Wellesley College, 455, 459.
 Wellington, Duke of, 315.
 Wells, Prof. Amos R., 456.
 Wells, O. E., 481.
 Wendte, Rev. Charles W., 492.
 West, Dr. A. M., 473.
 West, Miss Bina M., 478.
 West Virginia, Governor of, 461.
 Western Reserve University, 456, 459.
 Westlake, Prof., 221.
 Weston, Stephen F., 480.
 Whaley, C. F., 455.
 Wheaton College, 455.
 Wheeler, President Benjamin Ide, 367.
 Wheeler, Harry A., 5, 10, 11, 422, 448,
 449, 452, 457, 473.
 Whitcomb, Mrs. H. S., 473.
 White, Hon. Andrew D., 23, 211, 234,
 487.
 White, Ella M., 474.
 White, Mrs. Laura R., 477.
 White Plague, 67.
White-bordered Flag, 318-319.
 Whitehead, H. C., 5, 474.
 Whitlock, Mayor Brand, 498.
 Whitmore, Rev. S. L., 474.
 Whitmore, Mrs. S. L., 474.
 Whittier, John Greenleaf, 21, 317.
 Wickersham, Hon. George W., 5, 485.
 Wiens, A. F., 474.
 Wigmore, Dean John H., 456.
 Wild, Mrs. Payson S., 474.
 Wilder, John E., 460.
 Wilder, T. Edward, 11, 460.
 Wilhelmina, Queen, 25, 112, 318.
 Wilkins, Miss Mary E., 465.
 Willett, Rev. Herbert L., 459.
 William II., Emperor, 402.
 Williams, Rev. E. Reginald, 465.
 Williams, Rev. L. O., 479.
 Williams, T. D., 465.
 Williams, Mayor W. H., 462.
 Willson, Governor Augustus E., 461.
 Wilmarth, Mrs. Mary H., 460.
 Wilson, Alexander H., 458.
 Wilson, Edward C., 477.
 Wilson, Rev. Robert E., 474.
 Wilson, Walter H., 455.
 Wilson, Rev. William White, 474.
 Winkelman, F. E., 474.
 Wisconsin, Delegates from, 481.
 Wisconsin, Governor of, 461.
 Wisconsin, Federation of Labor, 497.

- Wisconsin, University of, 115, 292, 293, 481.
 Wise, Rabbi Stephen S., 391.
 Witherell, A. W., 474.
 Witherell, Mrs. A. W., 474.
 Wolfe, Richard W., 354, 458, 474.
 Woman, 5, 16, 248-270.
 "Woman in Industrialism," 263.
 Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 369, 468.
 Woman's Club, Chicago, 16, 248, 464, 467, 468, 473.
 Woman's Relief Corps, 470.
 "Woman's Special Training for Peacemaking," 17, 252-254.
 Woman's Suffrage, 250, 440, 477, 479.
 "Woman's Work for Peace," 16, 248-270.
 "Women, Industrial Condition of, 159, 160, 249.
 Women, College for, Western Reserve University, 459.
 Women's Clubs, 16, 17, 248, 260-262, 463, 465, 467, 468, 469, 473, 475, 478.
 Women's Colleges, 459.
 Women's Organizations, Committee on, 459.
 Women's Trade Union League, 17, 264.
 Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers, 497.
 Woodford, General Stewart L., 71.
 Woodward, Dr. K. S., 490.
 Woolley, President Mary E., 456, 459.
 Wooster University, 480.
 Wooster University Peace Association, 480.
 Worcester, Dr. Noah, 21.
 Workers, Peace, 21.
 Workingmen, 158-165, 174-176, 263, 346, 348, 375, 406, 480, 495-497; see Labor.
 "World-Petition to Third Hague Conference," 14, 87-91, 356-357.
 World, Unity of, 116; see Interdependence, Solidarity.
 World's Fair, 4, 5, 195-199.
 World's Unity League, 463, 465.
 Wright, Edwin R., 474.
 Wu Ting-fang, Dr., 19, 363, 403-406, 425, 426, 439, 448, 449, 482.
 Wyoming, Governor of, 461.

X

Xerxes, 282.

Y

Yale Law School, 456.
 Yale University, 333, 491.
 Yalu, 143.
 Yarnall, Stanley R., 454.
 "Yellow Peril," 370, 383-389, 410.
 Young, Mrs. Charles B., 465.
 Young, Charles W., 454, 457.
 Young Men's Christian Association, 369, 465.
 Young People's Chorus, 13, 45.
 Young People's International Federation League, 11, 53, 389-396, 479.
 Yudelson, A. B., M. D., 474.

Z

Zollinger, John, 474.
 Zorn, Prof., 208.
 Zucca, Hon. A., 396-397, 454, 479.



