Convictions of the Universal Peace Union

AS ADOPTED AT THE

TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING,

MYSTIC, CONN., AUGUST 16, 1894.

Whereas, Peace is an essential element in the development of man, his progress and happiness, and Whereas, it must be deserved in order to be secured; Therefore we are Convinced—

1st. We must "follow after those things which make for peace," and remove the causes and abolish the customs of war.

2d. That until human life is held so sacred and inalienable that no human authority can destroy it by legal enactments upon the scaffold or battle-field, we may expect peace to be broken, and war and bloodshed to continue. And so long as there is a legalized sale of pistols and other deadly weapons, and so long as the drunkard, the insane, the criminal, and the misguided can buy them, we may expect bloodshed, suicides, assaults and assassinations, and as we would prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquor, likewise should we prohibit the sale of deadly weapons.

3d. That mediation, arbitration and conciliation are competent to settle every difficulty, and the claims of civilization and religion are not answered until these peace agencies be practically recognized in private and public life, among and between all nations; and where voluntary arbitration is rejected, conciliation should be provided by law. The action at Chicago in the Fifth International Peace Congress in appointing a committee to select a committee of jurists, publicists and eminent men in different countries to formulate an International Court of Arbitration, was wise and opportune, and we trust the committee so selected will report at an early date.

4th. That the United States Government deserves high honor for inviting other governments to form international treaties of arbitration; for appointing a commission to investigate recent strikes, and for acting as arbitrator on several occasions.

5th. That a War Department is inconsistent with government and should be supplanted by a Peace Department that would comprehend such adjustment of difficulties and such educational methods as would prevent the recourse to deadly force, by furnishing a permanent, wise and impartial tribunal, open at all times to meet any emergency.

6th. That any increase of the army and navy or State militia is unnecessary, unwise and detrimental to peace, imitating the worst features of monarchical countries and leading our country into military despotism.

7th. That military drilling of boys and young men in schools and churches is fraught with the gravest dangers. Both school-house and church are thereby perverted from their high purposes and the pupils are diverted from the intellectual, moral and religious influences that school and church profess to teach. A patriotism that is dependent upon [illegible] drilling of boys as soldiers, is not worthy of the name of patriotism; [illegible] Sunday School that has to depend upon military drill of [illegible] unworthy the name of a Christian Sunday School.

8th. That the stability of our institutions and the dignity and protection of law are threatened by the frequent lynchings, which not only disgrace any country, but are directly in the line of war, and need to be met and overcome by the supremacy of law, justice and morality.

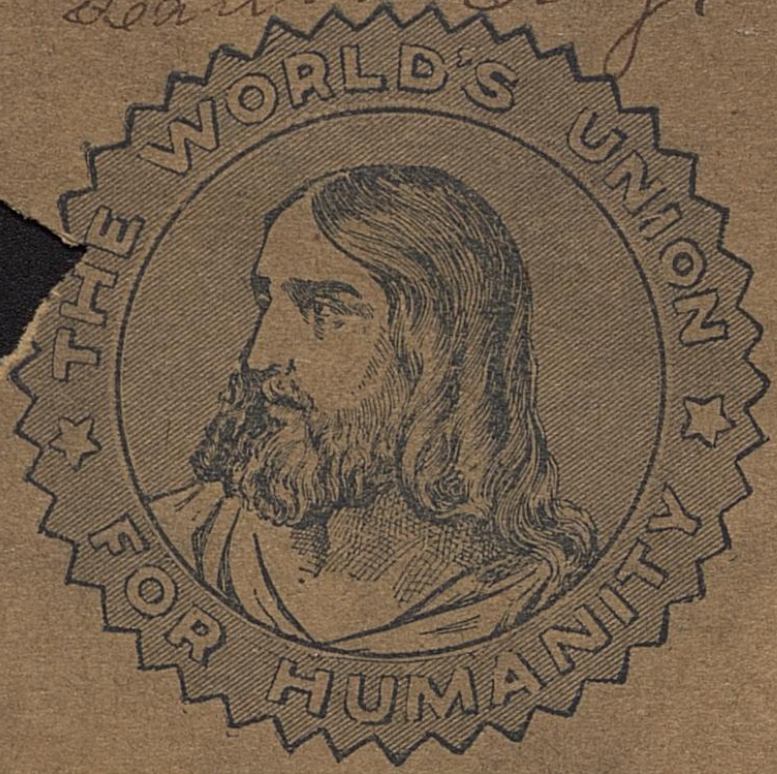
9th. That the workingman should be the best peace man. In war he suffers the horrors thereof, and, after all is over, he pays the war debt. It is always loss to him. He should never be a soldier. In the relations between capital and labor we favor "profit sharing," and with the eleven rules we have offered we find all fairly well recognized except that "persons not members of an organization should have the right to seek employment and to continue employed, without molestation or interference by those connected with an organization." The employment of the people on public works, for the good of all, will prove an effective means of preserving peace.

10th. That the university movement for teaching peace principles is wise, and we strongly recommend all schools and colleges to introduce the study of arbitration and to practice it in mock trials, and have text-books divested of the illustrations and glory of war, and present the victories and blessings of peace in the civil side of history, that we may raise up men and women competent to be arbitrators. The press of the country, instead of pandering to the sensational by presenting the criminal phase of life, would aid the peace cause by publishing the higher, moral and peaceful news of the day.

11th. That the International Peace Congress at Antwerp should promptly appeal to China and Japan to stop the war and submit the difficulty to arbitration. It will do wisely to further the proposition for an International Treaty providing for a Truce of Peace and a Limitation of Armaments during a definite number of years, as experience will prove the value of a permanent peace policy to present the causes of war and propose the remedy therefor. Also to favor an International Court of Arbitration; peace instruction in schools; inviolability of human life; protest against dueling, and against military drill in schools and churches, and to encourage visits of students and crowned heads and those in power to other countries with friendly and pacific purposes; and to suggest the meeting together at one time of the annual International Peace Congresses and the Interparliamentary Peace Conferences, and we have instructed our delegates to so represent us.

12th That China and Japan in their war over Corea are repeating the history of ruin, man-killing and wickedness, the loss and cost to be settled hereafter to the injury of each, whether victor or vanquished; and we implore them to withdraw their armies and battleships and submit the difficulty to wise and impartial arbitration, and to allow Corea to proclaim her autonomy.

13th. That the organization of new Peace Societies and the renewed vigor of the old; the establishment of the International Peace Bureau at Berne and its American Branch at Washington; the annual Peace Congresses and the Interparliamentary Peace Conferences; the introduction of the numerous Arbitration Bills into legislative bodies; the church movement for the arbitration principle; the visiting of the crowned heads of Europe; the demands of the people for arbitration in all the concerns of life; the propositions for disarmament and for a truce of peace; the continued appropriation for the education and civilization of the Indians and the better recognition of their rights; the universal interest for temperance and the equal rights of women; the efforts in behalf of trade and the closer relation between all mankind by travel, correspondence and comme[illegible] tion of countries; beneficial reciprocity; the breaking d[illegible] the wider scope of philanthropy, humani[illegible]ty, [illegible]er approach to peace.



Smith's Quarterly, Chicago, Ill., April, 1898. Vol. 1, No. 3.
10c; 40c a year. Entered second class at postoffice.

—CONTENTS—

WORLD'S UNION AND ADVANTAGES—
A Practical, Reliable Political Education 5
SELFISH CLASSES AGAINST THE MASSES—
From "Christ as a Politician" 9
LITERATURE—IMPORTANT ISSUES—
Suggestions by noted publishers—Special Prices 14
MOTHERS IN POLITICS—
From "Christ as a Politician" 24
PATRIOTIC SONGS, WITH MUSIC—
Pages 33 to 39, 62 and 63; without music, 56.
LAW FOR MEN LIKE THESE—
From "The Political Crusader" 40
SAVE THE DESERVING POOR—PLAN—
From "The Political Crusader" 46
BONDS FOR THE PEOPLE—
Politicians Rob the People to Enrich the Bankers 51
CRUCIFIED CHRIST?—
From "C

CHRIST AS A POLITICIAN.

Practical politics, every-day religion, humanity the key note. A stirring appeal for liberty; a just and vigorous arraignment of the selfish rich for oppressing the people; exposes plutocratic hypocrisy, and its unjust assumption of power.

Price of a dance before plutocracy.

THE POLITICAL CRUSADER.

Treats of the forces which should work together in the crusade against greed; who they have to fight and how best to work; gives experience and observation in the camp of the enemy, with some descriptions of terrific wickedness.

Either, by mail, 10c; to Union members, 5c. Information about Union, pages 5 to 8; suggestions from publishers regarding best political literature, beginning on page 14; this number.

Send this line and 5c for membership certificate.

SPECIAL OFFERS—TAKE CHOICE.

1. Membership certificate (W. U.—see pages 5 to 8) and copy of this or any other number of Smith's Quarterly—see page 2 . . . . 10c

2. Membership certificate and sample copy of any one paper in list, not costing more than 5c—see beginning on page 14 . . . . . 10c

3. Membership certificate and sample copies of three different papers, our selection from stock on hand; you may choose subjects for one of them, as, initiative and referendum, finance, social democracy, labor unionism, single tax, etc. We will have to reserve considerable liberty in filling this order, but will do the best we can to meet your wants for 10c

4. Membership certificate and Merrie England, Debs edition. 10c
Add 5c for original—Commonwealth—edition.

5. Add 10c for Union certificate, time and postage, to price of any one item in the list, and we will order it for you, and send certificate by return mail.

The membership certificate will entitle you to all the discounts. Organize a Union. If you do not desire to do this, join and get some friends to do so, make your selections, change with each other, and get the benefit of all. The information is the very best, being official and reliable upon the leading issues of the day.

Write your name and address plainly.

Address all communications,

ALLEN HENRY SMITH,
915 N. Albany Ave., Chicago, Ill.

WORLD'S UNION NUMBER.

This number of the Quarterly is devoted principally to organization and kindred matter bearing directly upon the political work needed, and the manner of performing it.

The public schools, the telegraph and the press have prepared the people of this country to intelligently consider and direct law-making politics in the interests of the masses. What is lacking is organization and co-operation.

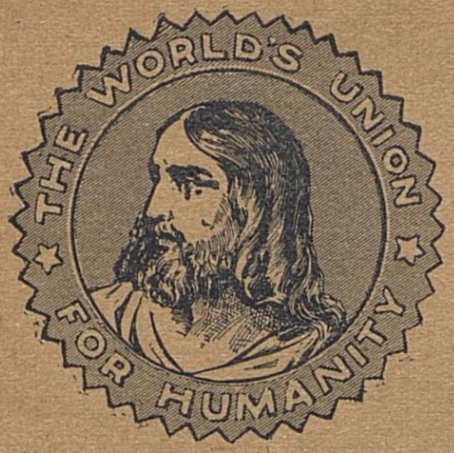
Political usurpers used to have only each other to fight, the rulers using their followers as so many cattle. They now find their hands full, even when united. The day of their downfall need not be far distant. The tactics of the tyrants is to divide the people and crucify their leaders. In these methods they are rapidly losing ground. The masses are coming more and more to recognize the common brotherhood of man, and are realizing their inability to stand alone, and their power when united. This lesson a little better learned and they will be invincible, at the ballot-box or anywhere else. In that day the cry of the helpless and the hungry will not be met with leaden hail.

That The World's Union may be helpful in this work is the earnest desire of its founder.

ALLEN HENRY SMITH,
915 N. Albany Ave., Chicago, Ill.

ALLIED PRINTING TRADES UNION LABEL COUNCIL CHICAGO, ILL.

Copyright 1898, by Allen Henry Smith,
Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.
Publishers send for free copy of any number of Quarterly and use extracts at pleasure.



DECLARATION OF PURPOSE.—I believe that the laws which govern the people should be made and controlled by them upon principles of humanity; that the great majority of people desire humane laws; that a general understanding of legislation and conditions affecting the people should be had by all of them that they may intelligently unite for the public good; and so believing, I will use my influence therefor.

CONSTITUTION.

SECTION 1. The object of this Union is individual and united effort for the promulgation of knowledge, making of laws, and such other action as may be considered necessary under and in the spirit of the Declaration of Purpose.

SEC. 2. Each Union shall make its own rules and regulations, under the Declaration of Purpose and Section 1 of the Constitution; provided that no action of any Union shall bind any member, except with said member's individual or delegated consent.

SEC. 3. Unions may unite with each other for business, under the Declaration of Purpose and Section 1 of the Constitution, provided, no action of others shall bind any Union except with said Union's individual or delegated consent.

Postoffice_____

Date_____

SIGNED:

To join the Union, sign the Declaration of Purpose and Constitution, and forward with ten cents; write name and postoffice address plainly; by return mail will be sent certificate of membership; also a copy of this number of the Quarterly, which contains

Suggestions for members of the Union, by leading reform publishers, concerning the best books and papers to read for reliable information upon the leading issues of the day; this alone is worth much more than the cost of membership;

Special prices on papers and books to members of the Union, which will save many times the cost of joining;

The following patriotic songs with music:

"America,"

"Native Land,"

"Right over Wrong,"

"The American Flag,"

"The Star Spangled Banner,"

"God Bless Our Native Land,"

"Battle Hymn of the Republic,"

"Columbia, Gem of the Ocean—Three Cheers for the Red, White and Blue."

Without music: "The Song of a Thousand Years," "Warren's Address," and "Auld Lang Syne."

Also suggestions for organization and work; the methods of some of the enemies of man, and what must be done with them; plan for co-

operative subscription list and study, etc. Anyone desiring to be reliably informed upon the issues which are stirring the souls of the best men and women of all the earth, may thus be brought into constant touch with them, and may feel the thrill of the noble impulses and purposes which lead to earnest words and valorous deeds against oppression and slavery.

PLAN FOR WORK.

Societies, churches, clubs, labor unions, benevolent organizations, etc., may join the Union in a body. A careful reading of its Declaration of Purpose and Constitution will show that while it gives full liberty in the war against oppression, it does not impose any arbitrary ideas or action. The purpose is to secure the great benefits of united effort in seeking the truth and securing simple, plain justice for ourselves and our fellowmen, and bequeathing it to those who must inherit the government we leave them. Get your preachers, teachers, lawyers, and everybody who can, to give short talks upon the duty of the people to control the laws in the interests of humanity, discuss measures best calculated to uplift the masses and give all a chance to be self-sustaining and respectable citizens of a free country. Some able preachers are devoting a few minutes before each sermon to these points, and others preach sermons upon them. Labor unions and other organizations are discussing

them. Meet together, unite your forces and double your power against the common enemy. Subscribe for papers and books devoted to different issues and exchange with each other, giving each the benefit of several at the cost of one; keep good literature moving; keep papers and books on file, and let the public know where they are; send short notices of meetings and all interesting points to the local papers; pledge all candidates to all issues upon which you can agree; do not hide your light under a bushel; use and support your local papers liberally; they may thus be made much more powerful for good in the present conflict. The meeting and its best points are known to a few; through the papers they may be known by many.

Small Unions give splendid opportunity for study. Five or more persons may form a Union. Give your Union a name, if you desire; the number will be supplied in the certificate. Write plainly, to avoid errors. Sincerely,

ALLEN HENRY SMITH,
Founder World's Union For Humanity.
915 N. Albany Ave., Chicago, Ill.

SELFISH CLASSES AGAINST THE MASSES.

* * *

LEADING FACTS:

1st.—The selfish rich and aristocratic classes were against Christ; they crucified him. The masses and the humanitarians among the so-called "upper classes" were in favor of Christ and his teachings, but through lack of intelligent organization and co-operation were not successful.

2d.—While John the Baptist was in prison for his friendship for the common people, Christ said of him that "Amongst those who were born of women there is not a greater prophet than John the Baptist."

3d.—"No man can serve two masters, for either he will hate the one and love the other, or he will hold to the one and neglect the other."

4th.—A Prophecy: Upon these lines the po-

litical battles of the United States will be fought, and by the aid of the present facilities for communication and united action the masses will be enabled to bring the big tyrants to justice.

* * *

SELFISH CLASSES AGAINST THE MASSES.

Those who profit unduly by the power of wealth are grandiloquent in their talk about arraying class against class in the political warfare. Let us see who is doing that. Take the cases of the great strikes in this country; the effort of the masses and the humane element of the upper classes for the honorable settlement of differences—who has stood in the way? What reason have they offered for refusing the overtures of citizens' committees and others in favor of justice, further than that they are protected by technical law? What influence or power do they bring to bear for their success other than that they have the power of endurance and the guns which uphold laws? Are these people alive to a sense of justice and fair play? or are they dead not alone to justice but to mercy? Would they stop their work voluntarily, even though they knew they were starving helpless mothers and babes? They will tell you that society must take care of its helpless members, to which society must reply by protecting itself from the ravages of the money-maniacs. If this isn't

class against class, will some hair-splitting theorist say what it is?

America has not been spared the spectacle of mighty corporations arrayed against their laborers with so little of right upon the side of the corporations that almost the entire community was against them. We have seen these corporations appeal to the power of arms in support of technical law, rather than to any settlement in the name of justice; we have seen the right often defeated by these unholy and disreputable methods. Can these murderous, heartless labor crushers be trusted to stay within the bounds of justice and equity? Rather, must they not be kept there by force—by law enacted for their especial regulation. Nothing is legally criminal until the law declares it to be so; anything is legally criminal when the law declares it to be so. It has not been long since slavery in the United States changed from legality to criminality; and the slave-owner was far more humane and respectable than the notorious and soulless labor crushers who are murdering and starving men, women and children in the name of the law. These people must be, by law, declared criminals and dealt with as such. How is this to be done without arraying class against class—the better class against the inhuman class and its hirelings? Is this not class against class? And since laws are made through poli-

tics, must not class be arrayed against class in politics? Much of the talk about arraying class against class is hypocrisy pure and simple—is a trick to keep the people from uniting against their common enemy. The masses and the selfish classes ARE arrayed against each other. On one side the American masses are striving to maintain their manhood, and bequeath a better life to their offspring; on the other side the selfish plutocracy, the traitors to popular government of equal opportunities, are striving to make mere mud-sills of the masses, upon which to build their glittering and pompous aristocracy.

Outside of war (which should not be a necessity), the people have just one of but two paths to follow—they may go down, down, as cowardly poltroons, and leave their children an inheritance of poverty and shame, or they may choose the nobler way, which the Constitution of the United States has prepared for them, viz.: through the ballot box outlaw the heartless methods of money-interests, make criminals of those who follow them, turn the legal guns face about and train them upon those who would destroy manhood; make law what it should be—a power for justice. Popular franchise is a means of obtaining law without resorting to war. Our government was not founded with the hope that there would be no traitors—that

the selfishness which has ruined other countries would not attempt our ruin; but it rests upon a foundation of general intelligence, which must have the strength to withstand the onslaught of the classes which are, through their selfishness and egotism, the natural enemies of freedom. People whose interests are mutual are many to one of these, and are all-powerful if they but unite at the ballot-box, and make well-defined demand for the laws desired. They may thus call their enemies to speedy account.

Let humanity and equity be the guiding star; require of law-makers such law as will surely put a stop to the terrible business methods now crushing hope and making mockery of justice in many shops, mines and factories.

REFORM PUBLICATIONS.

* * *

VALUABLE SUGGESTIONS AND SPECIAL OFFERS FOR PATRIOTIC PEOPLE.

The following books and papers represent the thoughts and issues that are leading the world to liberty. The list, of course, is not complete. Additions will be made to it, including publications from other countries. The plutocrat and his minions say that all reformers are "cranks;" but against that we have the fact that the martyrs for liberty have all been reformers. Religion and politics, together and separately, have a glorious roll of honor.

Liberty is not secured by heeding and following its enemies, nor by holding out your hands while they place the shackles. Lincoln said there were two classes of people he was willing should be slaves—one, the man who desired to be, and the other the man who desired to make a slave of another.

You need not hope to agree with all the following; take your choice, and may you choose wisely, remembering that one head may not

contain it all. These may be loved for the enemies they have made. Take fair warning that no man can read them intelligently and wear the plutocratic collar with any degree of contentment.

Plutocracy crucified the Nazarene because he stirred up the people and opened the eyes of the blind,—that is exactly the reason it does not like reformers of our day.

THE NEW TESTAMENT.

To be read for the good with which it abounds, and not for infidel or sectarian criticism. The Lord's Prayer, confined to no creeds, but embracing all human needs in "Thy will be done on earth," etc., is worthy of the profoundest thought. This is the standard given by the greatest of all advocates of a government by and for the people; the goal set by the practical man, the plain mechanic, the simple yet profound, the very God-man who had no patience with the mock religion which built fine synagogues and left the poor and helpless to the tyranny of the selfish rich and powerful.

AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST.

Official organ of the Federation of Labor. Organized labor is the advance guard in the practical work of fighting one of the temporal agents of the devil—the labor crusher. It has a way of materializing religion. In some things it can take lessons of the church,—in some things the

church can take lessons of it. They should work together, and that right speedily.

Sample copy of Federationist 3c, to members W. U. 40c a year. Washington, D. C.

RAM'S HORN.

Comes very near being a practical worker for heaven on earth; and that is saying a great deal for a religious paper. It and the Christain Endeavor are doing much good in bringing the people to realize that the right is worthy of united effort. The Ram's Horn is one of the connecting links between the material and the spiritual lives, which many people try to separate, but which belong together so long as the soul and body stay together. If the creeds be allowed to complete their work of sending each other to hell there will not be any church members in heaven; and if we may all have the same power, when we have done with each other, the dear Lord will have to put "to let" in all the windows of the New Jerusalem.

Weekly, illustrated, $1.50 a year, to members of W. U., $1; sample 2c. Chicago.

THE NEW TIME.

Mr. Chas. H. Kerr, manager, makes a very liberal offer to furnish sample copies of The New Time for 3c, (in Chicago 5c on account of special delivery), and gives the clubbing rate of 60c a year. It is a large, illustrated monthly maga-

zine, generally accorded the leadership in all-'round reform work.

Upon the subject of reform reading, the manager says: "If as I presume you wish suggestions for low priced books, I would suggest, on socialism, 1st, Merrie England, as the best available explanation of what socialism is; 2d, President John Smith, as an explanation of how it can be introduced by political methods; 3d, the Co-opolitan, which explains how it can be introduced through a plan of colonization. On direct legislation I would recommend Sullivan's Direct Legislation in Switzerland, published by J. A. Wayland, Girard, Kansas, and Mr. Adams' two pamphlets, The New Democracy and The Majority Rule League."

The literary department is ably conducted by Mr. Adams, and its columns contain the richest thought of many of the best reform writers of the world. They are making a heroic effort to furnish a magazine of the highest order at a price which is wonderfully cheap. Their success will be the people's gain. Chicago.

CHRISTIAN CITIZEN.

Devoted entirely to reform work; monthly, 50c a year; to members W. U., 25c. Says: "Among the best books for the purpose you name, are, In His Steps, by Rev. C. M. Sheldon; Amos R. Wells', Prof. Heron's and Josiah

Strong's books." Sample Citizen 2c. Chicago

JOURNAL KNIGHTS OF LABOR.

Official, monthly, $1 per annum. The General Secretary writes "I regret that we cannot arrange to make any club rate. Perhaps the best list of reform books, or as good as can be found, is the one run in the Journal." Washington, D. C.

SOCIAL DEMOCRAT.

The Debs paper and organ of the Social Democracy of America. Its editor suggests Merrie England, Groundland's Co-operative Commonwealth and Bellamy's Equality as good reading in the order named. Also the Fabian Essays, Schaeffles' Quintessence of Socialism, "containing the real science, should be read by all who desire to get a clear idea of the question." They publish Merrie England for 6c, in lots of one hundred $3.50. Sample copies of Democrat 1c; $1 a year; to W. U., 75c. The Social Democracy is working along the lines of colonization. It is striving to put the advance views of common helpfulness to immediate practical demonstration. Chicago.

FARM, FIELD AND FIRESIDE.

The editor and the publisher are veterans in reform work. They do not wait for a measure to become popular, but when convinced that it is right they fearlessly defend it. Such workers are the salt of the earth. When the rollcall in heaven is sounded, they will be with the army

of patriots who began long ago in the warfare against the "financiers" who rob the people. The paper is a large weekly; price $1 a year; to members of the Union, 65c. Samples free. Chicago.

THE SILVER KNIGHT-WATCHMAN.

A large 8-page weekly; known as Senator Teller's paper; a splendid champion of the rights of the people, and recognized authority on the silver question. Price $1 per year; sample copies free and 60c a year to World's Unions. Washington, D. C.

NATIONAL SINGLE TAXER.

Official organ, $1.50 per annum; to members W. U. $1; sample copies 2c; publishes valuable list of inexpensive pamphlets; recommends for educational work, 1st, Land Question; 2d, Social Problems; 3d, Protection and Free Trade; 4th, Progress and Poverty. Minneapolis, Minn.

Answering our inquiry, F. W. Maguire, Librarian Chicago Single Tax Club, recommends The National Single Taxer; The Land Question, Social Problems, Progress and Poverty, as good first reading.

CHICAGO EXPRESS.

Upon the subject of the initiative and referendum, Mr. Reynolds, the editor and publisher, writes: "There is not, to my knowledge, any other weekly paper giving as much attention to this as we are." The Express is a fighting pop-

ulist, and a fearless exponent of what it believes to be right, without much regard for fine-spun theories concerning expediency. 25c a year to members of the Union. Send for sample copy, containing book list. Address the publisher.

PATRIOTS' BULLETIN.

On the money question, W. H. Harvey—Coin Harvey—says: "The thing to read first is the March number of Coin's Financial Series, 1898; 2d, A Tale of Two Nations; 3d, Coin's Financial School; 4th, Horr-Harvey Debate." Prices are: 1st, 10c; 2d, 25c; 3d, 25c; 4th, 50c; Bulletin, 8 pages, sample copies 1c; to members of Union, 50 per cent. discount. The Patriots have an educational school system, for the study of general politics. 443 Washington Boulevard, Chicago.

WESTERN RURAL.

A wheel-horse in reform journalism. It has furnished many workers for liberty with inspiration and ammunition. When parents are subscribing for papers for their children to read, they should be careful to select such as will stimulate patriotism and foster a spirit of helpfulness, man for man. It is a serious mistake to put the writings of time-serving, unpatriotic hirelings into the hands of the young. Sample copies free; to the Union 65c a year. Chicago.

DIRECT LEGISLATION RECORD.

Organ of National Direct Legislation League,

monthly, 25c; to members of Union, 15c. It gives the following definitions: "Direct Legislation—Law making by the voters; The Initiative—The proposal of a law by a percentage of the voters, which must then go to the Referendum; The Referendum—The vote at the polls of a law proposed through the Initiative, or on any law passed by a law-making body whose reference is petitioned for by a percentage of the voters." This is Eltwood Pomeroy's paper; he is president of the National Direct Legislation League. All lovers of liberty will help to develop this principle, when they come to understand it. Pledge all candidates to it; it will be a "deadener" on political thieves. For literature address Mr. Pomeroy, Newark, N. J.

PEOPLE'S PARTY PAPER.

Tom Watson's paper; a rattling campaigner and a hard hitter. To the Union 50c a year. Atlanta, Ga.

APPEAL TO REASON.

J. A. Wayland, publisher. You will have to judge of this paper for yourself, as public sentiment is woefully divided. Plutocrats, thieves, cowards and hypocrites hate and fear it. If you would rather snore in a cushioned pew than follow Christ into the byways, let this paper alone, lest a thorn from the crown prick your sluggish conscience. You may try it, if you like, for one-half cent a copy; 3 months, 7c; one year 20c. Mr.

Wayland recommends Merrie England, Looking Backward and Co-operative Commonwealth as good educational reading in the order named. He publishes valuable pamphlets. Girard, Kas.

THE COMING NATION.

Published by a co-operative colony which has been established for years. This ought to be "proof of the pudding." Sample copies one-half cent; three months trial, 10c. Ruskin, Tenn.

THE CLEVELAND CITIZEN.

A staunch friend of the people; write for terms and sample copies free. Cleveland, Ohio.

COMMONWEALTH.

A splendid reform weekly magazine and library for thoughtful people; says has the "only complete Merrie England published in this country." Has a most valuable list of cheap editions of reform literature. Write for sample copies free and ask for catalogue of publications. 65c a year to members of the Union. Address Commonwealth Co., 28 LaFayette Place, N. Y.

NATIONAL NEW ERA.

An able reform weekly; will send sample copies for half a cent each; put it on your sample list and write for terms. Springfield, Ohio.

AMERICAN NONCONFORMIST.

8-page weekly devoted to general reform; has a good list of regular contributors, some of national reputation. To members of Union 75c

a year; sample copies 1c. Omaha, Neb.

THE ARENA.

An able pioneer reform magazine, edited by John Clark Ridpath. Sample copies 10c; Boston, Mass.

SUGGESTIONS.

My idea would be to order samples and short-time subscriptions, and make selections upon merit. Always include your local paper. You cannot expect a paper to agree with your views upon all subjects, but any paper that is earnestly laboring for the interest of the people against oppression is worthy of support, the question being a choice between such. Get some paper files (inquire at your local newspaper office) and keep files of reform papers, books, etc., for general use, and for the especial use of your educational committees. If you have a neighbor that is half asleep, get him to take a red-hot reform paper. Get his head right, and if he isn't very mean his heart will be right.

Success in all good works.

* * *

See article beginning on page 5 for full particulars concerning certificate of membership. The issue is clear—a union of the people for protection and aggressive political warfare against the classes who live by chicanery and plunder.

MOTHERS IN POLITICS.

* * *

There has been so much said about the separation of church and state, and so much done to keep the influence of the teachings of Christ or of any good thing from reaching into politics, that the latter has really become a hotbed of vice and heartlessness. Humanity is almost tabooed in politics. As a result, the heartless and greedy, the men who make money through unjust laws and wicked interpretations of law, have altogether too much control. Money, through technical law, is held in greater esteem and has more power in many cases where its interests clash with human rights than the social, equitable rights, or even the lives of men, women and children. As this serves the interests of those who have large sums of money, it will be so just so long as the rich are allowed to dictate or influence legislation. Hundreds of years of experience may be cited as unanswerable proof of the fact. No government has ever been able

to withstand the systematic and persistent onslought of plutocracy, and save the masses from being humbled and wronged by them. The United States, under its constitution, has a better opportunity to secure justice for the masses, than has the countries which are cursed with hereditary rulers. But even here the wicked element has gained a strong foothold, and is securing dangerous power through the neglect of the people who by the ballot are entrusted with the making and enforcement of just laws.

Mothers should realize their privileges and duties under these conditions. They are vitally interested. Before their children enter the terrible maelstrom of political warfare between right and wrong, their young hearts should be imbued with a sense of equity and a feeling for humanity so strong and vigorous as to make them earnest workers for justice from the time they cast their first ballot. The public school and the Sunday school (the organized help which mothers have in educating their children), teach submission to law, but go very little beyond this in practical politics. Submission to law without the discernment to change law is a plutocratic bludgeon for the destruction of the people. The coming voters should be helped to understand the powers and privileges conferred by the ballot; should be taught that it is the defense of freedom; should be made to feel that

they are the real law-makers, and have the right to combine with others to enact any law they desire, and require their public servants to do their bidding. This is the principle upon which our government is founded. The plutocrat understands this thoroughly, and this is why he buys votes, threatens to discharge his employees if they do not vote as he says, and uses many other wicked means to control the political machinery which makes laws. The law has declared him a criminal for doing these things, and little by little, as the people are learning how, they are forging the chains about him. He is now straining every nerve to keep the masses from passing arbitration laws and other measures to prevent the terrible cruelty which forces workmen into strikes. With the law on his side he can crush his laborers and go ahead piling up millions out of the money which to the amount of good wages ought to go to the support and education of families. With good laws against him he would have to do differently, and make less money, while his workmen made more. The common people would have more, and the rich wouldn't have so much. This is why plutocracy tries to control colleges and schools. The connecting link between these schools and practical politics, so far as being a help in the fight against plutocratic oppression is concerned, seems to be missing. Young people

graduade with the stars and stripes waving over them and have very little idea how to protect the flag from being mocked by those who degrade the masses.

Those who are in politics for wicked purposes, who profit by dishonest and heartless methods, would have the people believe that because no especial church should control the politics of the country, no Christian or humane feeling should have consideration. Their object is plain to any thoughtful person. If they can smother all spirit of brotherly love, all disposition of the masses to help each other, greedy corporations and capitalists can crush a few of the people at a time until all the middle and lower classes are subjugated, and the United States is but another home for an aristocratic class, with all the privation and sorrow that implies; for it is a sorrowful truth that the Christianity of the greater part of the aristocracy is not of the kind to secure the greatest good to those dependent upon them. They seem to have remained practically the same from the time they crucified Christ and beheaded John the Baptist. They have strewn the path to liberty with martyrs, defeated popular justice, wreeked republics, and committed all manner of crime, until it is little wonder that historians fear for the future of our country.

Mothers amongst the great masses of the peo-

ple to-day must, with the fathers, feel keenly the work of selfish capitalists who have so manipulated the labor and money markets that the fathers cannot earn enough to provide for the family and educate the children. This feeling will be the natural instinct, the noble impulse of mother-love. The way open for the correction of the evil is by proper use of the ballot—the making of good laws by studying what is desirable, electing men pledged to give it, and holding them responsible for failure to do their duty. This is the theory of popular government; the practice is to let the rascals run the political machinery; and the masses are getting the worst of it continually. The work of the Great Leader who wept over Jerusalem was a political work in so much as it sought to have the rights of the masses recognized by the classes. At that time there was no way to justice except by concession by the classes or revolution by the masses, and both these means being colsed to him, Christ planted the seed of liberty, watered it with his blood, and left the cultivation and the harvest to his followers.

There is a beautiful thought that the millenium is to be a reign of justice between man and man, the whole world over; that the devil of greed will be chained by the intelligent and united effort of the people, and that by the aid of the telegraph and printing press, we are now at

the threshold of that millennium—on the border of the promise land. Many have hope that this generation will be able to secure the initiative and referendum, a just basis of taxation, laws limiting the powers of the rich to wrong others, and to complete the organization of the people so that they may understand each other's necessities and work harmoniously for the common good. The boys yet under the mothers' care will come into the political field in a time of great opportunity aud responsibility. This and the next generation must decide whether the masses, with all their educational opportunities, can, by peaceful means, control the robber classes.

It is to be hoped that the mothers of America will use every possible influence for the betterment of their families; will grasp every power for this purpose within their reach, and will have such powers very much and continually enlarged; and it is to be devoutly hoped that they will begin at once to instill into the minds of their children an abhorrence of any process which crushes and degrades labor.

Of all the destroyers of the common people, the wicked use of large capital is the most deadly. Indeed it is the parent of the most of them. It coerses, buys and begs votes; it fights like a giant or crawls and stings like a serpent; it patronizes the church and the brothel; there

is nothing too good for it to say and nothing too mean for it to do to keep control. It is an intruder here, and has no more right than a monarch. But it is here, nevertheless, and if not controlled who may not be suppliants at its feet for work for merely enough to subsist upon? Trusts, combines and corporations are shutting off the opportunities for the workmen to work except for them, and then cutting wages to the merest subsistence. They are fiendish in the process. And if their suffering victims cry out in warning to their fellow-men to avoid the murderous slave-pens, the breeding-places of want and ignorance, they are shot down on the public highway. And venal judges say this is the spirit of the Constitution of the United States. Presidents and other officers who as candidates declared their love for the Constitution and the people, instead of ordering an investigation of the business methods of these wreckers of manhood and destroyers of liberty, by power of their office of trust give the order to fire, and husbands, fathers and brothers who toil faithfully for the support of loved ones, and whose greatest crime is the demand for a fair opportunity, are slaughtered, and their bodies taken to the potter's field. Yes, to the potter's field, the final resting place for those who fall a prey to the labor crusher.

The individual hearts which compose the

great heart of the world grow to maturity under the care of the mother. This is the force which rules the earth and has the destiny of nations in its keeping. Whatever may be God's plan in other parts of the universe, this world is given into our hands, and it is our privilege to make it better or worse. If we, as society, permit the devils to go unchained, we as individual members may not withstand their attack.

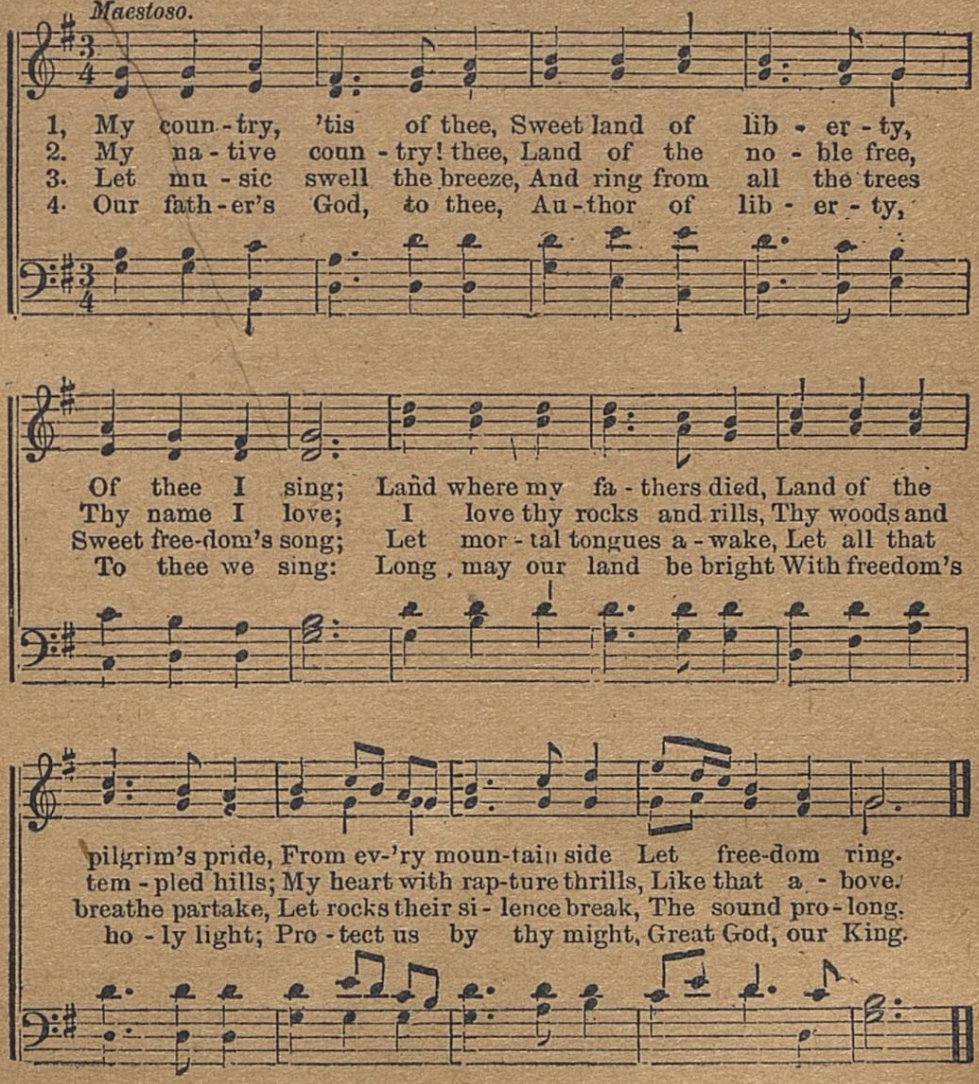
Mothers should hold the lords of the ballot responsible for the work assumed, and say that where present laws are not sufficient to protect the home, better laws must be passed and enforced. The existence of great corporations, great trusts, great manufacturing establishments and great banks and pown-shops, and a "cod-fish" and cruel aristocracy, built upon wealth rather than upon humanity and intelligence, is not so important as the interests of the common people, and institutions which exist by the degradation of labor should not cumber the earth. Uphold by every means in your power every effort to check the ravages of the few upon the many. Their heartless actions are falling heavily upon the people. If the favored ones do not rally to the help of those now in need, who will help the children of to-day when they fall into the grasp of the monster?

Call the attention of your children to the work of the labor crusher, and fill their hearts

with holy contempt for those who are robbing the people of the right and privilege of earning a respectable living by honest endeavor. Teach them the power of organization and united effort. Be sure you have one paper coming to them regularly, which is earnest and fearless in behalf of the masses. Reformers are radical and terribly in earnest, and being only human, are liable to mistakes; but in the main, they are right, and their vigor and honesty will be an inspiration to the young people. Read with and encourage the children. It may not be amiss to include the father in the reading circle, especially if he be lukewarm concerning his political duties. Make the home an intelligent and powerful factor in its own defense.

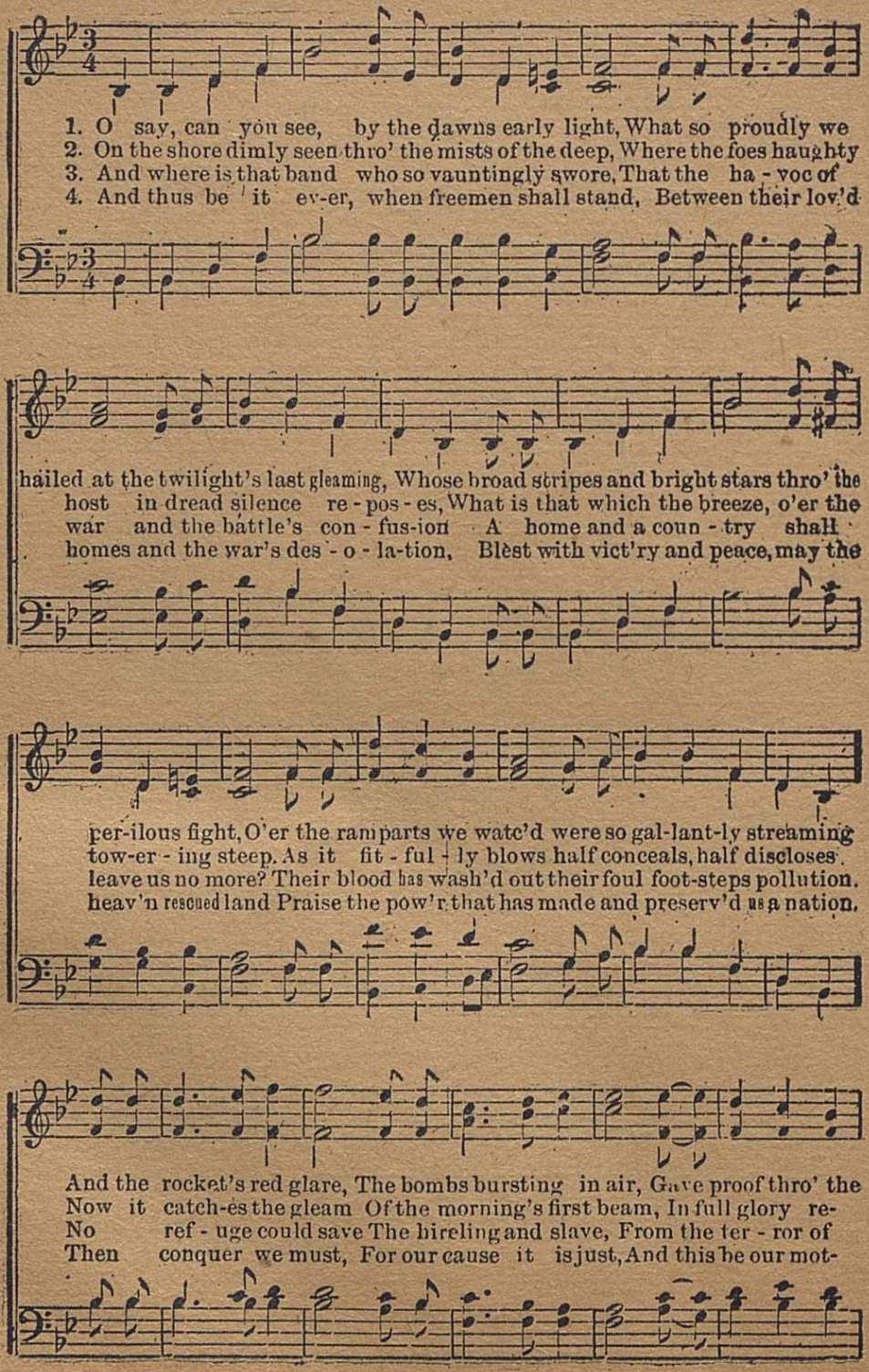
1. America. (National Hymn.)

S. F. Smith.
Maestoso.

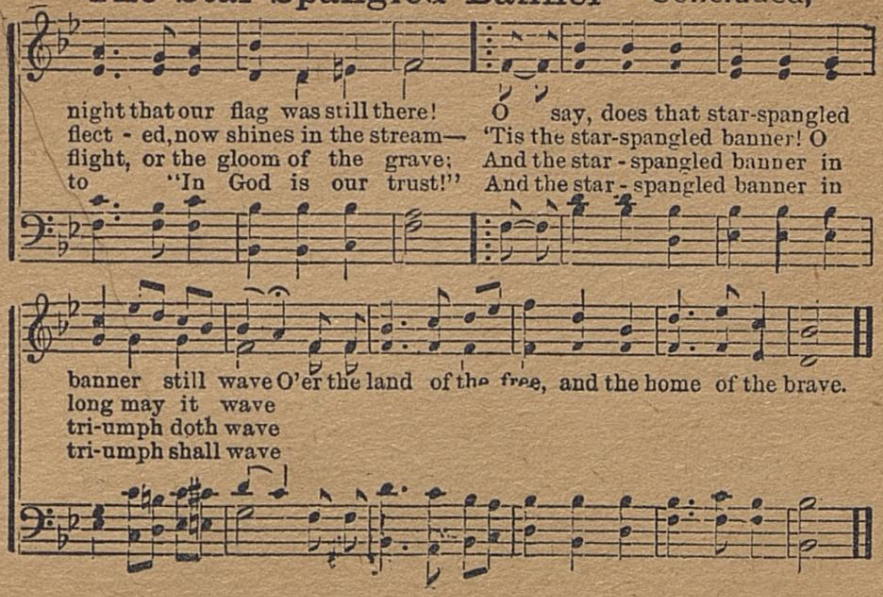


All singers should learn "America." It should be taught to the children. Love of one's country, and a determination to make it what it ought to be should be a ruling passion.

The Star-Spangled Banner

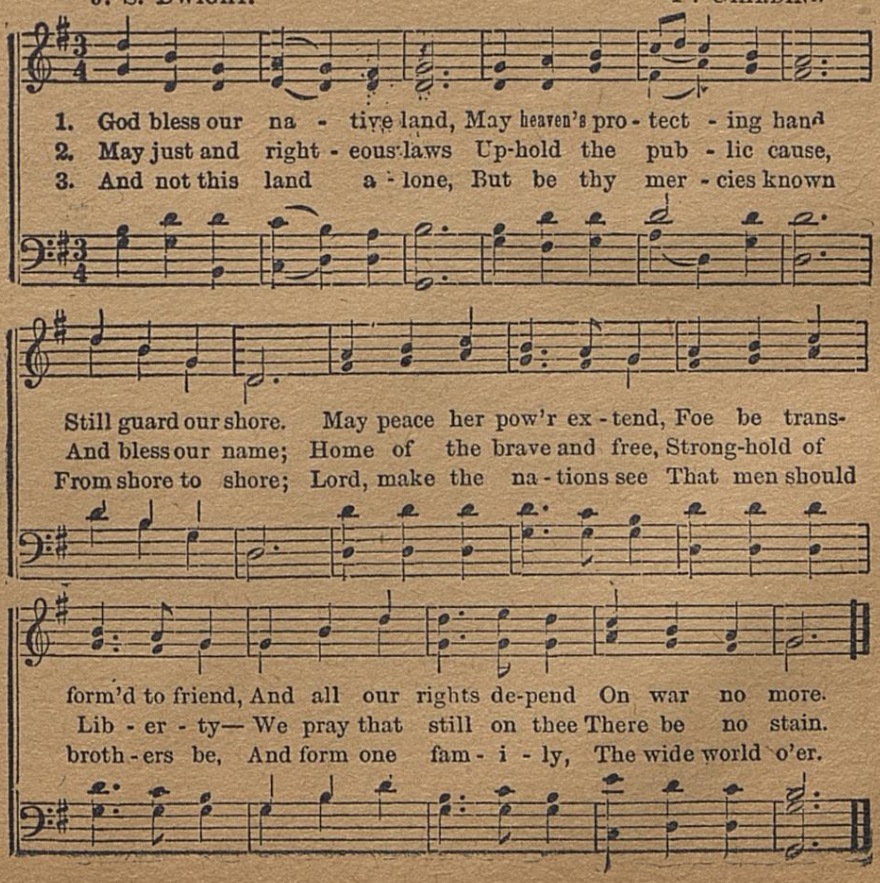


The Star-Spangled Banner—Concluded.

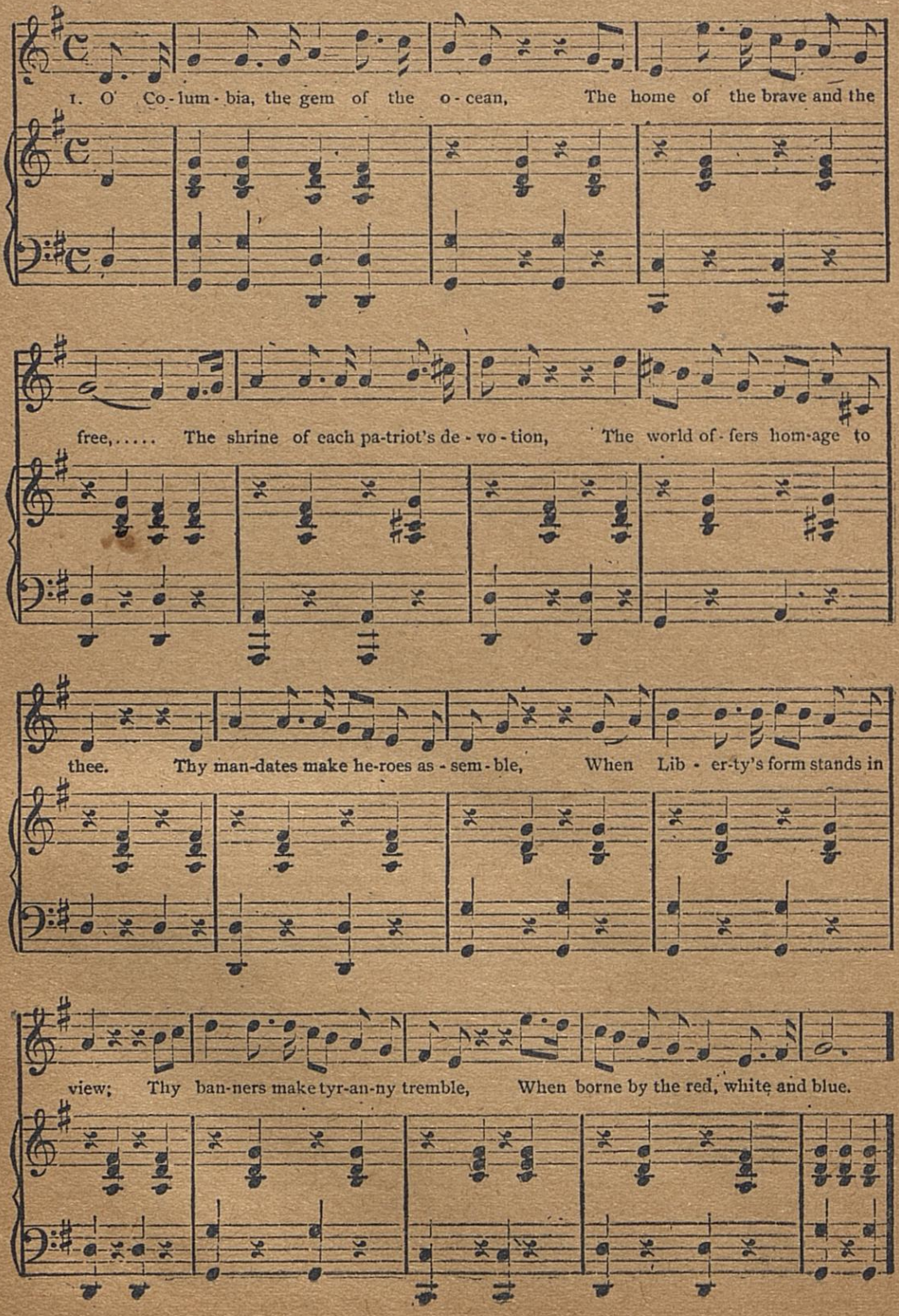


God Bless Our Land.

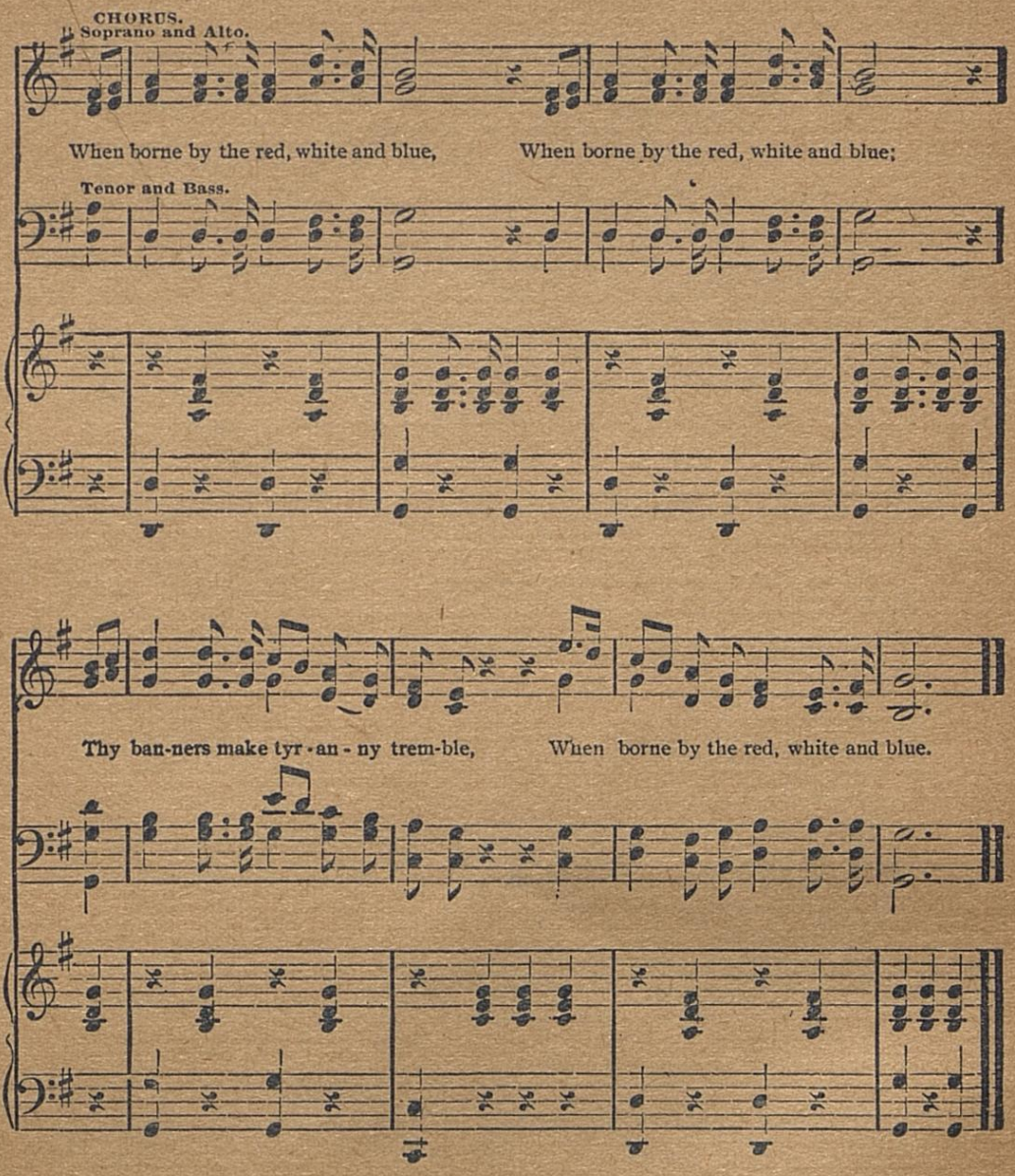
J. S. DWIGHT. F. GIARDINI.



COLUMBIA, THE GEM OF THE OCEAN.



COLUMBIA, THE GEM OF THE OCEAN—Concluded.



2

When war winged its wide desolation,
And threatened the land to deform,
The ark ther of freedom's foundation,
Columbia rode safe through the storm;
With their garlands of vict'ry around her,
When so proudly she bore her brave crew.
With her flag proudly floating before her,
The boast of the red, white and blue.—

CHORUS:—

The boast of the red, white and blue, &c.

3

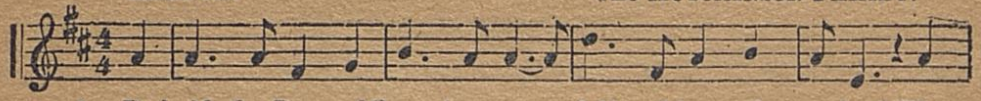
The wine cup, the wine cup bring hither,
And fill it up full to the brim;
May the wreaths they have won never wither,
Nor the star of their glory grow dim.
May the service united ne'er sever,
But they to their colors prove true,
The army and navy forever,
Three cheers for the red, white and blue.—

CHORUS:—

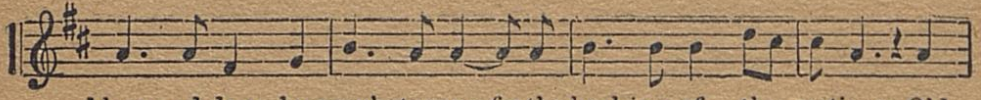
Three cheers for the red, white and blue, &c.

Right Over Wrong.

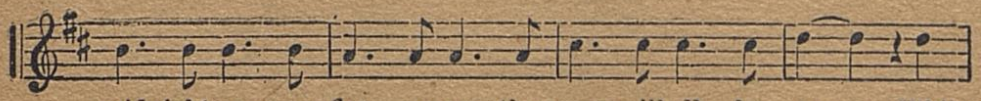
Moderato. The HUTCHINSON FAMILY.



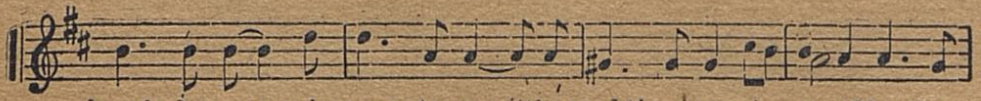
1. Be-hold the Day of Prom-ise comes, full of in - spir - a-tion! The
2. Al - read - y in the gold - en east the glo-rious light is dawning, And
3. The captive now be - gins to rise—his chains are rent a-sun-der; While



bless - ed day, by prophets sung, for the heal-ing of the nations. Old
watchmen, from the mountain tops, can see the bless-ed morn-ing: O'er
pol - i - ti - tions stand a - ghast, in anx-ious fear and wonder; No

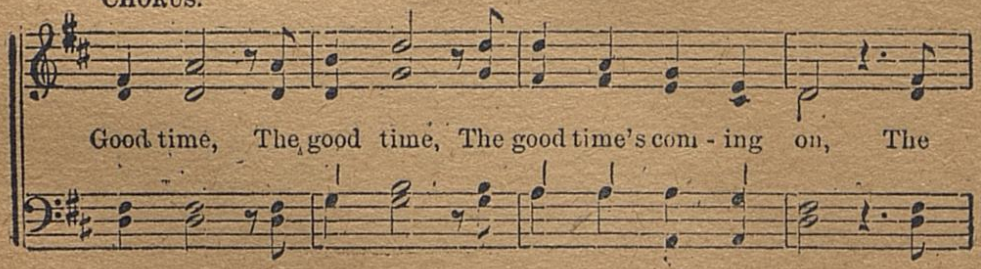


midnight er - rors flee a-way—they soon will all be gone; While
all the land their voic-es ring, while yet the world is nap-ping, 'Till
lon - ger shall the bond-man sigh be-neath the gal - ling fet - ters—He

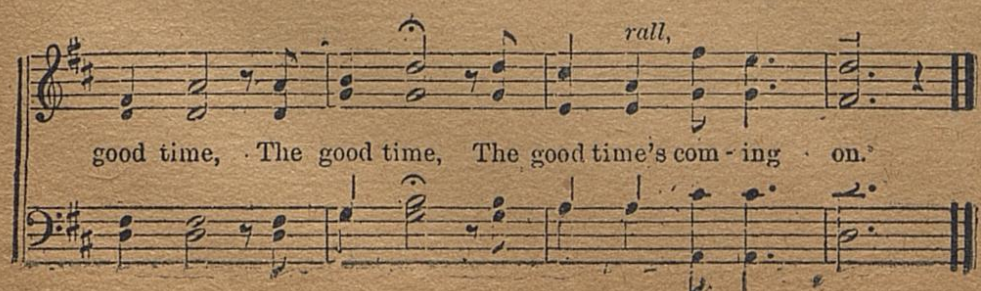


heav'n-ly an - gels seem to say, "the good time's coming on. Oh, the
e'en the sluggards begin to spring, as they hear the spirits "rapping" Oh, the
sees the light of freedom's day, and reads the golden letters, Oh, the

CHORUS.



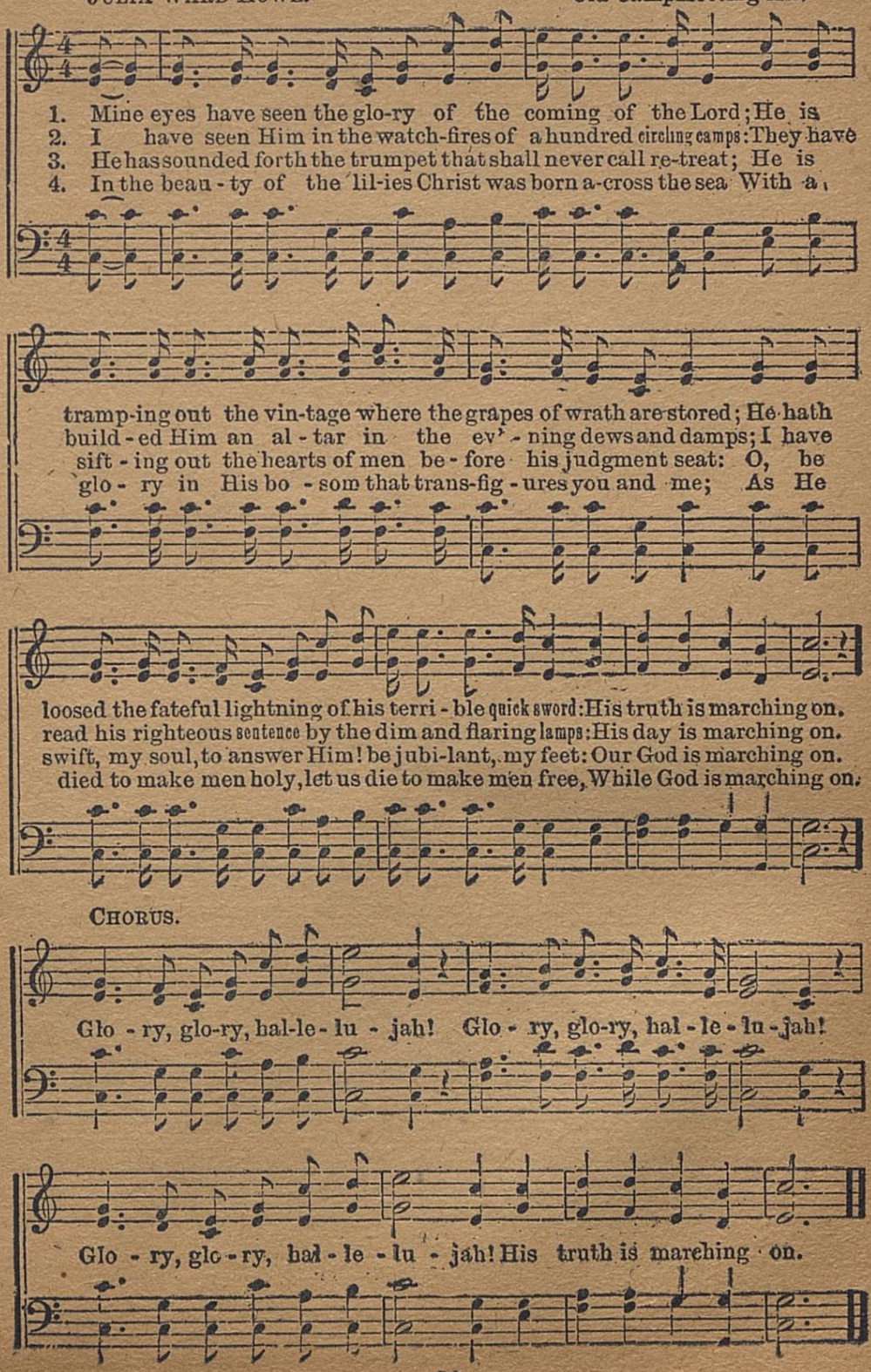
Good time, The good time, The good time's com - ing on, The



good time, The good time, The good time's com - ing on.

Battle Hymn of the Republic.

JULIA WARD HOWE. Old Campmeeting Air.



LAW FOR MEN LIKE THESE.

* * *

If you believe in impartial justice along the lines of humanity, there is work for you to do.

The following are examples of a class which is working great injury to society and the cause of human rights. Such actions are criminal in fact, and must be made so in law. Freemen must protect each other and the children of their own generation, or lose the heritage of liberty. There is no personal feeling and no disposition to misrepresent. The facts are selfish, wicked, despicable and treasonable enough not to need any exaggeration.

At the Auditorium Annex two men are required to take care of the engines day and night. One works eleven hours and the other thirteen, alternating at intervals. This is a mighty stingy return from Mr. Peck to the society which built a big city upon swamp land and made a money prince of him. A man might plead hunger for stealing a ham—what excuse can a wealthy gentleman offer for overworking a laborer; for oppressing a member of the so-

ciety which gave him his wealth? Is labor so scarce that he cannot find the necessary third hand? Or is the Auditorium so poor that it must make two men do three men's work in order to draw respectable living wages? Is it right to rob a fellow man of all pleasure time or of good pay for shorter hours for the sake of adding such ill-gotten gain to unearned luxury or wealth? Does Mr. Peck realize that this is the same principle used by the most contemptible labor crusher? Is the work deliberate, or has he thoughtlessly fallen into the heartless methods of business? Or is a man better clay because his father happened to settle upon a lucky piece of swamp?

Some men work on the street cars of the city six hours in day time and six hours at night, with two six-hours intermissions between, leaving no opportunity for the recreations and pleasures of which no human being should be robbed. That who may prosper, pray? Because the laborer can only lose his job if he remonstrate must he be left to the mercy of robbers? Is railroad property more worthy of the protection of law in America than a helpless American citizen who has fallen into the hands of thieves? The black slave was freed by the help of others. Must the wage slave wear his chains unassisted by his fellow men?

Lyon Brothers, Chicago, wholesale dry goods, notions, &c., employ several hundred boys,

many of them about sixteen years old. Many get from $2.50 to $4.00 per week, some having worked for them a long time. During rush times they are frequently worked overtime from three to five nights and Sunday in a week, making the place a veritable slave pen for children. Necessity drives people into their clutches, and necessity keeps "kicking" at a low ebb. Their methods are like those of the hunters who watch the watering place and when thirst brings the deer within range secure their prey. And the result of this work goes out in competition with more reputable firms who pay better wages; in competition with the work of those who have families to support and children to educate. What chance have these boys for education—what hope of ever being able to become fathers of intelligent families? What more can they do than raise children for the wage-slave market, or not marry? Must such employers be allowed to destroy the American home? It is a disgrace to American manhood and American law that they do not have to choose between better business methods and the penitentiary.

"The Fair" is a sample institution which snaps its fingers at remonstrance and rides rough shod over the interests of others. Mr. Young testified before an Illinois investigating committee that their one thousand dollars had increased to two millions of dollars over dividends

in twenty years. He also testified that they hired several hundred girls from fourteen to sixteen years of age at from $2.50 to $3.50 per week. His hypocritical excuse was that it was "a means of keeping families together which would otherwise have been separated." Let us see whether he isn't a liar and perjurer, and whether his real object isn't to commit robbery under cover of base and inhuman technicalities. First, it is generally understood that his methods of doing business have broken up many small merchants, and scattered the families upon an already crowded wage market, even taking children out of school and driving them into slave-pens to labor in competition with fathers of families. How does that look beside an honest desire to keep families together? Second, He says they "would otherwise have to be taken care of by the public." As though his methods took care of as many as they threw out. Is not this a sophistry which, coming from such a source and for such a purpose, amounts to perjury? Third, $2.50 per week; $10.00 for four weeks; less car fare four weeks, $2.40; four days absence, (sickness, recreation, "laid off," and other cause), $1.65, making $4.05, taken from $10,00, leaves $5.95 for food, clothing, care, medicine, pleasure, for four weeks for a girl fifteen years old. How much of the profit of such labor helped to make the two millions of dollars

and the dividends? How much of this money could equitably be considered as stolen? And what became of it? Did the dividends kept from mother and child who divided a crust "to keep the family together" go for a moment's frivolity? Or isn't that anybody's business? Nobody's business if one having power and brutality uses them to rob women and children? If Mr. Young's methods and testimony do not, in spirit and in God's truth, convict him of perjury and robbery, then let him go in peace and continue his work. But if they prove that he is polluting American girlhood, degrading American motherhood, lowering the standard of the home, debauching a part of society, robbing some that others may profit, building up class distinctions in a free country, undermining free government, and that he resorts to deception under oath to bolster up such work, then his trial before the community he is outraging has only begun. If he be honest why doesn't he pay good wages? His horses are well fed, well kept and not overworked. There seems to be no way known by which Mr. Young can care for or replace an injured horse without expense.

And there are the sweat shops, with all the harrowing details of poverty and abuse; the mines with nearly no wages, and other glaring wrongs by the few against the many. The people are many to one of their oppressors. Count

the field, and you will soon comprehend how easy it will be for the people, when united, to send usurpers to the penitentiary. That is the work in hand, if this is to be a free country. The Lord's Prayer, the Golden Rule, the Sermon on the Mount, the Ten Commandments, the life of Christ, the blood of martyrs, and every good precept and law in all history demand that the people unite and see to it that they be not laughed to scorn and set at naught by the greedy emissaries of the devil.

SAVE THE DESERVING POOR.

* * *

To begin with, society has the following facts and conditions:

1. There are thousands of able-bodied, needy people who are supported by charity—by individual charity amongst acquaintances, charity by lodges, churches and other societies among their members, by contributions to those who beg, organized charity, and use of municipal funds. The sums thus expended must aggregate millions of dollars in the state of Illinois alone.

2. The charity is continuous, because the giving is done in such manner as not to terminate the necessity.

3. The sums of misery as well as expense are greatly augmented by failure to terminate the cause.

4. Society cannot shirk this duty even though it should be mean enough to try; and as the laws governing society are the cause of the distress (by permission), it should not try

5. Which is the least reason of all—some undeserving people receive aid.

The following is offered for the consideration of earnest, humane people:

THE PLAN.

1. The state to buy a large tract of land and stock it with the necessary facilities; build comfortable, plain, small houses, school-house, to be also used as public hall; shops and factories for such work as could be done with business economy for the farm.

2. Estimate the average number of hours labor per day to produce a wholesome living for an average person, including the purchase of such necessary articles as could not be profitably produced there, employment of physician, teachers, etc., and five per cent. interest and five per cent. sinking fund on the state investment.

3. Require said estimated amount of work per day of each resident, and give a time check for each hour.

4, Put everything produced on the farm and in the shops into a store room, labeled with the time in hours it required to produce and care for it.

5. Let the residents draw out whatever they desire to the amount of their checks received for work, thus exchanging the products of their labor at the mutual average cost of production. Articles brought in from abroad would be labeled at the cost in time of the articles which had been exchanged for them. This would not effect

the outside labor market, as it would take in the equal of what it gave out. As pay for taking consumers out of the outside market the farm would relieve the labor market of its surplus and of the care of the poor.

As scientific estimates show that one man's labor for less than half his time produces an abundance for a small family if consumed without the expense of freight and wholesale and retail profits, it will be readily seen that the farm would be a self-supporting haven where misfortune would be turned to good fortune. A state or country which would do this would be worth loving and defending.

When the farm got full, buy more. Or. if it be wrong to let people pay their own way and live happily and stay there, add two hours per day to the time, and sell the product and keep the pay until it comes to a hundred dollars, then pay it, open the gate and call the dog. The sale of stuff for this money would not work injury to the outside labor market, as it would be spent outside.

A department on the same plan should provide for families whose half-grown children are wage-slaves when they ought to be in school. The children could help the parents a reasonable amount, be educated, and have home care. The family relation would be improved by increased opportunity for intellectual development and by

wholesome environments. The house rent would be paid in time checks, and should be based upon wear and proportion of state fund. This would be a wonderful uplift for humanity, and a grand improvement in American citizenship.

There should be no needless expense and no unseemly display. Require tidy and good care of person and of premises by all occupants, and allow all reasonable privileges to those who desire to gratify their own tastes at their own expense. There would be no occasion for destroying worthy individualism, while the opportunities for advancement would be greatly enhanced.

It may look incongruous, but the temptation is irresistible, so the thought is given that a department be added where scientists can support themselves while making research. Many persons imbued with earnest desire to benefit mankind are absolutely starved from the fulfillment of their holy ambition. Especially is this true in the most important of all research—the needs of the human body. Such a place would enable one to be self-supporting—well housed and well fed—and devote more than half time to study. If a family were dependent, it would be self-supporting and could assist, and still not be overworked.

This reads like a story from fairy-land, but it is simple, plain truth, which statisticians well

understand. Go to any farm family and ask how many hours it will take them to raise all they can eat in a year; then to makers of necessary articles, and find how much time it takes to make them for family of same size; and so through the line of consumption; now put them with their machines, etc., where they can exchange without expense; the result is that less than half the present labor is required. So there can be no doubt about the farm and school being self-supporting, and at the same time taking good care of those who have failed in life's struggle, and must have help. Every state should have such a farm and school. It would be the grandest and best of all state institutions.

In the very cold weather and when charity is insufficient, crime increases many fold in Chicago. This is conceded to be proof that most crime is the result of want. So the farm would also decrease the state criminal expense.

This should be brought before the legislature and the people of each state as speedily as possible. What do you think about it? Will you help start it?

BONDS FOR THE PEOPLE.

* * *

Whereas, We believe that the government, as such, and its citizens individually have a right to the benefits accruing from their confidence in each other and from their abundant ability to meet national obligations; and,

Whereas, For the reasons here enumerated we believe the plan herewith given for issuing bonds better for the people than the plans which have been used; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we earnestly request the Congress of the United States to adopt the following plan for issuing bonds, unless they find a still less burdensome way of meeting a national debt.

Resolved, That the members of both branches of Congress from our state, be and are hereby requested to use every means in their power to secure such legislation.

Resolved, That we also earnestly request the co-operation of patriotic people and organizations of all kinds, by resolutions and otherwise, to the end that no more bonds be issued in the ways which have well-nigh enslaved the world of labor to capitalists.

Resolved, That we hereby request friendly pa-

pers to publish this, and further assist in the work.

THE PLAN.

Issue legal tender notes in denominations suitable for business, said notes redeemable in silver or gold, at the option of the government, the ratio to be that known as 16 to 1 in the present coinage of the United States; said notes redeemable at times and in quantities to properly distribute said redemption.

To secure their sale, deliver additional notes of the same kind at time of sale, to amount of one per cent. per annum for ten years.

To secure equitable distribution of benefits, sell through county-seat postoffices, assigning each office its proportion according to population.

Sell to voters at last election, allowing each his proportion. What remains unsold at the expiration of a reasonable time, sell in the same proportion to first applicants residents of the county; in no case allow anyone two purchases, unless bonds still remain unsold after the lapse of a reasonable time for this class of purchasers, in which event repeat the operation, beginning with the voters, allowing each a quota as before, first come first served.

ILLUSTRATION.

Consider a bond issue of two hundred millions of dollars, in denominations of one, two, five and ten dollars, redeemable at face value in

twenty years; issue the same kind of certificates to the additional sum of one per cent. per annum for ten years, being twenty millions of dollars, and making the total debt two hundred and twenty millions of dollars, redeemable in twenty years without other interest payment

By the issue of two hundred millions of dollars in bonds at three per cent. per annum for twenty years the sum total which the government would have to pay would be three hundred and twenty millions of dollars—just one hundred millions (half the amount of the entire loan) more than by the above plan.

SOME ESSENTIAL POINTS.

Instead of taking money out of circulation for the purchase of bonds, the circulating medium is at once increased by the added interest.

The money does not have to be borrowed back into business channels from bankers or other capitalists, which borrowing alone makes the debt doubly grievous and builds a dangerous money class.

The fact that the money the government gets is paid out by it does not equalize the circulating medium—a great part may go abroad in the purchase of articles, payment of bonds or interest; and that paid out at home may go in excess to special localities, to the great injury of others.

The people receive the interest, which, while

being the magnificent sum of ten millions of dollars upon each hundred millions of debt, is but one-sixth of what is paid home and foreign holders of three per cent. bonds. Compute the entire national debt, and some idea may be had of the difference between the two plans. Consider the debts of nations, sometimes made at heavy discount, and good reason is found why some people are so rich as to threaten the existence of popular liberty.

The interest and the effect upon the circulating medium should be controlled for the benefit of the masses, in a country by and for the people.

The interest having been paid in advance, there would be no incentive to hoard the bonds for it—to be of further service the money must be used.

The whole amount of the debt would pay taxes, not being exempt as other bonds are, and not liable to be idle for the double benefit of escaping tax and drawing interest.

As these bonds have the same security as the bonds now held by the bankers, upon which the bank currency is based, they are as secure as either such bonds or currency.

They are free from the bankers' stated objections to the present greenback, because they are redeemable in coin and, bearing date of redemption, cannot be used at will against a treasury reserve.

If it be necessary, as the bankers claim, to re-

tire the present greenbacks, use these bonds for the purpose.

* * *

The foregoing is a very important issue. Instead of paying the bondholders sixteen dollars for ten, it pays the people eleven dollars for ten. Instead of paying the banks interest on the bonds and at the same time giving them a bank currency to lend, it gives the people the use of the money. The bankers know that the people cannot hold the money for the simple interest, and they do not want them to have the bank privilege of using money and getting interest at the same time. But what must be said of a sworn servant of the people who will betray them into the hands of thieves who rob the government of hundreds of millions of dollars? Lincoln declared, emphasizing his earnestness by striking the table with his clinched fist, that he wished the wall street gamblers every one had "his devilish head shot off." A country that will shoot a tired sentinel for falling asleep on duty, ought to look after a sworn agent who treasonably connives to rob the treasury.

Give the above plan close investigation; have it published in your local papers and discussed. I would be pleased to receive reports of such action; also marked copies of papers containing mention—can make good use of them.

ALLEN HENRY SMITH.
915 N. Albany Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Song of a Thousand Years

Lift up your eyes. desponding freemen
Fling to the winds your needless fears!
He who unfurl'd your beauteous banner.
Says, it shall wave a thousand years!
CHORUS.
"A thousand years!" my own Columbia!
'Tis the glad morn so long foretold!
'Tis the glad morn whose early twilight
Washington saw in times of old.

What if the clouds. one little moment,
Hide the blue sky where morn appear-
When the bright sun, that tints them crimson.
Rises to shine a thousand years!

Tell the great world these blessed tidings!
Yes. and be sure the bondman hears,
Tell the oppress'd of ev'ry nation,
Jubilee lasts a thousand years!

Envious foes, beyond the ocean!
Little we heed your threat'ning sneers
Little will they—our children's children—
When you are gone a thousand years.

Rebels at home! go hide your faces—
Weep for your crimes with bitter tears.
You could not bind the blessed daylight
Though you should strive a thousand years.

Back to your dens, ye secret traitors!
Down to your own degraded spheres!
Ere the first blaze of dazzling sunshine
Shortens your lives a thousand years.

Haste thee along, thou glorious Noonday!
Oh! for the eyes of ancient seers!
Oh, for the faith of Him who reckons
Each of his days a thousand year!

Breathes there the man with soul so dead
Who never to himself hath said
Returning from a foreign strand
This is my own my native land.
Oh native land,
Dear native land,
We come a loyal Patriot band
The children of the brave and free
To guard the home of liberty
Oh, may our blessed banner waive
O'er homes all free and sons all brave.

Warren's Address.

Stand! the ground's your own my braves!
Will ye give it up to slaves?
Will ye look for greener graves?
Hope ye mercy still?
What's the mercy despots feel?
Hear it in that battle-peal!
Read it on yon bristling steel!
Ask it—ye who will.

Fear ye foes who kill for hire?
Will ye to your homes retire?
Look behind you! they're afire!
And before you see
Who have done it! From the vale
On they come! and will ye quail?
Leaden rain and iron hail
Let the welcome be!

In the God of battles trust!
Die we may—and die we must;
But, oh! where can dust to dust
Be consigned so well
As where heaven its dews shall shed
On the martyred patriot's bed,
And the rocks shall raise their head
Of his deeds to tell?

Auld Lang Syne.

Should auld acquaintance be forgot,
And never brought to mind?
Should auld acquaintance be forgot,
And days of auld lang syne.

CHORUS.
For auld lang syne, my dear
For auld lang syne
We'll tak' a cup o' kindness yet
For auld lang syne.

We twa ha'e run aboot the braes.
And pu'd the gowans fine;
But we've wander'd mony a weary foot,
Sin' auld lang syne.

We twa ha'e sported i' the burn.
Frae mornin' sun til dine.
But seas between us braid ha'e roared
Sin' auld lang syne.

Doxology

Praise God, from whom all blessing flow.
Praise him, all creatures here below;
Praise him above, ye heavenly host,
Praise Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

WHO CRUCIFIED CHRIST?

* * *

But woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!—Matthew 23, 13.

For they say and do not. For they bind heavy burdens and lay them on men's shoulders, but they refuse to touch them with their hands. —Part of Matthew 23.

He stirreth up the people.—Luke 23, 5.

They feared the people.—Mark 11, 32.

And great multitudes went along with him.—Luke 7, 11.

And all were filled with wrath in the synagogue, and rose up and drove him out of the city and led him to the brow of the hill on which their city was built, that they might throw him down.—Luke 4, 28.

Jesus could no longer enter openly into the cities.—Mark 1, 40.

Woe to the man by whom the offense cometh. Matthew 18, 7.

Hypocrites, ye can judge aright of the face of

the sky, but can you not judge of the signs of the times?—Matthew 16, 3.

* * *

Feudalism was overthrown by the progress and in the name of humanity. Time was when it had the support of technical law.

Human chattel slavery was overthrown by the progress and in the name of humanity. Time was when it had the support of technical law.

These reforms grew in the minds of the people until they commanded sufficient power to enforce their edict, when the law was changed, and what had been legal was declared to be criminal, and by that declaration and the power to sustain it, was made so. The feudal lord, the slave owner, the first-born, the land tyrant, etc., bow to no law but force. By hook or crook, they take and keep all they can. The people who are making a hell of the United States are the American wing of this spirit. The same force of humanity which has taken one after another of their fortifications is after them here. They are the power of evil against good, of the devil against God; the hand of the Almighty is raised against them, and the seed of woman shall bruise the serpent's head.

The United States has passed the old milestones of feudal lords, first-born inheritance, chattel slavery and inherited titles. But in other forms we are confronted with the same

devilish selfishness which enslaves the many for the few; with the same classes who have always used every opportunity and technicality for robbing labor of its just reward; with the same classes who crucified Christ because he was a friend of the people.

What influence is it which has so long kept this country from having the postal savings bank?

What influence is it which prevents the passing of a law for punishment sufficient to prevent bank failures—say life imprisonment or hanging of officers if need be?

What influence is it which ranges musketry against the oppressed and refuses to consider plain justice?

What influence is it which ranges the very poor against each other, battering wages down to starvation rates, to the destruction of those who toil?

What influence is it which enables large property holdings to escape a just rate of taxation?

What influence is it which raises the salary of officials while the price of labor is being reduced?

Upon all these points, and the many others used by the classes against the masses, who are upon the wrong side?

They are the spiritual descendants in direct line of the classes who crucified Christ; and they would crucify anyone who would do as he did—

if they had the power. There has probably not been a time in the history of human progress when the representatives of Christ and of Herod have not been prominently before the people. There is certainly no need for straining one's intellect in detecting them in the politics of this generation.

Tearing away the masks of hypocrisy, and gathering the simplest lessons of history, we may compass the situation by the facts that the fight between the selfish classes and the masses has always been in progress and is to-day, and that it is folly to wait for concessions to justice, but is necessary to take the kingdom of heaven by force; that the only motto of the enemies of mankind is selfishness, and that the hope of the people of this country against them is aggressive, intelligent warfare under our Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.

Whenever the masses realize the existence of a great wrong, they unite against it, and the wrong doers are influenced to desist. It will be strange indeed if the United States does not bring the tyrants up with a turn that will make them glad to behave themselves, or move to some country better suited to their barbarous methods. The common people are learning that individually they are weak, but united they are stronger, even at the ballot box, than all who can come against them; and they are also learn-

ing that the only basis upon which they can unite is upon the lines of humanity—a brotherly care for the interests of all. This is the great safeguard—the wall which they may build and leave to their children as protection against the encroachments of the selfish rich.

If Christ should come and wage the same relentless warfare against sin which marked his life, would he be persecuted to his death?

If you answer Yes, who do you say would do it?

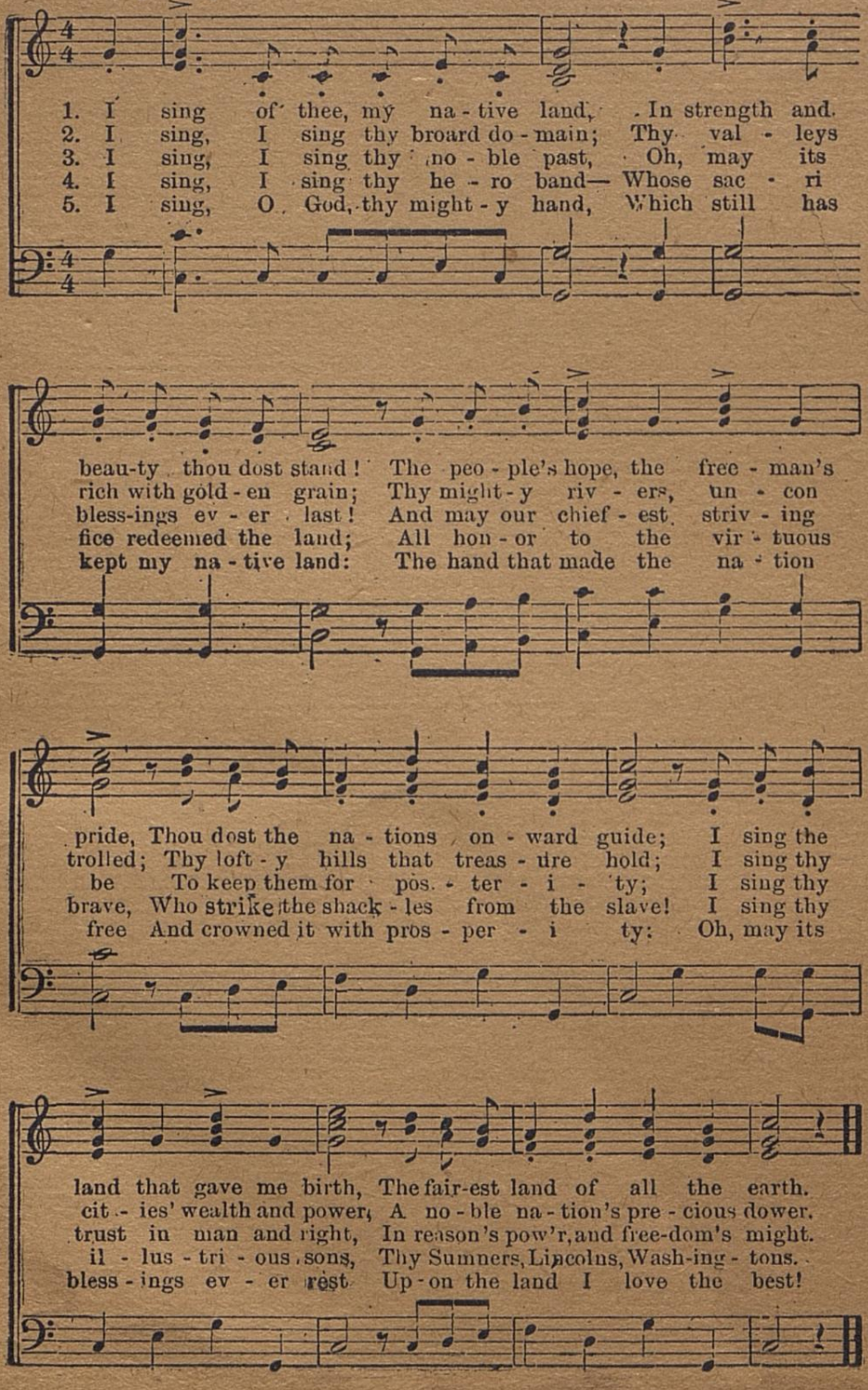
If you say No, who do you say would prevent it?

Which side of the conflict would you take?

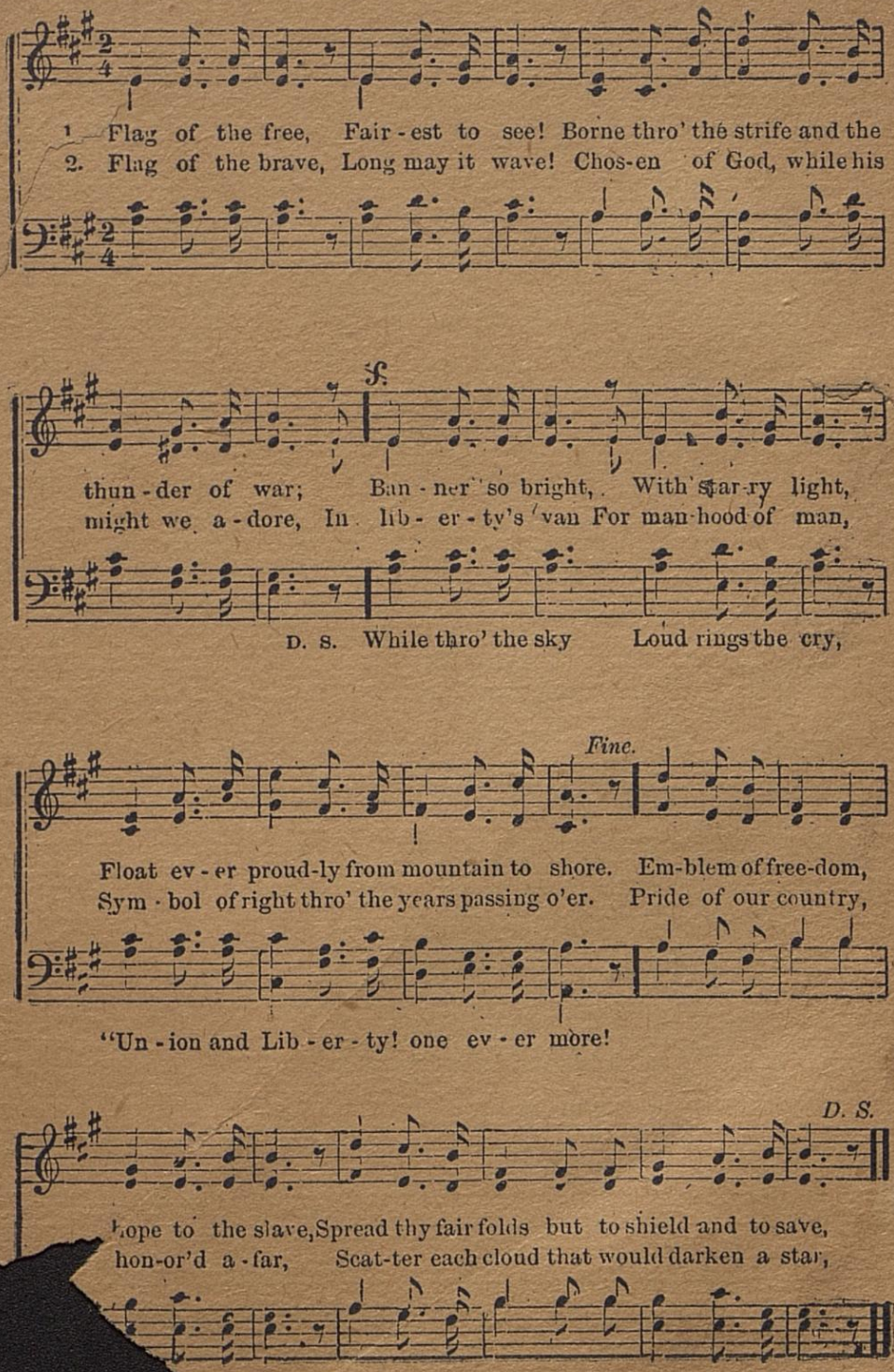
"Lo, I am with you always!"

Native Land.

C. *Vigorously.* German Air.



The American Flag.



THIEVES IN GOD'S TEMPLE.

* * *

When thieves and oppressors are in possession, united action must come before successful revolution, whether by the ballot or the bullet.

When honest men fall out thieves get their plunder. The shrewdest work done by plundering rulers is that of dividing the people and robbing them while they fight each other.

A government which robs the treasury and shoots patriotic subjects because they will not quietly submit to starvation wages for themselves or others, is worse than a barren tree—is a tree of evil fruit—and should be hewn down and cast into the fire. Thus saith the Lord.

A government which upholds labor crushers or other satanic agencies in methods which work serious injury to its weaker subjects, ought to be made pay the damage, and its guilty officers be beaten with many stripes, nigh unto death.

O ye hypocrites, liars, who say that the people desire wicked laws, well knowing that political rulers, Judas-like, kiss but to betray.

The "wise men" who rule are responsible for the kind of government they give even their weakest subjects, and should be held accountable, with their lives as a forfeit, for misery and starvation the government permits.

Do the people desire the tyrants in slave pens or palaces to continue their cruel meth[illegible] Who, then, is responsible, if not venal cour[illegible] rulers—hirelings of the devil?

SOLDIERS' LETTERS

BEING MATERIALS FOR THE HISTORY OF
A WAR OF CRIMINAL AGGRESSION

PUBLISHED BY THE
ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE
1899

10

These extracts from soldiers' letters have been obtained from reputable newspapers and, in a few cases, through trustworthy private channels.

Rockwell & Churchill Press
Boston

SOLDIERS' LETTERS.

BEING MATERIALS FOR THE HISTORY OF A WAR OF CRIMINAL AGGRESSION.

Private Fred B. Hinchman, Company A, United States Engineers, writes from Manila, February 22d:

"At 1.30 o'clock the general gave me a memorandum with regard to sending out a Tennessee battalion to the line. He tersely put it that 'they were looking for a fight.' At the Puente Colgante (suspension bridge) I met one of our company, who told me that the Fourteenth and Washingtons were driving all before them, and taking no prisoners. This is now our rule of procedure for cause. After delivering my message I had not walked a block when I heard shots down the street. Hurrying forward, I found a group of our men taking pot-shots across the river, into a bamboo thicket, at about 1,200 yards. I longed to join them, but had my reply to take back, and that, of course, was the first thing to attend to. I reached the office at 3 P.M., just in time to see a platoon of the Washingtons, with about fifty prisoners, who had been taken before they learned how not to take them."

Arthur H. Vickers, Sergeant in the First Nebraska Regiment:

"I am not afraid, and am always ready to do my duty, but I would like some one to tell me what we are fighting for."

Guy Williams of the Iowa Regiment:

"The soldiers made short work of the whole thing. They looted every house, and found almost everything, from a pair of wooden shoes up to a piano, and they carried everything off or destroyed it. Talk of the natives plundering the towns: I don't think they are in it with the Fiftieth Iowa."

General Reeve, lately Colonel of the Thirteenth Minnesota Regiment:

"I deprecate this war, this slaughter of our own boys and of the Filipinos, because it seems to me that we are doing something that is contrary to our principles in the past. Certainly we are doing something that we should have shrunk from not so very long ago."

Sergeant Elliott, of Company G, Kansas Regiment:

"Most of the general officers think it will take years, and a large force of soldiers, to thoroughly subjugate the natives. And the unpleasant feature of this is that unless the conditions change radically there will be few soldiers who will care to stay there. There's no use trying to conceal the fact that many of the men over there now, especially the volunteers, are homesick, and tired of fighting way off there, with nothing in particular to gain. There is not one man in the whole army now in the Philippines who would not willingly give up his life for the flag if it was necessary, but it isn't pleasant to think about dying at the hands of a foe little better than a savage, and so far away from home. And the thought of its not ending for several years is not an especially pleasant one, either."

Charles Bremer, of Minneapolis, Kansas, describing the fight at Caloocan:

"Company I had taken a few prisoners, and stopped. The colonel ordered them up into line time after time, and finally sent Captain Bishop back to start them. There occurred the hardest sight I ever saw. They had four prisoners, and didn't know what to do with them. They asked Captain Bishop what to do, and he said: 'You know the orders,' and four natives fell dead."

Sylvester Walker, of the Twenty-third Regulars, February 20:

"There has not been a night for the last ten days we have not had fighting. Our force is too weak, and we cannot spare any more men, and will have to wait for more troops. Then we will have hard fighting, for there are so many that, no matter how many we kill or capture, it doesn't seem to lessen their number."

Martin P. Olson, of the Fourteenth Regulars:

"We can lick them, but it will take us a long time, because there are about 150,000 of the dagos back in the hills, and as soon as one of them gets killed or wounded there is a man to take his place at once; and we have but a few men in the first place, but we are expecting about 8,000 more soldiers every day, and I hope they will soon get here, or we will all be tired out and sick. . . . This is an awful bad climate and there have been from two to four funerals every day. The boys have chronic diarrhœa and dysentery, and it just knocks the poor boys out. You mustn't feel uneasy about me, because I don't think there is a Spanish bullet made to kill me; it is disease that I am most afraid of."

Fred D. Sweet, of the Utah Light Battery:

"The scene reminded me of the shooting of jack-rabbits in Utah, only the rabbits sometimes got away, but the insurgents did not."

Capt. Albert Otis describes his exploits at Santa Ana:

"I have six horses and three carriages in my yard, and enough small plunder for a family of six. The house I had at Santa Ana had five pianos. I couldn't take them, so I put a big grand piano out of a second-story window. You can guess its finish. Everything is pretty quiet about here now. I expect we will not be kept here very long now. Give my love to all."

Ellis G. Davis, Company A, 20th Kansas:

"They will never surrender until their whole race is exterminated. They are fighting for a good cause, and the Americans should be the last of all nations to transgress upon such rights. Their independence is dearer to them than life, as ours was in years gone by, and is to-day. They should have their independence, and would have had it if those who make the laws in America had not been so slow in deciding the Philippine question. Of course, we have to fight now to protect the honor of our country, but there is not a man who enlisted to fight these people, and should the United States annex these islands, none but the most bloodthirsty will claim himself a hero. This is not a lack of patriotism, but my honest belief."

J. E. Fetterly, a Nebraska soldier:

"Some think the insurgents are disheartened, but I think they will make a desperate struggle for what they consider their rights. I do not approve of the course our government is pursuing with these people. If all men are created equal, they have some rights which ought to be respected."

Arthur Minkler, of the Kansas Regiment, says:

"We advanced four miles and we fought every inch of the way; . . . saw twenty-five dead insurgents in one place and twenty-seven in another, besides a whole lot of them scattered along that I did not count. . . . It was like hunting rabbits; an insurgent would jump out of a hole or the brush and run; he would not get very far. . . . I suppose you are not interested in the way we do the job. We do not take prisoners. At least the Twentieth Kansas do not."

Burr Ellis, of Frazier Valley, California:

"They did not commence fighting over here (Cavite) for several days after the war commenced. Dewey gave them till nine o'clock one day to surrender, and that night they all left but a few out to their trenches, and those that they left burned up the town, and when the town commenced burning the troops were ordered in as far as possible and said, Kill all we could find. I ran off from the hospital and went ahead with the scouts. And you bet, I did not cross the ocean for the fun there was in it, so the first one I found, he was in a house, down on his knees fanning a fire, trying to burn the house, and I pulled my old Long Tom to my shoulder and left him to burn with the fire, which he did. I got his knife, and another jumped out of the window and ran, and I brought him to the ground like a jack-rabbit. I killed seven that I know of, and one more I am almost sure of: I shot ten shots at him running and knocked him down, and that evening the boys out in front of our trenches now found one with his arm shot off at shoulder and dead as h——. I had lots of fun that morning. There were five jumped out of the brush and cut one of the Iowa band boys, and we killed every one of them, and I was sent back to quarters in the hurry. Came very near getting a court-martial, but the colonel said he had heard that I had done excellent work, and he laughed and said:

'There's good stuff in that man,' and told me not to leave any more without orders. Well, John, there will always be trouble here with the natives unless they annihilate all of them as fast as they come to them."

Tom Crandall, of the Nebraska Regiment:

"The boys are getting sick of fighting these heathens, and all say we volunteered to fight Spain, not heathens. Their patriotism is wearing off. We all want to come home very bad. If I ever get out of this army I will never get into another. They will be fighting four hundred years, and then never whip these people, for there are not enough of us to follow them up. . . . The people of the United States ought to raise a howl and have us sent home."

Captain Elliott, of the Kansas Regiment, February 27th:

"Talk about war being 'hell,' this war beats the hottest estimate ever made of that locality. Caloocan was supposed to contain seventeen thousand inhabitants. The Twentieth Kansas swept through it, and now Caloocan contains not one living native. Of the buildings, the battered walls of the great church and dismal prison alone remain. The village of Maypaja, where our first fight occurred on the night of the fourth, had five thousand people in it at that day, — now not one stone remains upon top of another. You can only faintly imagine this terrible scene of desolation. War is worse than hell."

Leonard F. Adams, of Ozark, in the Washington Regiment:

"I don't know how many men, women, and children the Tennessee boys did kill. They would not take any prisoners. One company of the Tennessee boys was sent into headquarters with thirty prisoners, and got there with about a hundred chickens and no prisoners."

D. M. Mickle, Tennessee Regiment, at Iloilo:

"The building had been taken possession of by a United States officer, and he looted it to a finish. I suspected something and followed one of his men to the place. I expected to be jumped on by the officer as soon as I found him there, as I was away from my post, but it seems he was afraid I would give him away; in fact, we were both afraid of each other. He was half drunk,

and every time he saw me look at anything he would say, 'Tennessee, do you like that? Well, put it in your pocket.' . . . The house was a fine one, and richly furnished, but had been looted to a finish. The contents of every drawer had been emptied on the floor. You have no idea what a mania for destruction the average man has when the fear of the law is removed. I have seen them — old sober business men too — knock chandeliers and plate-glass mirrors to pieces just because they couldn't carry them off. It is such a pity."

Theodore Conley, of a Kansas Regiment:

"Talk about dead indians! Why, they are lying everywhere. The trenches are full of them. . . . More harrowing still: think of the brave men from this country, men who were willing to sacrifice their lives for the freedom of Cuba, dying in battle and from disease, in a war waged for the purpose of conquering a people who are fighting as the Cubans fought against Spanish tyranny and misrule. There is not a feature of the whole miserable business that a patriotic American citizen, one who loves to read of the brave deeds of the American colonists in the splendid struggle for American independence, can look upon with complacency, much less with pride. This war is reversing history. It places the American people and the government of the United States in the position occupied by Great Britain in 1776. It is an utterly causeless and defenceless war, and it should be abandoned by this government without delay. The longer it is continued, the greater crime it becomes — a crime against human liberty as well as against Christianity and civilization. . . . Those not killed in the trenches were killed when they tried to come out. . . . No wonder they can't shoot, with that light thrown on them; shells bursting and infantry pouring in lead all the time. Honest to God, I feel sorry for them."

F. A. Blake, of California, in charge of the Red Cross:

"I never saw such execution in my life, and hope never to see such sights as met me on all sides as our little corps passed over the field, dressing wounded. Legs and arms nearly demolished; total decapitation; horrible wounds in chests and abdomens, showing the determination of our soldiers to kill every native in sight. The Filipinos did stand their ground heroically, contesting every inch, but

proved themselves unable to stand the deadly fire of our well-trained and eager boys in blue. I counted seventy-nine dead natives in one small field, and learn that on the other side of the river their bodies were stacked up for breastworks."

Colonel Funston, Twentieth Kansas Volunteers:

"The boys go for the enemy as if they were chasing jack-rabbits. . . . I, for one, hope that Uncle Sam will apply the chastening rod, good, hard, and plenty, and lay it on until they come into the reservation and promise to be good 'Injuns.'"

E. D. Furnam, of the Washington Regiment, writes of the battles of February 4th and 5th:

"We burned hundreds of houses and looted hundreds more. Some of the boys made good hauls of jewelry and clothing. Nearly every man has at least two suits of clothing, and our quarters are furnished in style; fine beds with silken drapery, mirrors, chairs, rockers, cushions, pianos, hanging-lamps, rugs, pictures, etc. We have horses and carriages, and bull-carts galore, and enough furniture and other plunder to load a steamer."

N. A. J. McDonnel, of the Utah Battery, February 22d:

"The enemy numbered thousands and had courage, but could not shoot straight. People can never tell me anything about the Rough Riders charging San Juan. If these natives could shoot as accurately as the Spanish, they would have exterminated us. Fighting goes on all along the lines, many natives are killed, but we capture very few rifles, as they seem to have men to take them. Official reports say over four thousand two hundred natives have been buried by American troops. How many they have buried themselves and how many more are dead in the brush no one knows."

Frank M. Erb, of the Pennsylvania Regiment, February 27th:

"We have been in this nigger-fighting business now for twenty-three days, and have been under fire for the greater part of that time. The niggers shoot over one another's heads or any old way. Even while I am writ-

ing this the black boys are banging away at our outposts, but they very seldom hit anybody. The morning of the 6th a burying detail from our regiment buried forty-nine nigger enlisted men and two nigger officers, and when we stopped chasing them the night before, we could see 'em carrying a great many with them. We are supposed to have killed about three hundred. Take my advice, and don't enlist in the regulars, for you are good for three years. I am not sorry I enlisted, but you see we have had some excitement and we only have about fourteen months' time to serve, if they keep us our full time, which is not likely. We will, no doubt, start home as soon as we get these niggers rounded up."

Anthony Michea, of the Third Artillery:

"We bombarded a place called Malabon, and then we went in and killed every native we met, men, women, and children. It was a dreadful sight, the killing of the poor creatures. The natives captured some of the Americans and literally hacked them to pieces, so we got orders to spare no one."

Lieut. Henry Page, of the Regular Army:

"After a stay of about eight months among these people, during which time no opportunity has been lost to study their qualities, I find myself still unable to express a decided opinion about the matter, but I can unreservedly affirm that the more evidence collected the greater my respect for the native and his capacities. . . . The recent battle of February 5th was somewhat of a revelation to Americans. They expected the motley horde to run at the firing of the first gun. It was my good fortune to be placed — about ten hours afterward — near the spot where this first gun was fired. I found the Americans still held in check. Our artillery then began to assail the enemy's position, and it was only by the stoutest kind of fighting that the Tennessee and Nebraska Regiments were able to drive him out. The Filipinos' retreat, however, was more creditable than their stand. Perfect order prevailed. One of their companies would hold our advance until the company in their rear could retire and reload, when in turn this company would stand until the former had retired and reloaded. A frequent exclamation along our lines was: 'Haven't these little fellows got grit?' They had more than grit — they

had organization. . . . In each town a church, a convent or priest's home, a 'tribunal,' which is court-house, jail, and record office all in one, and a school, constitute the public buildings. The schools were neat, substantial buildings, which testified that the Spanish made an honest effort to educate the masses. The Filipino is very anxious to learn, and the new government of Aguinaldo used every effort to start afresh these schools. The number of natives who speak Spanish as well as their native tongue, and who also know how to read and write, is remarkable. No school teacher has been appointed in San José, and the school buildings are held by the American officers. In spite of this discouragement there is a private school flourishing in a native hut."

Charles R. Wyland, Company C, Washington Volunteers, March 27:

"This war is something terrible. You see sights you could hardly believe, and a life is hardly worth a thought. I have seen a shell from our artillery strike a bunch of Filipinos, and then they would go scattering through the air, legs, arms, heads, all disconnected. And such sights actually make our boys laugh and yell, 'That shot was a peach.' A white man seems to forget that he is human. . . . Hasty intrenchments were thrown up to protect our troops from this fire, the bodies of many slain Filipinos being used as a foundation for this purpose, intrenching tools being scarce. Other bodies were thrown into the deep cuts across the road, and with a little top dressing of dirt made a good road again for the Hotchkiss gun serving with the left wing to advance to a position commanding the bridge, where the regiment was to force a crossing in the morning. Many other bodies were thrown into the trenches and covered with dirt, while others, scattered about in the woods and fields over which the battle-line swept, still remain unburied."

Albert Brockway, Company M, Twentieth Kansas:

"We must all bear our portion of the shame and disgrace which this great political war has forced upon us. Unless speedily remedied it will be, or at least should be the death-knell of the administration. To those who intend to make the army their profession, and have more regard for personal interests and glory (?) than for the country's welfare it is a grand opportunity. I wonder

how reports are given in the United States of matters here! The press censorship will not allow our papers to publish accounts of deaths, etc., hence we, on one end of the line, scarcely know how the others are getting along."

Frank Fay, Twentieth Infantry:

"Our soldiers are performing the task set them by the government with admirable skill and valor. They are sacrificing their own lives without hesitation, and, so far as any sign appears, without reluctance or regret. But it is a sombre thought that a little tact with the Filipinos might have prevented the rain of 'fire and bullets,' and saved tens of thousands of the natives, and hundreds and thousands of our own brave men."

Sergeant Will A. Rule, Co. H, Colorado Volunteers:

"When you can realize four hundred or five hundred persons living within the confines of five or six blocks, and then an order calling out all of the women and children, and then setting fire to houses and shooting down any niggers attempting to escape from the flames, you have an idea of Filipino warfare."

Fielding Lewis Poindexter, of the Second Oregon:

"About dark, before Company D's return, Colonel Summers rode over to General Wheaton's headquarters. Shortly after reaching there reports, which afterwards proved to be somewhat exaggerated, came in that two companies of the Twenty-second Infantry had been literally cut to pieces, having fallen into an ambush. After a hasty consultation it was decided to proceed at once to kill or drive into the lake every native possible to be found in the half-moon-shaped district lying between the mouth of the Mateo river and the farther end of the lake, a distance of twelve miles."

Robert D. Maxwell, Corporal Co. A, Twentieth Kansas:

"Sometimes we stopped to make sure a native was dead and not lying down to escape injury. Some of them would fall as though dead and, after we had passed, would climb a tree and shoot every soldier that passed that way. Even the wounded would rise up and shoot

after we passed. This led to an order to take no prisoners, but to shoot all."

A. A. Barnes, Battery G, Third United States Artillery:

"The town of Titatia was surrendered to us a few days ago, and two companies occupy the same. Last night one of our boys was found shot and his stomach cut open. Immediately orders were received from General Wheaton to burn the town and kill every native in sight, which was done to a finish. About one thousand men, women, and children were reported killed. I am probably growing hard-hearted, for I am in my glory when I can sight my gun on some dark-skin and pull the trigger. Let me advise you a little, and should a call for volunteers be made for this place, do not be so patriotic as to come here. Tell all my inquiring friends that I am doing everything I can for Old Glory and for America I love so well."

Herbert Cooper Thompson, Co. C, Second Oregon Regiment (Volunteers):

"Of course I feel pity for the dead and wounded, but it all adds to the general feeling of horror for the whole business of war. I wonder if people would have wanted these God-forsaken islands if they had foreseen the cost. That twenty million dollars that they paid bought only Manila. Most all the men who think in the Army Corps are opposed, and have been from the start, to holding these islands. Well, I hope we may never get another weak-kneed politician in the presidential chair at a critical time like this."

Rev. C. F. Dole writes;

"I have a letter from a father in another State whose son is a soldier at Manila:

"'The longer I stay here, and the more I see and think of the matter, the more fully convinced I am that the American nation was and is making a blunder. I do not believe the United States is equal to the task of conquering this people, or even governing them afterwards. . . . I don't think I would miss the truth if I said more non-combatants have been killed than actual native soldiers. I don't believe the people in the United States understand the question or the condition of things here or the

inhuman warfare now being carried on. Talk about Spanish cruelty: they are not in with the Yank. Even the Spanish are shocked. Of course I don't expect to have war without death and destruction, but I do expect that when an enemy gets down on his knees and begs for his life that he won't be shot in cold blood. But it is a fact that the order was not to take a prisoner, and I have seen enough to almost make me ashamed to call myself an American.'"

Raymond Ellis, late corporal in the Seventeenth United States Infantry, makes some unusual charges in a letter to his father. He was in the Santiago campaign, and after returning to the States was sent to the hospital at the Columbus (O.) barracks. He had hardly recovered from his illness, and had but three months to serve of his enlistment, when the regiment was ordered to Manila. Corporal Ellis asked permission to remain, as his time was almost up. This was refused, and he arrived at Manila just before his time expired. On the date of expiration he says he asked for a discharge and transportation home. The commanding officer wanted him to re-enlist, and on his failure to do so, refused transportation home, and he had to work his way on a transport which has recently arrived at San Francisco.

C. B. Hollingsworth, of the Tenth Pennsylvania:

"It is generally believed by the men 'that we have got the worst of the bargain.' . . . It will be necessary to keep a standing army there, and the men deteriorate morally and physically under the influences of the people and climate."

Robert E. Smith, of the Second Oregon:

"We have only to go less than two thousand yards from our present camp to find thousands of well-armed Filipinos ready to give us all the fight we wish. When the battle is on the native seems to be in his element, and the longer this insurrection lasts the more proficient will he become in the use of arms, and the steadier under fire. Those who think Aguinaldo is a quitter can rest easy or uneasy, just as it suits them; but many of us here do not believe it of him, and think there will be some desperate fighting and insurrection for years to come, owing to the bad feeling now existing against the Americans. . . .

Death, suffering, and desolation are looking with baleful eyes upon the thousands of poor Filipinos — men, women, and children — on this unhappy island. The American volunteer is as generous as he is brave, and, while knowing that many of his comrades must fall, and perhaps himself, in the struggle about to begin, there is always sympathy in his heart for the enemy in distress. The faces of women and children have a sad and woeful expression, and they will perhaps never learn the fate of fathers, husbands, and brothers."

Harvey Stark, of the Hospital Corps:

"I am a pronounced anti-expansionist, and the boys are all anxious to come home. Out of twenty-five thousand troops on the island, I do not think that a regiment of them would care to reënlist, providing their time was out."

James A. Reid, a Colorado volunteer:

"Maybe you think this isn't a fine country — to keep away from. In fact, all of the country around here is just 'lousy' with 'niggers.' To the right of us is the lake. About seven miles away, to the north and east, is the little town of Marequina, which will soon have to be taken. As it is the birthplace of Rio del Pilar, one of 'Aggie's' great generals, we expect quite a fight. Malabon and Malolos have not as yet been taken. Don't know about Malolos, but Malabon can be taken any time, as it is next to the bay. . . . We are not nearly as anxious to fight these people as some people may think we are, and we do not enter any of the fights with the same spirit we did when fighting the Spaniards. If a vote was taken to take us home now or wait six months and discharge us here with our travel pay and finals, which would amount to nearly five hundred dollars, I do not believe that ten per cent. would be willing to stay, so you see how the men look at this addition to the United States. The chances look very slim for our getting out before our term expires, which is about fourteen months more, and if the people don't get us out of here soon the asylums will be filled to overflowing. None of the men are the same as they left home, either physically or mentally, and the only thing that will do us any good is to get us home. Any one can have our share of these islands any time they let us get home. There have been about one

hundred and twenty-five killed and three hundred wounded all together, and, when you consider that these beastly islands are not worth one American life, you can see what they are costing.

"Small-pox is still raging in all the regiments, and every day some poor soldier is gone beyond recall. Is it any wonder we want to get home? Well, I have come to the conclusion that soldiering is not what it is cracked up to be, and if Uncle Sam wants any of our services he had better keep us as long as he can now (and I guess he is doing it, too). We are all living as well now as can be expected, and will, probably, through the rest of the service, but that doesn't blot out any past misdeeds. One of our pet expressions now is, 'You couldn't tell us what you think about the army without using profanity, could you?' and the answer generally is in the negative. Oh, yes, we will be afraid of not getting any mail that you write in the next six months. I have absolutely given up all hope of getting home soon. If we don't get away from here before the rainy season sets in there are a whole lot of us who will never get back. The signing of the treaty, or rather ratification of it, won't have much effect on the volunteers here. The Second Missouri is indeed to be congratulated, and they can thank their lucky stars that they were not ordered over here."

Private Ruppenthal, Company M, Twentieth Kansas:

"Have been in numerous battles and skirmishes since February 4th, and with my own hand set fire to over fifty houses of Filipinos after the victory at Caloocan. Women and children were wounded by our fire."

Colonel Stotzenberg:

"I am tired of fighting, and I am tired of seeing my men killed. More of the men in my regiment have been killed than in any other regiment in the Philippines. Since March 25 fifteen of my brave boys have been killed and one hundred and twenty wounded, and there are but six hundred and fifty men in the regiment."

H. S. Murdock, Sergeant-Major First Battalion, First Nebraska:

"Two crawled along the bank wounded, and the word came, 'Knock them, boys!' and the rifles would boom out and over they would go."

A Primer of the Peace Movement

A PRIMER OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT

BY

LUCIA AMES MEAD

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY
31 BEACON ST., BOSTON
1905

The following passages contain the revised text made for the illustrated exhibit of the American Peace Society at the World's Fair, St. Louis, 1904. The Primers are sold at ten cents a copy, $7.50 a hundred, and $50 a thousand. American Peace Society, 31 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.

The Practical Program for World Organization.

Already Achieved.

1. The establishment of representative government in recent times in all Christendom except Russia, and the peaceful union of small states to form larger ones, as in Italy and Germany.

2. The establishment of a World Court at the Hague in 1901, to settle disputes between nations which desire to use it, as the United States Supreme Court settles disputes between our states.

Yet to be Achieved.

3. The establishment of general arbitration treaties between all nations, pledging reference of all disputes to the World Court, as a few nations already have done.

4. The establishment of a Stated World Congress, at first only advisory, but gradually increasing its powers and evolving a code of international law.

5. Gradual proportionate disarmament, following the lead already taken by Chile and Argentina.

6. A small armed international police force. This may not do away with the use of militia or with the possibility of civil war for an indefinite period; but it will end in a comparatively short time our barbarous international duels, by providing an effective substitute.

War's Decrease.

"History is the record of the decline of war, but the slow decline."—*Emerson.*

War was once universal. Now it is exceptional. There were Seven Years' Wars, Thirty Years' Wars, One Hundred Years' Wars. Union of tribes into small states, of these into larger ones, as in ancient France and England, in America and modern Germany and Italy, enlarged the areas in which was peace. This reduced the annoyance of custom-houses, different coinage, etc., and transferred many men from destructive to constructive work.

The cruelties of war are lessening. Women and children are no longer slaughtered or sold into slavery; looting has decreased; the hospital service has enormously improved. The United States has just abolished giving prizes to naval men for victories.

Long-range guns firing at unseen enemies lessen the beastly ferocity of old-time hand-to-hand encounters. Plainer uniforms for soldiers, greater opportunity for travel and adventure outside the army, make army life less attractive. More acquaintance and commerce with foreign peoples and a growing trust in arbitration make war seem more senseless and futile. The increased cost, not only of war, but of standing armies and navies, is compelling tax-payers to rebel at seeing their hard-earned money needlessly thrown away.

A first class battleship ($6,500,000) costs more than the valuation of all the land and the 94 buildings of Harvard University, plus all the land and buildings of both the Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes. New inventions force a battleship out of service in thirteen years.

History of Arbitration.

Since John Jay was burned in effigy in Boston for putting an arbitration clause into our treaty with England in 1794, there have been two hundred and fifty international disputes settled by arbitration or by special commissions. From 1814 to 1840 there were only twenty-four such settlements; but the rate of increase was so rapid that in 1901, 1902 and 1903 there were sixty-three.

All but the two cases recently sent to the new World Court at the Hague were settled by special courts arranged for the occasion. Hereafter the Permanent World Court will settle the most of such cases. America had the honor of opening the Hague Court. The first case sent to it was the "Pious Fund" case between the United States and Mexico. The second was the Venezuela case, to which eleven nations were parties. The third case is between Japan and England, France and Germany.

At the Pan-American Congress held in Mexico in 1901 and 1902, all the Central and South American States asked for admission to the Hague Court. Ten of them went further, and signed a treaty to settle their mutual difficulties by arbitration. Forty nations of the two hemispheres have now no excuse for war with each other. Since October, 1903, a score of general arbitration treaties, pledging reference of disputes to the Hague Court, have been signed by different nations.

The Hague Conference.

On May 18, 1899, one hundred delegates of the twenty-six nations that had representatives at St. Petersburg met in a palace at The Hague to consider the Czar's rescript issued in August, 1898. The mightiest monarch in Christendom, appalled that the increased cost of armaments was bringing about the very results armies were formed to avert, had urged the nations to discuss gradual proportionate disarmament. For three months the Conference worked steadily on its problems.

The Permanent Tribunal.

The services rendered by the English, French and other commissioners was very great. Vast numbers of letters and telegrams were sent from America to Andrew D. White and the other American delegates at The Hague; and at a critical moment this strong expression of American opinion had great weight. Though disarmament was not definitely arranged for, a Permanent International Tribunal, as the necessary first step towards it, was agreed on by all delegates. They also arranged methods of conciliation between the signatory powers.

Their achievement was the greatest of the kind in human history. The delegates, who had met with misgivings, like those at our Constitutional Convention in 1787, parted in confidence and hope.

The Hague Court was opened in April, 1901. A fine mansion was purchased for it — to be used until the noble Temple of Peace provided by Mr. Carnegie is completed — and a permanent secretary installed. It has now a board of seventy-two judges from the twenty-two countries that ratified the Conventions. China, Turkey, Persia, and Montenegro have not yet ratified. These judges remain at home until selected to try a case. Recourse to the Hague Court is optional until nations pledge themselves by arbitration treaties to use it.

A Stated International Congress.

Since 1875 thirty-three International Congresses have been held, three of these in Washington, and one, a Pan-American Conference, in Mexico. These have considered matters relating to postal service, weights and measures, laws of war, sanitation, quarantine, commerce, etc. These congresses meeting irregularly have grown more and more quasi-legislative, and treaties and conventions are often based on their action.

The world's business now demands that a regular International Congress, composed of representatives of the various governments, should be arranged, to meet at definite intervals, to consider increasingly complex international interests and to make recommendations which would become law when ratified by the nations thus represented.

The Massachusetts Legislature in 1903 unanimously petitioned Congress, to authorize the President to invite the nations to establish such a Congress. This would forestall evils, remove friction, develop international law, and lessen the likelihood of war; and it might eventually become a genuine Parliament of Nations. It is one of the next great steps toward the Organization of the World.

Peace Congresses.

The first International Peace Congress was planned in Boston, and held in London in 1843. Of its 300 delegates, 30 were from the United States. The second received its impulse from Elihu Burritt, and was held in Brussels in 1848. The third, in Paris, in 1849, had an attendance of 2,000, and was presided over by Victor Hugo. The fourth was in Frankfort in 1850; and the fifth in London in 1851. Burritt was an active promoter of all of these last.

The Peace Congresses were revived in 1889, and have been held in London, Rome, Berne, Chicago, Antwerp, Buda-Pesth, Hamburg, Paris, Glasgow, Monaco, and Rouen. The last Congress received marked attention from the French government. Since its meeting in 1903, ten European nations have signed arbitration treaties pledging reference to the Hague Court; and France and England, unfriendly to each other for centuries, have quietly settled by diplomacy a half-dozen matters any one of which in former days might have led to war. The mere fact of a World Court being ready to hear cases will cause many cases to be peaceably settled out of court.

The Congress of 1904 met in Boston, the first week in October. It was by far the largest Peace Congress ever held, and was followed by great meetings in many American cities.

Statesmen and Jurists.

The Interparliamentary Union, of over 2,000 members of parliaments of different nations, held its annual meeting in St. Louis in September, 1904. Congress voted $50,000 for the entertainment of the foreign delegates to it. It was founded by W. R. Cremer, M.P., who received in 1903 the annual prize of about $40,000 left by the Swedish inventor, Nobel, to be given to the person who had done the most to promote peace. The Union, founded in 1888, has met at Rome, Berne, The Hague, Brussels, Buda-Pesth, Christiania, Paris and Vienna. Every European nation except Spain has a parliamentary arbitration group. Our Congress has just formed one. The French Assembly's group numbers two hundred members.

The International Law Association was opened in 1873, and has a membership of about four hundred jurists and publicists. It is a strong factor in developing international law and promoting better international relations.

United States judges in the Hague Court: Chief Justice Fuller, Judge George Gray, Hon. Oscar S. Straus, ex-Attorney-General Griggs.

JEAN DE BLOCH.

Eminent Economist, Financier, and Russian Imperial Councillor.

Born near Warsaw in 1836. Died in 1902.

He was a poor Polish Jew who, by rare ability, rose to wealth and power. As an administrator of railroads, he studied war as affected by food and transportation. His great work, "The Future of War," in six volumes, based on the researches of many experts, is a scientific demonstration of the futility of war to-day when waged between equal powers. The last volume summing up his conclusions is in English.* Bloch's book was one of the causes of the Czar's calling the Hague Peace Conference. Bloch met and influenced the delegates at The Hague; and in lectures in Paris and London he exerted a wide influence.

Next to Grotius' great book upon "The Rights of War and Peace," two hundred and fifty years ago, "The Future of War" is destined more than any other work to revolutionize men's attitude toward war. Prepared by a keen business man, the main argument should be understood by every business man and voter.

*Sold at cost price by Messrs. Ginn & Co., 29 Beacon Street, Boston. 65 cents, mailed. Sumner's and Channing's Addresses on War also each for the same price.

These may also be procured at the same rates at the office of the American Peace Society, 31 Beacon Street, Boston.

Bloch's Arguments.

Armies used to march compactly and fire at close range. Now soldiers must be scattered over an immense front line of battle, and often fight an unseen enemy. On smokeless battlefields officers are easily picked off by sharpshooters. Modern artillery is fifteen times as deadly as in 1870. Shells break into twelve times as many pieces as they did then. Shrapnel fire scatters nine times as many death-dealing missiles. The modern rifle fires missiles that can pierce several bodies, and even trees. Nurses and ambulances cannot be protected under the deadly fire of long-range guns. The wounded may lie for days unattended. Military training and mechanical obedience will count less in the future. War will be more of the guerilla type. Individual initiative and ingenuity are what will count. Much larger bodies, very unwieldy and difficult to feed and direct, will face each other. War on a great scale to-day implies such gigantic economic disaster as means national ruin for both combatants and loss to all the world. Dead men and beggars are poor customers.

Conditions governing war have fundamentally changed since smokeless powder and long range, rapid-firing guns mowing down everything in a straight line instead, as formerly, throwing bullets in a curve, make direct fighting so deadly that armies must remain distant, and will use intrenchments far more than ever. Future war will be long drawn out in marchings and weary sieges. Few nations raise as much of their own food as formerly, and, to win, attacking forces should now be ten times as large as the defensive. The economic strain of sustaining these vast, complex mechanisms of war will disorganize industry and commerce, and bring bankruptcy and famine. When nations are unequal, the stronger will at last exhaust the weaker, as in the Philippine and Boer wars, but at far greater delay and cost than formerly. England spent ten times as much in killing less than 4,000 Boers in battle as the United States spent during the American Revolution. Future war between equal forces will bankrupt both, under modern conditions, and decide nothing.

The New World's Work for Peace.

A century before the Czar's rescript, Jefferson, Samuel Adams, Washington, and Franklin were zealous advocates of peace.*

The United States led the world in organized work for peace. We established three Peace Societies in 1815,— the first in the world. A great wave of peace effort spread over the country during the next generation. Noah Worcester, Channing, Sumner, William Ladd, Elihu Burritt, were among its leaders. The International Peace Congresses had their inception in Boston. Here, too, were taken the first steps toward forming the International Law Association of four hundred jurists,— one of the foremost agencies for the world's peace. Sixty years ago agitation for arbitration was so common here that Europeans called it "the American Way."

In 1900 Argentina and Chile were on the verge of war over territorial boundary disputes; but a revulsion of feeling, originating in the noble protest of an eloquent bishop in Argentina, led to an agreement to arbitrate their difficulties. Since the arbitration, which satisfied both countries, both have begun disarmament. Chile has turned an arsenal into a trade school, is teaching science more than military tactics to her cadets, and has already spent on good roads ten million dollars gained by reducing naval expenses. In March, 1904, upon a mountain pass on the lofty Andes boundary line there was erected a colossal bronze statue of Christ, as a memorial of the compact of perpetual peace between these nations, and as a better guardian of the border than a cordon of fortresses.

*See some of their trenchant and little known statements in Edwin D. Mead's "The Principles of the Founders."

Some Famous Workers for Peace.

1. Henry IV. of France, who formed his "Great Design" for the federation of Europe.

2. Hugo Grotius. His "Rights of War and Peace," published in 1624, says Andrew D. White, "of all works not claiming to be inspired, has proved the greatest blessing to humanity."

3. William Penn in 1693 published his remarkable "Plan for the Permanent Peace of Europe."

4. Immanuel Kant, the great German philosopher. In his essay on "Eternal Peace," he showed that war would not cease until the world was organized, and that it could not be safely federated until the nations had representative government.

5. William Ellery Channing. The ablest and most strenuous supporter of peace that the American pulpit has produced.

6. Charles Sumner. In his famous address on "The True Grandeur of Nations" and other great addresses, he worked as earnestly against war as during his whole life he worked against slavery.

7. Elihu Burritt. He secured cheap ocean postage. Half a century before the Czar's rescript, he proposed a World Court. This idea was popularly known in Europe as "The American Plan."

8. Andrew Carnegie. He offered to repay the United States $20,000,000, the price paid to Spain, if our government would give the Philippines independence. He has added prestige to the Hague Court by giving $1,500,000 to erect a noble building for it and to provide in connection an international library. He has given $5,000,000 to provide pensions and rewards for Heroes of Peace.

What Great Soldiers Have Said.

"The more I study the world, the more am I convinced of the inability of brute force to create anything durable."— *Napoleon at St. Helena.*

"My first wish is to see this plague to mankind banished from the earth," and, "although it is against the profession of arms and would clip the wings of some young soldiers soaring after glory, to see the whole world in peace and the inhabitants striving who should contribute most to the happiness of mankind."— *Washington.*

"I confess without shame that I am tired and sick of the war. Its glory is all moonshine. It is only those who have neither heard a shot nor heard the shrieks and groans of the wounded who cry aloud for more blood, more vengeance, more desolation." "War is hell."— *General Sherman.*

"War will eliminate itself. . . . By the next centennial, arbitration will rule the world."— *General Sheridan.*

"The contrast between war and peace is illustrated by the fact that what has been expended on the Philippines would have put water on every quarter section of arable land in our country where it is required; it would have built for the farmers a splendid system of good roads or for commerce two ship-canals across the isthmus."— *General Miles.*

Some Causes of War.

A military class ambitious for activity and promotion.

Contempt for peoples who have not white skins.

Lack of power to put one's self in another's place, and of will to do justice.

Ignorant and perverse interpretation of the Bible, judging God's will by ancient Israel's barbaric deeds instead of by Christ's spirit.

Greed for high interest, which war loans provide. Rich investors have much political power, and are made richer by war, while the masses are impoverished. Most wars would end quickly, were war loans impossible.

"The vast expenditure on armaments, the costly wars, the grave risks and embarrassments of foreign policy, the stoppage of political and social reforms within Great Britain, though fraught with injury to the nation, have served well the business interests of certain industries and professions."— *The English Economist, Hobson.*

"That original sin of nations,— the greed of territorial aggrandizement."— *Gladstone.*

"You push into territories where you have no business to be and where you had promised not to go. Your intrusion provokes resentment, and resentment means resistance. You instantly cry out that the people are rebellious, in spite of your own assurance that you have no intention of setting up a permanent sovereignty over them. You send a force to stamp out the rebellion. Having spread bloodshed, confusion, and anarchy, you declare, with hands uplifted to the heavens, that moral reasons force you to stay. These are the five stages in the Forward Rake's Progress."— *John Morley.*

Investors. Foreign investments are enormously increasing in weak and poorly governed countries. Poor Asiatics are supposed to be better customers than our own negroes and poor whites and South Americans. Put this year's naval budget into Southern schools, create new wants and resources, and we should have immensely larger sales near home.

The Sensational Press. It enlarges on every misunderstanding and evil rumor. It exaggerates and distorts news with false head-lines,— anything to create a fever, sell papers, and coin money. Its readers are fooled, and fooled all the time.

What Might Have Been.

Three weeks before Paul Kruger's "ultimatum," Joseph Chamberlain refused to refer the difficulties to an arbitration board of two Dutch and three British chief justices. Had he done so, England would have saved three years of bitterness, a set-back to all local progress and reform, and the hatred of a people who lost 20,000 women and children in concentration camps; she would have saved $1,100,000,000, which might have given that third of England's population who are living in dire poverty on less than $6 a week per *family* 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 Houses, at $2,000 each.

Two years after the war, England was paying $400,000 a week to keep up her present army in South Africa, where free speech is still denied, while one quarter of her own people at home go hungry. The cheap Chinese labor, now being imported by the mine operators in the face of the protest of the South African people, makes the condition of the "Outlanders" to-day vastly worse than that for the pretended relief of which the British Government entered upon the war.

Common Fallacies.

That armies and navies are but national police, and will be needed as long as police are. Police and armies have totally different functions. Police will be needed until the millennium. Militia will be needed as long as there are rioters and lynchers; but armies and navies might be banished in the immediate future. Police do not punish criminals, but use only that minimum of force necessary to bring them to an impartial court. Armies and navies, on the contrary, settle cases themselves by sheer brute force, without reference to evidence or justice. National armies and navies will diminish gradually, to be replaced at last by a small international armed police. The united action of European and Japanese troops at Pekin foreshadowed this.

That armies and navies are useful in giving employment. So is a Baltimore fire or Galveston flood. The murder of President McKinley gave work to doctors, bands, undertakers, florists, and reporters. The many suffer while a few temporarily gain.

That barrack drill educates slovenly peasants into clean, well-disciplined men. Were there no armies, hundreds of millions more dollars every year could be turned into schools, with proper physical training, and eventually there would be no ill-fed, slovenly classes left.

That a military expert knows the nation's military needs better than other men do. As well ask an architect whether you need a house, or a dressmaker whether you need a gown, as to ask a soldier whether we need more armaments. It is human nature to magnify one's profession and to want large appropriations. The soldier gets no glory or promotion in time of peace, and naturally wants something to do. The business man is a far more impartial judge of the nation's danger from foreign jealousy.

That we need a larger navy to keep the peace. Our navy in efficiency is already second only to England's. Our outlay for it has increased seven hundred per cent. since 1886. We are going wildly beyond the needs of defence, are becoming aggressive, and are arousing suspicion and jealousy. Canada and other friendly states call for larger armaments to match our new ones. Our rich, safe nation, without enemies except those we provoke, of all others can best afford to lead the world toward disarmament.

That war kills off surplus population. There is none. The earth is very sparsely settled, and is incalculably rich in resources. We have only begun to see the possibilities of scientific farming. All the population of the globe could be put into Texas, and allow a half-acre to each family.

Common Fallacies.

"*You can't change human nature.*" All history gives this fallacy the lie. Nothing in the world is changing faster than human tastes and activities. If our bad instincts cannot be wholly rooted out, they can be kept dormant. Emerson and Lincoln showed better than their savage, tattooed ancestors what human nature is.

"*In time of peace prepare for war.*" This means, when you are friendly with a neighbor; build up a wall between you; be on the alert for insults, and prepare to knock him down. Since opening the Hague Court, the motto for sane nations is, "In time of peace prepare by treaties to refer every grievance to the World Court."

War prevents stagnation, and makes nations brave and strong. Famines, fires, and floods bring out bravery in some men also. Shall we therefore desire them? War makes far more men immoral, diseased, and cruel than it makes brave and noble. Bravery in battle does not imply courage to vote an unpopular ticket, to do business honestly, or to be brave outside of war. War skims off the cream of manly vigor, and leaves a skim-milk nation to produce a weaker race. Napoleon's wars destroyed the strength of France. The French physique has been inferior ever since.* Spain's chronic wars have left an enfeebled race.

Nothing but blood can wipe out blood. This is a savage and silly superstition. As well say that only ink can wipe out ink.

Nations will never arbitrate questions of honor or of vital importance. The armed cavalier who fought duels at the slightest provocation, two hundred years ago, thought no court could settle a question of his honor. His descendants, who carry no swords, pick fewer quarrels, and settle even the most vital ones in court. Nations will gradually follow suit, now that they, for the first time, have a World Court. The sceptics in 1901 said the Hague Court would amount to nothing; but its first case was begun in much shorter time than our Supreme Court at Washington had to wait for its first case. Within the century the World Court will become a universal substitute for international duels.

"*Trade follows the flag.*" All the statistics show the contrary. Trade goes where it finds customers. Only thirty per cent. of England's foreign trade is with her own possessions.

* See President Jordan's "The Blood of the Nation."

True and Sham Patriotism.

Patriotism is tested not by a show of bunting or making noise or by boasting of our bigness and our strength, but by daily deeds of service through good citizenship.

Flags and fire-crackers no more indicate service of country than pew-cushions and steeples indicate service of God. Pride of ancestry, interest in genealogy and colonial furniture, admiration for martial music and gold lace, are sometimes mistaken for patriotism.

Are not Americans singularly unpatriotic in time of peace,— that is, nine-tenths of the time? Our civic corruptions, due to civic apathy and general disregard of law, are making us a by-word in Christendom. Were we patriotic, Addicks would be as abhorred as Benedict Arnold. Increase of wealth and opportunity has made us selfish and indifferent to the country's dangers. The most solemn words of the year are President Roosevelt's, that there has been lately "more official corruption brought to light than in the previous century of our country's history." This means treason to the Republic. It means that we have deserters and cowards in office, factory, shop, and parlor.

"A Splendid Charge."

"There will be the full complement of backs broken in two, of arms twisted wholly off, of men impaled upon their own bayonets, of legs smashed up like bits of firewood, of heads sliced open like apples, of other heads crunched into soft jelly by the iron hoofs of horses, of faces trampled out of all likeness to anything human. This is what skulks behind 'a splendid charge.' This is what follows, as a matter of course, when our fellows rode at them in style and cut them up famously!" — *Charles Dickens.*

Heroes of Peace.

Our Republic has been at peace nine-tenths of the time since its founding in 1789. It needs heroes of peace far more than heroes of war; yet civic heroism, rewarded by no medals or promotions, is far rarer than military heroism. Our greatest enemies have been not "red coats" nor "gray coats," Mexicans nor Malays, but "grafters," "boodlers," ballot-box stuffers and anarchists of all kinds, from red-handed lynchers to millionaires who bribe legislatures and judges who defeat justice by technicalities. These have attacked our honor and poisoned our life-blood in time of peace. We erect statues to military heroes; but poets, prophets, philanthropists, inventors, explorers, firemen, policemen, who sacrifice money or life in peace, are seldom so honored. We should give highest honors to the heroes who have fought our worst enemies,— corruption, ignorance, poverty, injustice. Such were Washington and Lincoln, Franklin and Jefferson, Garrison, Theodore Parker, Beecher, Channing, Sumner, Horace Mann, Elihu Burritt, General Armstrong, Colonel Waring, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Dorothea Dix.

What Business Men Forget.

Three-fourths of the teachers of the United States are women. Their average salary is $270,— about half that of a garbage-hauler or street-sweeper. Our true national defence is not short-lived battleships, but what teachers can achieve. Our rich country, lying safely between two oceans and with no enemies on earth, spends over $8,000,000 a month upon its navy. Were this sum for only one year put into building up our men instead of building destroyers of other people's property, each one of our six million illiterates over ten years old would get a three years' schooling.

When Washington urged a "respectable defensive posture" for our government, he obtained it at $1,000,000 a year for army and navy. To-day, when population is only 20 times as great, our total outlay for national defence has increased 200 times.

Armed peace is the chief cause of poverty in Christendom. Two-thirds of the nation's revenues are, on an average, spent upon "national defence."

What Business Men Can Do.

Chambers of Commerce and Merchants' Clubs may unite to petition Congress for general arbitration treaties with every nation, and pledge reference of all international disputes to settlement by diplomacy or arbitration.

They can endow lectureships in colleges and theological schools, to provide yearly lectures on international justice and the organization of the world. Like Charles Sumner, they can provide for prizes for the best essays on Arbitration.

They might win worthy fame and perhaps change the course of history by donating the price of one battleship — $7,000,000 — to opening in each of the world's fourteen great capitals an "International Union," the building to cost $200,000, and its endowment $300,000. This would be a centre of propaganda in schools, churches, the press, and business organizations.

Syndicate articles written by experts should be sent to every newspaper. Economic facts about the cost of armed peace should be advertised everywhere. Ingenuity, common sense, and business sagacity should turn the tide from waste and wickedness. Why are not business men more practical?

What Editors Can Do.

They can largely change the course of history by choosing how and what they will report. If they are first of all patriots, they will be as willing to sacrifice dollars from advertisers and subscribers as soldiers are to lose limb in battle when the country's welfare demands it.

They will dare write unpopular truths. They will forbid "fake" reports and misleading head-lines. They will "blue pencil" flippant comment and cynical sneers upon peace, progress, and justice. They will realize the obligation of doing the thinking for the masses, and will no more poison their minds for a few paltry dollars than they would poison their food.

They will show the relation between imperialism and militarism; they will not confound "expansion," which term refers only to area, with "imperialism," which concerns method of government.

They will show that since 1897 we have madly pushed up our total cost for army and navy 140 per cent., and will show the folly of multiplying short-lived battleships instead of putting their cost into education and the things which really make the nation strong.

What Teachers Can Do.

1. Children are natural partisans. Make plain to them that the American Revolution was not a conflict between America as a whole and England as a whole, but between the Liberal and Tory parties in both countries. Let pupils memorize noble passages from Chatham, Burke, and others who sided with us against King George. Also have them memorize Longfellow's "The Arsenal at Springfield," and similar poems.

2. Enlarge on the causes and results of wars, but not on details of campaigns. Show that loyalty to truth and justice is more than loyalty to any man or race or place or party.

3. Choose carefully the pictures for your school-room.

4. Teach the history and significance of arbitration. Teach graphically what *a million* means. Few adults have any conception of it. Utilize for arithmetical problems some of the significant statistics on the cost and waste of war and armed peace. Never let children sing without protest such words as "The army and navy forever," or "Then conquer we must, for our cause it is just." This is false. In war, justice does not imply success. The strong wins. Read Zola's novel, "The Downfall," and Baroness von Suttner's "Lay down your Arms."

What Ministers Can Do.

Preach about international relations in the spirit of Jesus Christ instead of Joshua. Always clearly explain the context of Christ's saying, "I come not to bring peace, but a sword," etc. Never permit "Boys' Brigades" in your church.

Read the history of arbitration, and consider the practical programme for the organization of the world. Preach on it at least once a year. Hold a special peace celebration every 18th of May,—the anniversary of the opening of the Hague Conference. Set people to reading Channing's, Sumner's, and Bloch's writings on peace and war. Send to the American Peace Society, 31 Beacon Street, Boston, for these and other literature at cost price.

Show how the common misapprehension of the doctrine of the "survival of the fittest" results in cruelty and arrogance towards weak nations.*

*Read Kropotkin's "Mutual Aid a Factor in Evolution."

What Parents Can Do.

Permit drums and trumpets, color, music, marching, "dressing up," all that is harmless about military display; but never allow toy guns or soldiers or playing at killing. As well give children toy coffins, and let them play "hanging," as to permit the ghastly business of shooting human beings to be associated with riotous sport and pleasure.

Get your neighborhood to redeem the Fourth of July. Substitute beautiful pageants for dangerous sports and lawlessness. Put copies of Verestchagin's pictures of war in your son's room, if he is inflamed with the military spirit. Cultivate imagination,—putting one's self in the "other fellow's" place.

Select the newspapers your children read, and avoid letting them read details of current wars. These excite, but do not educate immature minds. Discuss politics, world movements, and race prejudices with your boys and girls as if they were as vital as family affairs. Show that you covet for them a keen sense of justice more than high marks or prizes. Teach them that the true culture "counts nothing human foreign."

THE UNION OF AMERICAN REPUBLICS AND INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION

ADDRESS

OF

Hon. James B. McCreary

OF KENTUCKY

AT THE

Greensboro North Carolina Centennial and Peace Congress

MONDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1908

The Union of American Republics and International Arbitration.

Address of Hon. James B. McCreary of Kentucky, at the Greensboro North Carolina Centennial and Peace Congress, Monday, October 12, 1908.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am glad to participate in the interesting exercises of this great occasion, and it gives me much pleasure to be in this historic city—rich in traditions, famous for its attractive and intelligent men and women, conspicuous for epochs and events and recognized as one of the educational, industrial and railroads centers of a grand Commonwealth.

Since the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence North Carolina has been conspicuous, interesting and great.

I congratulate all on the splendid success of the Greensboro Centennial and Peace Congress.

Peace, arbitration and commerce are among the grandest problems of the civilized world. It is fitting and proper that their good work should be especially conspicuous in the three Americas.

PAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCE.

The movement for their special advancement by act of the Congress of the United States commenced on the 4th of January, 1888, when a bill was introduced in the House of Representatives authorizing the President of the United States to arrange a conference to be held in the city of Washington for the purpose of preserving peace and promoting arbitration, and encouraging reciprocal commercial relations

between the United States of America and the Republics of Mexico, of Central America and South America, and the then Empire of Brazil. The bill passed both Houses of Congress and was approved by Grover Cleveland, President of the United States, May 24, 1888. As has been said by the distinguished presiding officer of this great assemblage, I had the honor to introduce and advocate the bill, and I shall always remember with pleasure that I proposed the legislation which has produced beneficial results.

The International American Conference, commonly called Pan-American Conference, convened at the city of Washington in the year 1889, soon after the inauguration of President Harrison and eighteen nations were represented, and it remained in session six months and discussed and adopted many propositions, but the most important were: those relating to the peace and prosperity of the several American Nations and a plan of Arbitration for the settlement of International disputes and the encouragement of reciprocal commercial relations.

This Conference was of great benefit to North, South and Central America. It brought the Republics of the three Americas in closer touch. It improved their commercial relations, it cultivated friendship and fraternity among the people, and caused the establishment by common consent of the Pan-American Union.

No man can express more forcibly, eloquently and truthfully the results of that conference than did Andrew Carnegie on the 11th of May, 1908, at the laying of the cornerstone in Washington of the building which is to be the future home of the International Bureau of American Republics, when he said: "Today my thoughts revert to the first Pan-American Conference, of which I was a member. The work then commenced will, I believe, culminate in the banishment of war from the American continents and the dedication of the Western Hemisphere to International Peace."

The second Pan-American Conference was held in the City of Mexico in 1901. The third Pan-American Conference was held in Rio Janeiro, Brazil, in 1906, and the fourth is to be held in Buenos Ayres, Argentine Republic in 1910. All the conferences which have been held have been beneficial

and conspicuous for the promotion of the good work commenced at the first conference.

BUREAU OF AMERICAN REPUBLICS.

On the first of January, 1907, the generous benefactor and prominent leader of arbitration, Andrew Carnegie, donated $750,000.00 for the purpose of constructing a permanent building in Washington for the International Bureau of American Republics. This amount, with $250,000.00 contributed by the Republics of the three Americas, makes one million of dollars now being used to build what we may appropriately call the first temple of peace in America.

The various meetings of the Pan-American Conference showed the possibilities of the Union of American Republics, and the valuable reports that have been distributed and the information scattered broadcast in many Nations, have shown the importance and the value of the Bureau, but the laying of the cornerstone of the building for the International Bureau of American Republics May the 11th, 1908, gave to it permanence and strength and was a memorable event without a parallel in the history of the world. Twenty-one Nations united in helping to provide a common meeting place and a home for their common deliberations, and marked in durable form the new era of peace, friendship and commerce between independent Nations, whose representatives were present.

UNION OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS.

The union of the American Republics made possible the International Bureau of American Republics and the possibilities of this union are increasing and broadening every year. Already the Republics of the three Americas are bound together in kindly bonds of friendship, good will, mutual justice and common desire for independence and popular Government. The interests of these people are more closely intertwined than they can be with the people of the other Hemisphere, and more than three quarters of a century ago the United States of America showed respect for the Sovereignty and independence of the Republics of the Western Hemisphere by the announcement of the Monroe Doctrine. The

future will mark stronger ties, more intimate association, quicker communications and stronger commercial relations aided by a trans-continental railway, which will connect all the American Republics and a great Inter-Oceanic waterway conceived by American intellect, constructed by American skill, paid for with American money, which will connect in perpetual embrace the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, change many important sea routes and greatly benefit the American Republics and bring nearer together the Nations on two of the great sea fronts of the world.

The progress, improvement and advancement of the American Republics in the last century was great, and our Republic became a world power on land and sea.

In the present century, from all indications no other part of the world will show greater development and advancement and broader progress in political stability, or better promotion of the interests of the people than will be seen in North, Central and South America.

ARBITRATION FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES.

The union of American Republics first gave force and impetus on the American Continent to arbitration for the settlement of International disputes. Commencing after the act of Congress was passed international arbitration has been invoked in various Republics of the three Americas. A notable instance was the settlement of the disagreement between the United States of America and Mexico by arbitration, this being the first case decided by the Court of Arbitration at The Hague. Another notable instance was the Central American Conference composed of delegates from each of the five Central American Republics, and this Conference provided for a Judicial Tribunal, composed of one Judge from each of the Central American Republics with power to consider and decide all disagreements which occurred between the Central American Republics.

Peace and arbitration were appreciated in the Republics of Argentine and Chili. They warred with each other for years, but they felt the spirit of the present age and proved that peace hath victories more renowned than war, and they

laid aside their arms, referring their disagreement to arbitration and then erected a statue of Christ, the Prince of Peace, cast from part of the cannon with which they had fought, and placed the statue on the heights of the Andes on the boundary line between the two countries, as fixed by Arbitral judgment, and on the statue is this inscription: "Sooner shall these mountains crumble to dust than Argentines and Chilians break the peace, which at the feet of Christ the Redeemer, they have sworn to maintain."

The sentiment is growing every day, that as individuals who disagree or quarrel, are not permitted to settle their disputes by violence, but are referred to the courts of law or equity, in order that the disagreement may be adjusted, this principle should apply also to nations, and nations should settle their disputes, which will not yield to diplomacy, by adherence to equity and International law applied by an International Judicial Tribunal.

International arbitration is simply an advance in civilization and righteousness, and the times demand that there should be opposition to war. The world is startled by the new inventions for battle and the new enginery of war for the brutal destruction of men and the reckless expenditure of money. Never has the ancient proverb, "Elaborate preparation for war constitutes the ground work for peace," been more applicable than at the present time. The great nations of Europe present the spectacle of great military camps, and in some nations every peace man toiling for his daily bread, has in expense to carry a full armed soldier on his back. It is said the cost of armaments in certain nations of Europe exceed all other costs of maintaining the respective governments, and we know that in our country the annual cost of the army and navy has increased from fifty-six millions of dollars in 1898, to two hundred and eighteen millions of dollars in 1908. So that in ten years, the cost has about quadrupled.

We cannot, however, jump to the blessings of perpetual peace brought about by the settlement of international disputes, through arbitration. What the civilized world needs to promote arbitration is the establishment of a court of able judges, who will have no other occupation, no other interest

and no other aspirations but to consider and decide international questions submitted to them, with the fairness and ability which have made courts of justice in the civilized world the exponents of all that is pure and just in modern civilization.

It has been well said: "War between individuals was abolished by the formation of states; war between states was abolished by the formation and the development of a union of states; war between nations will be abolished by the formation and development of a union of nations." I say, therefore, nations should act together under treaties and they should be united on a common plan and their disagreements settled without war by International Tribunal or permanent court of arbitration. It will take time to accomplish this, but the tendency of the civilized world at present is to this plan, and it is sure to be adopted.

We should have adequate armament and effective arbitration. In other words, adequate national armament for conditions as they exist, and effective International arbitration wherein all nations may respect each other's vital interests—independence and honor—and arbitrate all other differences which cannot be settled by diplomacy. I hope and believe that the civilized and Christian nations will after awhile reach the position when they will agree to submit all controversies to peaceful methods of adjustment.

The relation between armaments and arbitration is significant. Armaments increase with disputes and danger, arbitration increases with peace and security. As the area of international arbitration is extended, there will be peace and security, which will be sure to warrant the decrease of armaments. National weakness invites war, military and naval strength advance Peace and Arbitration. If our country had no army and navy, and was not known to be formidable in war we would not be an important factor in the great problem of arbitration for the settlement of international disputes.

President Roosevelt is the only chief officer of a nation in the world, who was ever awarded a peace prize. He called the second Hague Peace Conference and he brought peace to two nations which had a million of men in hostile array and he is, therefore, good authority on the subject of peace. He

said: "An adequate armament is one of the essentials in obtaining effectual arbitration * * * * We should provde adequate armaments to protect us against all aggressions, and at the same time strive for effective arbitration of any and all disputes that may arise between us and foreign nations."

Our country has a record of which we may well be proud. Since our independence was acknowledged a century and a quarter ago, we have spent only five years in foreign wars, a record almost unparalleled. Our country has been a party to forty-seven arbitrations, about one-third that have occurred in the last century, and it has stood in the forefront of the nations seeking peace, and has been the most influential factor among them in promoting international arbitration.

THE HAGUE PEACE CONFERENCE.

The great event of all time in respect to international arbitration was The Hague Peace Conference of 1899, at which 26 nations were represented. The great achievement of that conference was the establishment of a permanent Tribunal for the exercise of international functions. Special tribunals had been created before for the decision of particular questions, but a great step was taken when there was substituted a permanent organization always open for the exercise of Judicial functions to settle differences between nations. At the second Hague Peace Conference held in 1907, 44 nations were represented and there was positive and beneficial progress. There were many good results that I have not time to present. Three of the best results were a positive arrangement for a third Hague Conference, which practically assured a regular international Parliament and the adoption of a Convention by which the controlling powers agreed not to have recourse to armed force for the collection of contractual debts and a Convention providing that in case of dispute between two nations, one of them can apply to the International Bureau for arbitration. Heretofore the two nations had to jointly apply for arbitration.

LEGISLATION TO SECURE REPRESENTATION AT ALL CONFERENCES.

A bill is now pending in the United States Senate to secure by Legislation representation for the United States at

the Pan-American, The Hague and all International Conferences and it provides that former Presidents of the United States shall be ex-officio representatives for life, at all the Conferences where the United States participates, and not exceeding four other persons to be appointed by the President. No persons could be better equipped for the important work of the Conference or show more conspicuously by their appointment the deep interest taken by our nation in arbitration for the settlement of international disputes than the ex-Presidents of the United States.

I hope to see the United States Congress which annually appropriates millions of dollars for war, appropriate a few thousand dollars for peace.

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION STEADILY PROGRESSING.

Arbitration for the settlement of international disputes has been steadily progressing throughout the civilized world. In the last two decades the progress has been wonderful. Let us take a look back for twenty years.

First. The Pan-American Conference, held at Washington authorized by act of the United States Congress, approved May 24, 1888, for the purpose of preserving peace and promoting arbitration for the settlement of International disputes and encouraging reciprocal commercial relations between North, South and Central America, followed by Conferences held in Mexico and Brazil and to be held in Argentine Republic.

Second. The Inter-Parliamentary Union composed of members of various national Parliaments of Europe, organized to promote arbitration for the settlement of International disputes, which has held fifteen meetings. The last at Berlin in Germany in September of this year.

President Roosevelt called the second Hague Conference in compliance with a resolution of this Union approved at the twelfth conference held at St. Louis in 1904.

Third. The International Hague Peace Conference held in 1899 and 1907 and the establishment of a permanent Court of Arbitration.

Fourth. The Central American Conference, held in 1908,

composed of delegates from each of the five Republics of Central America, which provided for a Judicial Tribunal composed of one Judge from each of the Central American Republics to which Tribunal all international disputes of the Central American Republics are to be submitted, in order to avoid war,.

Fifth. And last but perhaps in its far reaching effect the greatest, the Senate of the United States of America ratified twelve arbitration treaties with various nations of the world at its last session, in 1908.

I may add also that the announcement and maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine by the United States was one of the greatest steps toward universal peace which the world has ever known, for it removed one-half of the globe from the ambition or aggressions of the monarchies of Europe. The United States is made prominent in another way as the promoter of arbitration. International commerce is a great promoter of international peace. Buying and selling between natons make them better friends and each has an interest in the others peace and welfare. The exports of the United States to foreign countries, and the imports from other countries to the United States, are about the largest among the nations of the world, and in this respect the United States is a leader in promoting peace.

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION ADVOCATED BY PRESIDENTS, POLITICAL PARTIES AND STATESMEN.

International arbitration was endorsed this year in a positive manner by both of the great political parties in their platforms, and it has been advocated by nearly all of the Presidents of the United States, from Washington to Roosevelt, and by many statesmen. I only quote from a few. George Washington said: "My first wish is to see the plague (war) banished from the earth and the sons and daughters of the world employed in more blissful and innocent amusement than in preparing implements and exercising them for the destruction of mankind."

Ulysses S. Grant said: "My views on peaceful arbitration in the settlement of international differences, instead of

the sword, have not changed, and I look with confidence upon an established court, recognized by all nations as having authority to settle differences without resorting to arms, thus rendering unnecessary the maintenance of standing armies."

Grover Cleveland said: "The American people will gladly hail the advent of peaceful methods in the settlement of international disputes so far as it is consistent with the defense and protection of our country's territory and with the maintenance of our national power."

Wm. J. Bryan said, at the conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union in the Royal Gallery, London, England: "I am glad that the time is coming when the world will insist that nations settle their differences by peaceful methods."

The hopes of these great men are now beginning to be realized.

THE UNITED STATES AS THE PEACEMAKER OF THE WORLD.

I love to contemplate the rapid progress that has been made in International Arbitration and to rejoice that our nation has taken the lead and was the first nation in the world to declare by Congressional legislation for the settlement of international disputes by arbitration instead of by war. There is no work going forward in the world more worthy of deep interest and warm approval than that in which the American Republics and the leading nations of Europe also are engaged, and I hope under God's decree it will not be long before we will not only have the Pan-American Conference and The Hague Peace Conference and a Permanent International Arbitration Tribunal, but also a Conference of all the nations of the world in the interest of peace and arbitration.

What a glorious example the United States of America would present as the peacemaker of the world. What a glorious work could our country perform by bringing about such an adjustment of international relations as would materially reduce war preparations and after awhile "ring out the old era of war and ring in the new era of peace"

It could not be said that we advocate peace and arbitration because we are afraid of war. Our nation is admitted to be a world power on land and on sea. We are the

second naval power of the world and we could raise and put, in the field in a short time an army of a million of soldiers if needed, to be followed by another million of soldiers, if required. We are able to cope with any nation, or to defend ourselves against all nations, but we bow in obedience to God's words, "On earth peace and good will toward men," and hope for the day when Isaiah's prophecy will be fulfilled and "nation shall not lift the sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

American School Peace League

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

July, 1914

Headquarters

St. Paul Hotel

Rooms 318-320

American School Peace League

Organized in 1908

OBJECT

To promote through the schools and the educational public of America the interests of international justice and fraternity.

MEMBERSHIP

All teachers in the schools of the country; students in secondary schools, normal schools, and colleges; persons otherwise enlisted in the general work of education may become members, without the payment of dues, by signifying their devotion to the purpose of the League.

Any person who pays annually one dollar shall be called a sustaining member; any person who pays annually five dollars shall be called a contributing member; and any person who pays twenty-five dollars or more annually shall be called a patron.

PUBLIC MEETING

Thursday Afternoon, July 9, 2:30 o'clock

THE AUDITORIUM

Presiding Officer—Governor Adolph O. Eberhart of Minnesota.

Address—E. H. Scammell, Organizing Secretary, Canadian Peace Centenary Association.

Orations—Four pupils from the High Schools of Minnesota.

Subject: International Arbitration and Universal Peace.

These pupils have been selected as the result of a state-wide contest among the high school pupils of Minnesota, conducted under the direction of the Minnesota High School Debating League, of which Prof. F. M. Rarig, of the University of Minnesota, is President. The essays were submitted to a board of judges of the University of Minnesota, who have selected the four best to be delivered by the writers at this meeting.

Presentation of Medal to the Winner—Philander P. Claxton, United States Commissioner of Education.

The gold medal, inscribing the seal of the League, will be given for the finest argument in this contest. This represents the scales of justice resting on an open book, surrounded by interwoven threads of gold, and encircled by the inscription: "American School Peace League."

Annual Report by Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, Secretary.

Announcement of successful contestants in the Seabury Peace Prize Essay Contest.

Election of Officers.

ANNUAL LUNCHEON OF THE BOARD OF MANAGERS

St. Paul Hotel, one o'clock, July 10

HEADQUARTERS

Rooms 318-320, St. Paul Hotel. All persons are invited to visit the rooms, where literature will be distributed. The following teachers of St. Paul have very kindly offered their services at Headquarters during the Convention: Anastasia Doyle, Ruth Colter, Helen Gleason, Mary Grant, Ethel Graves, May Helson, Gertrude Hinners, Clara Iddings, C. Joyce, L. McVay, Mabel Regan, Maude Regan, Amanda Whaley, Clementine Whaley.

Officers for 1913-1914

Honorary President, WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

President, RANDALL J. CONDON
Superintendent of Schools, Cincinnati, Ohio

Treasurer, F. E. SPAULDING
Superintendent of Schools, Newton, Mass.

Secretary, MRS. FANNIE FERN ANDREWS
405 Marlborough Street, Boston, Mass.

Vice-Presidents

JAMES H. VAN SICKLE, Superintendent of Schools, Springfield, Mass.
PHILANDER P. CLAXTON, United States Commissioner of Education, Washington, D. C.
DAVID STARR JORDAN, President, Leland Stanford Junior University, California.
WILLIAM H. MAXWELL, Superintendent of Schools, New York City.
BEN BLEWETT, Superintendent of Schools, St. Louis, Mo.
JAMES M. GREENWOOD, Advisory Superintendent of Schools, Kansas City, Mo.
CHARLES E. CHADSEY, Superintendent of Schools, Detroit, Mich.
J. H. BAKER, President, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo.
MRS. MARY C. C. BRADFORD, State Superintendent of Instruction, Denver, Colo.
MISS MARY E. WOOLLEY, President, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.
ENDICOTT PEABODY, Headmaster, Groton School, Groton, Mass.
MISS JANE ADDAMS, Hull House, Chicago, Ill.
S. C. MITCHELL, President, Medical College of Virginia, Richmond, Va.
MISS ELLEN C. SABIN, President, Milwaukee-Downer College, Milwaukee, Wis.
MRS. ELLA FLAGG YOUNG, Superintendent of Schools, Chicago, Ill.
JOSEPH SWAIN, President, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.
E. C. WARRINER, Superintendent of Schools, Saginaw, Mich.
FRANK B. COOPER, Superintendent of Schools, Seattle, Wash.

Executive Committee

JAMES H. VAN SICKLE, Superintendent of Schools, Springfield, Mass.
SAMUEL T. DUTTON, Teachers' College, New York City.
WILBUR F. GORDY, Hartford, Conn.
MISS KATHERINE H. SHUTE, Teacher of English, Normal School, Boston.
JOHN C. S. ANDREW, Teacher of History, English High School, Lynn, Mass.
MISS MARY MCSKIMMON, Principal, Pierce School, Brookline, Mass.
MISS MARY E. WOOLLEY, President, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.
GEORGE W. KIRCHWEY, Dean, Columbia University Law School, New York City.
ANDREW W. EDSON, Associate Superintendent of Schools, New York City.
ARTHUR C. BOYDEN, Principal, State Normal School, Bridgewater, Mass.

ORGANIZATION

The League has now thirty-seven State Branches, formed for the most part at the time of the meetings of the State Teachers' Associations. Several of the State Branches have become regular departments of the State Association. The ultimate aim of organization is to make every State Branch of the League a corporate part of each State Teachers' Association.

The distinctive object of the League is to induce every teacher to study the international peace movement and to make appropriate applications to the specific work of the school. The Course in Citizenship, arranged by the Massachusetts Branch of the League, offers to the teacher definite material for promoting the spirit of justice and good-will through the school curriculum. The type studies on American History, in preparation by the History Committee of the League, will also enable the teacher to stimulate an interest in all factors which shape the historical development of our country and to teach the significance of all those elements which enter into a true conception of civilization.

PLAN OF STATE BRANCH WORK

1. To provide educational gatherings and summer schools of the state with speakers, and to distribute appropriate literature.
2. To supply the educational and daily press of the state with timely articles.
3. To place literature on the international peace movement in public, school, college and travelling libraries, and to encourage the organization of study circles for the purpose of working out practical helps for teachers.
4. To encourage the interpretation of historical facts which shall accord with twentieth century ideals.
5. To procure the observance of the Eighteenth of May, the anniversary of the First Hague Peace Conference in 1899.
6. To encourage the organization of branch leagues in high and normal schools.
7. To stimulate the preparation of orations and essays on international peace and arbitration.

Successful Contestants in Seabury Prize Essay Contest, 1913

Normal School Winners

First Prize—Siegfried Wagner, Kgl. Lehrerbildungsanstalt, Kaiserslautern, Germany.

Second Prize—George Filipetti, State Normal School, Trenton, New Jersey.

Third Prize—Miss Martha Jean White, State Normal School, Shepherdstown, West Virginia.

Honorable Mention

First—John Bakeless, State Normal School, Bloomsburg, Pennsylvania.

Second—Miss Anna Howard Ward, State Normal School, Harrisonburg, Virginia.

Third—Miss Anna G. Apholt, State Normal School, Worcester, Mass.

Fourth—Miss Elizabeth Meyer, State Normal School, Oshkosh, Wisconsin.

Secondary School Winners

First Prize—John H. Stokes, Jr., Central High School, Washington, D. C.

Second Prize—Otto Petersilka, High School, Vienna, Austria.

Third Prize—Haydn J. Price, Central High School, Scranton, Pennsylvania.

Honorable Mention

First—Miss Mary P. Morsell, East Division High School, Milwaukee, Wis.

Second—Miss Ruth E. K. Peterson, Morris High School, New York City.

Third—N. Henry Seaburg, High School of Commerce, Boston, Mass.

Fourth—Harry L. Thomas, Westport High School, Kansas City, Missouri.

One Hundred Years of Peace

PEACE PAGEANT*

By James A. Wilder

DRAMATIS PERSONAE.—

Peace. Classic costume. Holds olive branch. Fillet of forget-me-nots.

Abundance. Cornucopia of grain, fruit, etc. White fillet.

Industry. Distaff. White fillet.

Contentment. Bouquet. White fillet.

War. Tall, thin: clad in coat of mail, helmet under arm; beetling brows, but dignified bearing.

Famine. Black and white rags—hair down, gaunt.

Pestilence. Yellow.

Horror. Red Rags—holds bundle of something.

Columbia. Classic, white with Stars and Stripes for mantle. Red Liberty Cap. Spear.

Brittania. Minerva's Helmet, Neptune's Trident: Cuirasse, shield emblazoned with Union Jack, etc.

Brother Jonathan. Tall. White trousers, strapped under top boots, red and white striped waistcoat, blue swallowtail. Cordon of blue silk with stars. Beaver hat, white, with blue-starred white hatpin. Chin whiskers.

John Bull. Short and stocky. Yellow tan top boots, small clothes, Union Jack waistcoat; bell crown black top hat; blue swallowtail, hunting crop. Side whiskers, ruddy.

Supernumerary performers, the variety of which may be commensurate with the number of children taking part in the Pageant.

Indians, Canadian and American, with the usual costumes. These must be strictly modern, though gala, as also the following, the number of which is optional.

Chief Justice(s) of the Supreme Court—Senators; Rough Riders, Sheriff, Cowboys, Rangers, Maine Fisherman, Southern Planter, Mobile Roustabout, "Arkansas Traveller"; New Mexicans, Harvard, Yale, Princeton; Police; Salvation Army; Missionaries with their flocks, Korean, Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, etc. Episcopal and Roman Catholic bishops and clergy. Firemen.

The Artisans, Iron Worker, Carpenter, Mason, etc.

Wireless Operator, Airman, Diver, Miner, etc.

* Celebrating 100 Years Peace between Great Britain and the United States. Suitable for any number of performers and adaptable to platform or school yard.

American Army and Navy—A Major General and Admiral.

West Pointers. Annapolis Midshipman. Boy Scouts. Baseballer. Bevy of American Belles.

Canadian Indians, with snow shoes and fur. British Chief Justice(s); Lords of High Degree; Highlanders, Irish Paddy; Mauxman; Crofter; Frocked Farmer; Hull Trawler, London Costee; Eaton, Rugby, Charterhouse Boys, Lord Mayor, etc. Crickette; Beefeater.

Grenadiers, Guardsmen, Constables, Master of Hounds, Bevy of English Belles, Indian Princes, etc.

(MUSIC)

Enter Peace and Attendants; Abundance, Contentment and Industry. War and Attendants; Pestilence, Horror and Famine.

(L. or R.) (*Peace stops center and addresses War.*)

Peace. Why am I always thus followed?

War. I am War. In my strong arms lies the safety of nations.

Peace. Nay. You speak unknowingly. In my train come Abundance, Contentment and Industry. Look who it is that follow you, Grim War: —Pestilence, Horror and Famine!

War. Have done. I stand here ever present and by me Heroes stand. These be only a chattel horde—begone!

Famine. Not while War is abroad—Ha! Ha! Ha!

Pestilence. You'll have me, Pestilence, always by your side. Ha! Ha! Ha!

Horror. (*Does not speak—but points to herself*). Ha! Ha! Ha!

Peace. Horror! Famine! Pestilence!

War. Man is not ready to give me up!

Peace. False! This very hour two nations old in your care, two great nations whose blood was one but which you ruthlessly spilt in years agone —even in this very hour they come to celebrate *Me—Peace.*

(*Enter Columbia at some distance*)

War. Your dreams are but vain. Nations must war, or die.

Peace. Vain dreams? Look thou. Here they come. See! This one is the spirit of a land of the Free! Broad land of many climes spreading from sea to sea. From the rock bound coasts of Pine Sweet Maine to Rainbow sands of hazy Florida. Prairies of the Golden West. Azure Peaks of Mauna Loa. Thirsty sands of Yuba. Winding rivers and the busy market places. The spirit of this land of a billion men—look where she stands, Columbia!

War. But with her come armed men—my own warring men-of-war. For she has warred, and warred again!

Peace. To be ready for war is war's prevention. But must always man follow the past?

War. Man is bound to his past.

Peace. You speak in accents of the past. Hear, Harken now to words of the newer day. My time is dawning. Harken, and learn. Turning to Columbia: Hail! Columbia!

Columbia, Jonathan and the Americans salute Peace by raising the open palm of their right hand.

MUSIC. "Hail Columbia."

Columbia. Brother Jonathan—(gives her hand).

Jonathan (Kissing her hand) My Country!

(All approach to the center)

Peace. Your errand, my good friends, is written in your faces. I think I see my advocates.

War. (*Turns away and retires back where he and his train cower.*)

Peace. Glad smiles are here and gentleness. Is it me whom you seek?

Jonathan. It is, Oh Peace. We come this day to sit in your happy shadow, while we celebrate in your presence, and by your leave, a momentous event in our history and that of our race!

Peace. Abundance, Industry and Contentment shall wait upon you.

(A., I. and C. descend as escort.)

Be you very welcome, Columbia! Brother Jonathan and all the Americans!

MUSIC. "Columbia, Gem of the Ocean."

The American cortege sits left of stage. Peace presides, Columbia, etc., grouped.

Peace. All the world knows of this day. So shall our celebration be worthy of the time and the occasion.

Fanfare of trumpets.

(*This may be played on a piano.*)

But soft. Here are our friends the British. Albion! Bulwark of Justice: Founder of Good Government; Isles of the North, Vales of Devon, Downs of Suffolk, Fens of York! girt by the sea—Great Nation—the seat of an Empire wide as the Earth.

Rule, Brittania!

MUSIC "Rule, Rule, Brittania!"

(*Brittania lifts her trident—The English uncover in a courtly way—The Americans rise.*)

Peace. Welcome all! You too are full of smiles. Come, come hither. This shall be a day of days.

Brittania. Greetings to you, Peace, and to all our Cousins; Peace be with us.

(*The English cortege now moves to its arranged place, Right. John Bull bows Brittania to her seat, Right center.*)

(*War. Looks grieved and slinks farther away.*)

Jonathan. Well met, Brother John, on this the one hundredth anniversary of the treaty of Ghent, since when no strife of arms between us twain has come to pass.

John Bull. Brother Jonathan, we are well met this day. One hundred years of peace have come and gone. Let us shake hands. For this is my boast, that where my hand goes, there goes my heart.

Brother Jonathan. I too am ready for this. Our common language, religion, laws, government, blood—identity of these makes men of one race—one country.

John Bull. So be it. In this time of a century, the relations between us have so improved that I think we are warranted in believing, what all reflecting men earnestly hope, that another war between England and America has become an impossibility.

Peace. Oh dawn of the new era! Happy consummation!

Brittania. (*To Columbia*) Daughter—never again let us do aught to make us weep for Anglo-Saxon dead. If blood was the price of peace, all has been paid in full.

Columbia. My mother! (*Embraces her.*)

MUSIC. "Hymn to Peace."

(*John and Jonathan shake hands.*)

Jonathan. (*Makes a sign. Indian Chiefs of both nations approach, yelling.*) Silence!

John, among us children of the Plains, we have a custom long in use. To cement our peace that was, and our peace that is to be—

Peace. Let it be forever, good my friends!

John Bull. Hear! Hear!

Jonathan. Let us bury the hatchet, and smoke the pipe of peace.

John Bull. A very good idea!

(*Indian dance.*)

The Canadians (*mackinaw coats, furs; trappers, Eskimos*) *let forth a yell, likewise the Sioux and Seminoles. Stag dance with drums, around pit previously dug, and calumet.*

A Sachem. Hold! Land of the Long Border—Land of the great fields, the impenetrable forest and rivers without end. Between us, three thousand miles of frontier stretches from ocean to ocean. On this long line no fortress, no redoubt stands menacing. Our walls are stronger than stone and iron—they are builded in the heart. These boundaries, unguarded, are yet stronger than walls of steel.

Canada. Bring forth the calumet! So shall the nations of the world take heed—that where man wills to be just, and where friends and brothers stand face to face, no forts, no battlements need there be to mark our lines.

(*All the Indians yell.*)

(*The Sachems solemnly bring forth a hatchet.*)

(*Sachem solemnly passes it to Peace.*)

Peace. Here is a mighty axe. Regard it well. It is the symbol of Contention—alas. Alas! I see on it stains—alas—its dreadful edge, look you, is nicked by wars.

Jonathan. (*Points to edge*) Lexington.

John Bull. Concord.

Peace. No more! The tale is told. Our children's children will remember only Concord. Concordia—one of my names! Bury the hatchet!

(*Gives it to the Sachem*)

War. It shall be reddened yet again.

All. (*Rising.*) No, no. Never! False prophet, etc., etc. (*tumult.*)

John Bull. Who is this one?

Jonathan. Who breaks in upon our ceremony of burying the hatchet?

Peace. Old War—old, decrepit *War—Without Just Cause.* Go now!

John Bull. Off with you!

Jonathan. Trot along!

War. You may need me yet! (*Starts to go.*)

ARBITRATION.

(*A little ragged girl appears in War's path. He avoids her with a detour.*)

Peace. This is no place for him. But who is this ragged little waif?

Arbitration. May I play too? I have nobody to play with!

(*All regard her.*)

I am—I am Arbitration.

Brittania. Come here little girl. Who are you?

Arbitration. My name is Arbitration. I have nobody to play with. Mister Carnegie builded me a house but they won't let me live in it.

Brittania. Poor little girl.

Columbia. Make way for Arbitration! Gentlemen of the law, cannot you welcome this little girl?

(*The English Chief Justice and the United States Chief Justice come to her side.*)

Peace. These are old friends of yours—Brittania and the British: Columbia and the Americans. They have been at Peace 100 years and are now ready to bury the hatchet and smoke the Pipe of Peace.

Jonathan. And now I come to think of it, it was yonder little girl who did so much to bring this day about.

John Bull. Right. You are quite right. I move that Arbitration be given her place among us.

(*Raps the table.*)

Jonathan. I second the motion! (*Rises.*)

All in favor of this motion say *Aye.*

All. AYE!

John Bull. Carried. (*Music.*)

(*Columbia and Brittania remove Arbitration's rags, and deck her in a tunic of cloth of gold, while Peace crowns her with a chaplet of white Lilies of the Valley.*)

(*The Sachem holds the hatchet to Arbitration.*)

She touches it. Then in turn, Columbia, Brittania, John Bull and Jonathan. The Sachem bears it aloft, descends to the ground (or floor) and buries it. Jonathan now lights the Calumet.

John Bull and Jonathan put the double stem to their mouths.

Arbitration lights the pipe.

A dense smoke goes up.

A salute is fired from the hills (bass drum from school yard.)

The English. Hip, Hip, Hip—Hooray, Cheers for Columbia and Uncle Sam!

The Yankees. Rah, Rah, Rah!

Hip, Hip, Hip—Hooray!

Hip, Hip, Hip—Hooray!

Jonathan. All up boys—three times three for Brittania and John Bull.

The Yankees. Rah, Rah, Rah!
Rah, Rah, Rah!
Rah, Rah, Rah, Brittan-i-a; John Bu-ull!

Brittania. And now, nine cheers for little Arbitration—the Hope of the Anglo-Saxons.

(*All hands cheer lustily.*)

Hurrahs, Rebel Yells, Rah Rahs, and the Indian Hullaballoo.

Columbia. I proclaim Arbitration our Queen of the May!

Take your partners!

John steps up to claim Columbia—Jonathan claims Brittania.

Peace, Abundance, Industry and Contentment lift Arbitration to the throne.

(In a large representation a contingent of our army may fraternize with the English, as often they have in history, and march past to a common tune like Annie Laurie.)

THE FLAG

It is henceforth to stand for self-possession, for dignity, for the assertion of the right of one nation to serve the other nations of the world—an emblem that will not condescend to be used for purposes of aggression and self-aggrandizement; that is too great to be debased by selfishness; that has vindicated its right to be honored by all nations of the world and feared by none who do righteousness. —*Woodrow Wilson.*

THE STATUE OF PEACE

(The following poem, by Mrs. Spencer Trask, has been inspired by the proposed presentation of the United States of a statue of Peace to the Peace Palace of the Hague, now awaiting an appropriation by Congress and the choice of a sculptor.)—*New York Times.*

The Daughter of Tradition—that fair Maid
Called, falsely, by the splendid name of Peace—
Still haunts the Land in marble and in bronze;
Her graceful garments fall in quiet folds,
Enriched with leaves of laurel at the hem:
Before the fevered eyes of baffled men,
In the mad struggle of a frenzied world,
She holds a futile olive-branch—and smiles:
Her sweetly placid lips would seem to say,
"Peace dwells apart, safe-sheltered from the storm."

O Sculptor of the Future, bring to us
The larger mind, endowed with power to see
Behind the veil the Vision of the Truth!
The conscious marble waits your quickening hand!
Show forth the true embodiment of Peace!

Peace is no limp and pallid Negative!
Peace is the living Positive of God!
Her life abundant is unending work;
Her course is ceaseless movement to the stars!

Make her a noble woman, brave to dare;
In every line of figure and of face
Chisel bold strokes of action and of strength;
Her mission is to master—not to yield;
Her destined duty to wage constant war
On Sin and Evil through the mortal years:
Not with the ancient weapons of the world—
But with the white flame of her valiant Soul!

Carve on her dauntless lips a lofty scorn
Of brutal practices employed by men
Who stoop to bloodshed and to cruel fight,
Like savage beasts that rend and tear their prey;
Poise her proud head as one who would not bend
To passing gusts of passion and revenge;
Fashion her hands outstretched to help mankind
Create new harmonies where discords jar;
Blow back her storm-tossed garments in the wind.
She stays not for the sunshine—she goes forth
Though tempests roar and threatening thunders roll;
She knows no fear to die—no fear to live.

Peace is a Spirit-Warrior! She strives
With unseen forces, fiercer to subdue
Than marshaled hosts equipped with armaments;
And when she conquers 'tis immortal gain;
Hers is no transient triumph of the hour;
Her conquest is the victory supreme.
The Victory of Spirit over flesh.

Crown her, O Master, with the crown of crowns,
And show her mighty in the might of God!

—Katrina Trask.

PEACE

What was the first prophetic word that rang
When down the starry sky the angels sang,
That night they came as envoys of the Birth—
What Word but peace, "Peace and good will on earth"?

And what was the last word the Master said
That parting night when they broke brother-bread,
That night he knew men would not let him live—
Oh, what but "peace I leave" and "peace I give?"

And yet behold: near twice a thousand years
And still the battle-wrath, the grief, the tears.
Let mercy speed the hour when swords shall cease,
And men cry back to God, "There shall be peace!"

—Edward Markham in Nautilus

Everyday Heroism

A bibliography selected from "A Reading List for Boys and Girls"
Arranged by the New York Public Library

"The numberless unknown heroes equal to the greatest heroes known."

Browning, Robert. Hervé Riel. (In Henley, W. E. Lyra heroica. Scribner.)
Cary, Phoebe. The leak in the dike. Houghton.
Hemans, Felicia. Casabianca. (In Henley, W. E. Lyra heroica. Scribner.)

ELIZABETH FRY, 1780-1845

Bolton, S. K. Elizabeth Fry. (In her Lives of girls who became famous. Crowell.)

FRANCIS PARKMAN, 1823-1895

Lodge, H. C., and Theodore Roosevelt. Francis Parkman. (In their Hero tales from American History. Century.)
Parkman, Francis. Oregon trail. Little.

LOUIS PASTEUR, 1822-1895

Couch, A. T. Quiller-. Pasteur. (In his Roll call of honour. Nelson.)

ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON, 1850-1894

Rideing, W. H. Robert Louis Stevenson. (In his Boyhood of famous authors. Crowell.)
Stevenson, R. L. The celestial surgeon. (In his Ballads and other poems. Scribner.)
——— The English admirals. (In his Virginibus puerisque and other papers. Scribner.)

THE AVIATOR

Holland, R. S. The Wrights and the airship. (In his Historic inventions. Jacobs.)
Maule, H. E. The aeroplane. (In his Boys' book of new inventions. Doubleday.)
White, Claude Grahame-, and Harry Harper. Heroes of the air. Hodder.

THE BRIDGE BUILDER

Doubleday, Russell. Bridge builders and some of their achievements. (In his Stories of inventors. Doubleday.)
Kipling, Rudyard. The bridge-builders. (In his Day's work. Doubleday.)
Moffett, Cleveland. The bridge-builder. (In his Careers of danger and daring. Century.)
Williams, Archibald. The Forth bridge. (In his Romance of modern engineering. Seeley.)

THE CIVIL ENGINEER

Andrews, M. R. S. The courage of the commonplace. Scribner.
Bishop, J. B. Heroism of the men in the field. (In his Panama gateway. Scribner.)
Hall, Cyril. Conquests of engineering. Blackie.

THE DEEP-SEA DIVER

Moffett, Cleveland. The deep-sea diver. (In his Careers of danger and daring. Century.)
Smith, F. H. Captain Thomas A. Scott, master diver; one who was not afraid and who spoke the truth. American Unitarian Association.

THE FIREMAN

Downes, A. M. Fire fighters and their pets. Harper.
Haydon, A. L. The book of the fire-brigade. The Pilgrim Press.
Hill, C. T. Fighting a fire. Century.
Moffett, Cleveland. The fireman. (In his Careers of danger and daring. Century.)

THE FISHERMAN

Kingsley, Charles. The three fishers. (In The tripled crown. Frowde.)
Kipling, Rudyard. "Captains courageous"; a story of the Grand Banks. Century.

THE LIFE SAVER

Doubleday, Russell. The life-savers and their apparatus. (In his Stories of inventors. Doubleday.)
Ingersoll, Ernest. Dangers of the deep. (In his Book of the ocean. Century.)
Kipling, Rudyard. The bell buoy. (In his Collected verse. Doubleday.)
Muller, J. W. Rulers of the surf. Appleton.
Otis, James. The life-savers. Dutton.

THE LIGHTHOUSE KEEPER

Otis, James. The light-keepers. Dutton.

GRACE DARLING, 1815-1842

Baldwin, James. Grace Darling. (In his Fifty famous stories retold. American Book Company.)
Lang, Andrew. The story of Grace Darling. (In his True story book. Longmans.)

THE LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEER

Doubleday, Russell. How a fast train is run. (In his Stories of inventors. Doubleday.)
Holland, R. S. Stephenson and the locomotive. (In his Historic inventions. Jacobs.)
Moffett, Cleveland. The locomotive engineer. (In his Careers of danger and daring. Century.)
Munroe, Kirk. Cab and caboose. Putnam.
Pittenger, William. The great locomotive chase. Penn Publishing Company.
Warman, Cy. The railroad engineer, showing how he handles things. (In his Story of the railroad. Appleton.)

THE MINER

Holland, R. S. Davy and the safety-lamp. (In his Historic inventions. Jacobs.)
Munroe, Kirk. Derrick Sterling. Harper.
Shinn, C. H. Story of the mine. Appleton.
White, S. E. Gold. Doubleday. A story of the days of '49.
Williams, Archibald. Romance of modern mining. Seeley.

THE NORTH-WEST MOUNTED POLICEMAN

Haydon, A. L. The riders of the plains; adventures and romance with the northwest mounted police 1873-1910. McClurg.

THE WIRELESS MAN

Collins, F. A. The wireless man; his work and adventures on land and sea. Century.
Doubleday, Russell. How Guglielmo Marconi telegraphs without wires. (In his Stories of inventors. Doubleday.)
Maule, H. E. The wireless telegraph up to the minute. (In his Boys' book of new inventions. Doubleday.)

THE DOCTOR

WILFRED T. GRENFELL, 1865-

Duncan, Norman. Dr. Grenfell's parish. Revell.

——— Dr. Luke of the Labrador. Revell.
Grenfell, W. T. Adrift on an ice-pan. Houghton. The personal experiences of Dr. Grenfell.

JESSE W. LAZEAR, ?-1900

Bishop, J. B. Martyrdom of Lazear. (In his Panama gateway. Scribner.)

NIELS FINSEN, 1860-1904

Riis, J. A. Niels Finsen. (In his Hero tales from the far north. Macmillan.)

THE NURSE

CLARA BARTON, 1830-1912

Barton, Clara. The Red Cross. American National Red Cross.
Barton, Clara. Story of my childhood. Doubleday.
Morris, Charles. Clara Barton, the Red Cross evangel of mercy. (In his Heroes of progress in America. Lippincott.)

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE, 1820-1910

Couch, A. T. Quiller-. Florence Nightingale. (In his Roll call of honour. Nelson.)
Hoffman, A. S. Florence Nightingale. (In her Heroes and heroines of English History. Dutton.)
Richards, L. E. Florence Nightingale. Appleton.

For you who love heroic things
In summer dream or winter tale,
I tell of warriors, saints, and kings,
In scarlet, sackcloth, glittering mail,
And helmets peaked with iron wings.

They beat down Wrong; they strove for Right.
In ringing fields, on grappled ships,
Singing they flung into the fight;
They fell with triumph on their lips,
And in their eyes a glorious light.

That light still gleams. From far away
Their brave song greets us like a cheer;
We fight the same great fight as they,
Right against Wrong; we, now and here;
They. in their fashion, yesterday.

—*William Canton*

A COURSE IN CITIZENSHIP

"WITH GOOD WILL DOING SERVICE"

Edited by Ella Lyman Cabot, Fannie Fern Andrews, Fanny E. Coe, Mabel Hill, Mary McSkimmon

With an Introduction by William Howard Taft, Honorary President of the American School Peace League

The Massachusetts Branch of the American School Peace League has worked out a plan for the elementary schools by which the spirit of good-will may be ingrained into the child. The plan as completed takes the form of a Course in Citizenship. It begins in Grade I with the home as a centre. Through the year by story and poem and above all by definite suggestions for helpfulness, the teacher strengthens the children's devotion to their family. In Grade II the school and playground are taken up. Already in very concrete ways the children can be shown how significant in our towns are the public schools, how much thought and money are

spent on them, how year by year the schools point onward to new opportunities. In Grade III the children are ready to take pleasure in recognizing and helping the neighborhood that bounds their little world.

In these first grades the spirit of helpfulness and good-will is suggested through stories, poems and deeds of kindness rather than by direct teaching about home, school or neighborhood. In the fourth grade boys and girls can begin to know what a town or city stands for and to see as parts of a whole its different departments: fire, police, health, charity, street, school and government. Here the aim is to develop responsibility in respect to laws and officials.

In Grade V the plan reaches out to the nation as a whole. In every instance it relates the historical struggles and achievements with the struggles and achievements of everyday life. When the subject is the heroic virtue of pioneers, the authors not only give examples from the brave deeds of early settlers but show how every one of us now is called on to be a pioneer of new courage, in advanced and difficult standards of honor.

Grade VI is also given to patriotism because this is the central duty of citizenship. The need of our time is, in Professor James' stirring words, "to inflame the civic temper." We can do it only by giving to the youth of our land a vivid, concrete, intimate knowledge of their country's history and by calling on them for their uttermost service. This grade accents American ideals: honesty, sympathy, courtesy, industry, courage, self-control, reverence, a sacred regard for the truth.

The object in the seventh grade is to throw light on those elements of our civilization which can be traced back to ancient and mediæval life; to point out the motives for discovery and colonization; and to show how all these elements, taking root in American soil, developed the Republic of the United States. A further aim is to emphasize that since the birth of the Union, its life has been intertwined with world movements; that, in fact, through the great streams of immigration, Europeans have played a large part in developing our resources and in moulding our national ideals. The author of this grade has attempted to show also that with its historical background and unique mixture of peoples, the United States is peculiarly fitted to take a leading part in world activity; that this is especially true in those movements of civilization which are guided by the principles of liberty and justice. World brotherhood is but the expansion of American faith. The realization of our ideals will keep pace with our conception of the special mission of the United States in the progress of civilization.

The eighth grade introduces a somewhat new conception of citizenship, and deals with the larger social group, the world. Here, the purpose is to show that civilization progresses only by the mutual assistance of all nations, each making its peculiar contribution. The course leads to an appreciation of all these efforts, explains the various agencies which have brought the world into the family of nations, and develops the thought that good will is the fundamental principle in the promotion of international harmony—the necessary condition for the highest development of the world.

By teaching this spirit of citizenship, the teacher is inculcating a broad and sympathetic outlook toward the people of all nations and is implanting just and liberal thoughts with regard to human society.

A Letter From Dr. Randall J. Condon

Superintendent of Schools, Cincinnati, Ohio, and President of The American School Peace League

To All Teachers and School Officials:

To those who love Peace and cherish Good-Will:

To those who believe these subjects can and should be taught:

To those who love their country and their fellow men—the American School Peace League sends greeting and announces the publication of "A Course in Citizenship"—"With Good-Will doing Service."

The names of the authors of the Course, and the plan pursued in its preparation, are a guarantee of its quality and value. The introduction by Ex-President Taft makes the work one of national importance.

In behalf of the American School Peace League, I endorse the publication and ask teachers everywhere to obtain it, read it, teach it,—to the end that good citizenship may result—that the nation may fare well within its own borders, and may exercise an ever widening influence throughout the world in behalf of Peace and Good-Will founded upon honor, liberty and justice.

RANDALL J. CONDON.

This book is published by Houghton Mifflin Company, and will be ready Sept. 1, 1914.

THE ISLAND KINGDOM

A Story for Peace Day

By George W. Nasmyth, Ph.D.

Once upon a time—you know that is the way that all true stories must begin—there was a beautiful island in the midst of the great blue sea. It was a wonderful island filled with waving fields of grain, with fruit trees and flowers, and with beautiful song-birds singing in the golden sunshine. So lovely was the island that the people who lived there called it Paradise, which means a garden. Nature had done everything in her power to make the island a "paradise"—a garden flooded with radiant sunshine and fair flowers, where the song of birds and the laughter of children at play should be always heard and where all the people should be happy.

But the people on that island were not happy in spite of everything which Nature had done to make them happy. A story had been handed down from father to son and from mother to daughter of how in a time long past the people on the island had lived together as one happy family. But great changes had occurred since that time. The people who lived in different parts of the island were almost strangers to each other. Those who lived in the Southern part and were in the hot sun most of the time had had their skins made black by the sun's rays. Those who lived in the north were white. Those who lived in the east and west and center had their skins made yellow and red and brown and nearly all colors by the climate in which they lived. They could not even understand each other's language. At first they had all spoken the same tongue but gradually differences developed in one part of the island which did not spread to other parts on account of the great distances; words were adopted into the language in some parts but not in others, and the differences in the climate made people pronounce the words differently. So great did these differences become in time that people living upon the opposite banks of the great rivers of the island could no longer understand each other, nor could people living upon the opposite sides of the same mountains, separated by a mountain range, communicate with each other any more.

Then there came an age when mighty bridge builders and engineers arose. They tunneled the mountains and drained the swamps; they built bridges over the chasms and rivers and made roads through the pathless forests, so that a person could go from one part of the island to any other

part in a very short time. They connected the different parts of the island by telegraph and telephone lines and they established a postal system so that a person could drop a letter in a box in any part of the island and it would be delivered to the person with whom he wished to communicate in any obscure little corner or village within a few hours.

After the work of these great scientists and engineers and bridge builders was done, the whole island became like one great city and all the people on the island were so closely bound together that they were in reality one great family again.

But the people of the island did not live together like a happy family, for a terrible disease had fallen upon them. The worst part of this disease was a great blindness which seized all the people, so that they were unable to see who were their real enemies and who were their friends. Because they were so blind they could no longer protect themselves from the terrible beasts which came down from the mountains and out of the jungle and carried off their children and their brothers and sisters. These beasts had long Latin names, as beasts usually have, names like Destitution and Tuberculosis, and even double Latin names like Infant Mortality. One particularly ugly beast which carried away many of the boys of the island had the Latin name of Alcohol. The blindness of the people and the raids of these terrible beasts, who were their real enemies, brought great misery and wretchedness to the people of the island. In their misery they grew very bitter and blamed each other for all the troubles which had come upon them. Thus the people in one part of the island began to consider the people in the other parts as their natural enemies, and the belief arose that the only way that they could bring happiness back to the island was to go out and conquer the people in the other parts of the island. Then there grew up among them certain medicine men who made charms and sold them to the people, telling them that if they wore these things they would be free from their misery and wretchedness and could never be harmed by their enemies. Some of these charms were very complicated and expensive. One of them was called Standing Army, and another very costly one was called Dreadnought. This Dreadnought charm had to be worn around the neck and it was so heavy and cumbersome that the people who wore it were bent over nearly double and their backs were almost broken. When two people wearing these charms would accidentally bump together the charms would explode and blow the people into little pieces, so that they were less safe when they were carrying them than they had been before. But the medicine men told them that that was the only way they could be safe. So they went on burdening themselves more heavily, giving nearly all their time and energy and money to protecting themselves against their fancied enemies in other parts of the island and paying no attention whatever to the ugly beasts, who crawled among them and caused so much of their unhappiness and misery.

One day there came among them, however, a great healer, who was called the Peacemaker. He restored their sight so that they were able to tell their real enemies from their fancied enemies, and he showed them

that all the people on the island were brothers and sisters—members of one great family. He taught them that the true foundation of society was love and not physical force, as they had believed heretofore, and he showed them the way in which a great kingdom might be built upon this principle of love. In this kingdom, he said, the great healers, the peacemakers, would hold the highest place. They should be called the sons of God. Many of his sayings the people did not understand until a long time afterward, but his character was so beautiful and his life so noble that all the people loved him and treasured up his sayings and the story was handed down from generation to generation of how the Heavens had opened when the great Peacemaker came among them, and how angels had come down and sung of a time when peace should reign on the island and good will to all men should be the law of its inhabitants.

When the people began to apply the teachings of the Peacemaker, a great change came over the island. They were now able to see that their real enemies were the ugly beasts with the long Latin names and they made war on these beasts and killed them off and chased them back to their mountain lairs. They proclaimed the fact that all the people on the island were members of one great family and that thereafter they should live together in one great brotherhood. They decided to hold a meeting to consider all matters affecting the common welfare of the island. To this meeting twenty-six of the tribes who dwelt in the five parts of the island sent ambassadors, and they worked out such splendid plans that a second meeting was called, when forty-four of the tribes were represented. Other meetings were held and they decided to establish one government for the whole island. They built a beautiful palace in the middle of the island, where its congress might meet, and each of the tribes sent gifts to adorn the palace. One sent a beautiful piece of marble statuary; another a rich gateway; others beautiful windows and ornaments of gold and silver and precious stones. Afterwards the people of the island celebrated the day on which the first meeting was held, May 18, for on that day a new era had begun and the men of the island had begun to realize that they were all brothers and that they were all citizens of one great kingdom. They made ploughshares out of their old swords and turned their spears into pruning-hooks. The island became again the Paradise which it had been at the beginning and all the people of the island dwelt there in happiness ever after.

Peace Prize Contest

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF

The American School Peace League

OPEN TO PUPILS OF ALL COUNTRIES

Two sets of prizes, to be known as the Seabury Prizes, are offered for the best essays on one of the following subjects:

1. The Opportunity and Duty of the Schools in the International Peace Movement. Open to Seniors in the Normal Schools of the United States.

2. The Influence of the United States in Advancing the Cause of International Peace. Open to Seniors in the Secondary Schools of the United States.

Three prizes of seventy-five, fifty and twenty-five dollars will be given for the best essays in both sets.

This contest is open for the year 1915 to the pupils of the secondary and normal schools in all countries.

American Judges

CHARLES H. JUDD, Director, The School of Education, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.
DAVID FELMLEY, President, State Normal University, Normal, Illinois.
ERNEST G. HAPGOOD, Head-Master, Girls' Latin School, Boston, Mass.
MRS. MARY C. C. BRADFORD, State Supt. of Instruction, Denver, Colorado.
EMORY M. WILSON, Principal, Central High School, Washington, D. C.
CHARLES S. CHAPIN, Principal, State Normal School, Montclair, New Jersey.
JOHN W. WAYLAND, Dept. of History and Social Science, State Normal and Industrial School for Women, Harrisonburg, Virginia.
MISS ADELAIDE STEELE BAYLOR, Clerk of State Board of Education, Indianapolis, Indiana.
A. J. CLOUD, Deputy Superintendent of Schools, San Francisco, California.

European Judges

HENRI LA FONTAINE, Senator of Belgium, Brussels, Professor of International Law, President of the International Peace Union at Berne.
FERDINAND BUISSON, Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Paris, Honorary Professor at the University of Paris, Honorary Director of Primary Education to the Minister of Public Instruction, Paris.
KIRCHENRAT KRONER, Stuttgart, Germany.
EMILE ARNAUD, President of the International League of Peace and Liberty, Vice-President of the International Peace Union, President of the Educational Commission of the Universal Peace Congress, Luzarches, France.

CONTEST CLOSES MARCH 1, 1915

Conditions of the Contest

Essays must not exceed 5,000 words (a length of 3,000 words is suggested as desirable), and must be written, preferably in typewriting, on one side only of paper, 8 x 10 inches, with a margin of at least 1½ inches. Manuscripts not easily legible will not be considered.

The name of the writer must not appear on the essay, which should be accompanied by a letter giving the writer's name, school, and home address, and sent to Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, Secretary, American School Peace League, 405 Marlborough Street, Boston, Mass., not later than March 1, 1915. Essays should be mailed flat (not rolled).

The award of the prizes will be made at the Annual Meeting of the League in July, 1915.

Information concerning literature on the subject may be obtained from the Secretary.

AMERICAN SCHOOL PEACE LEAGUE

Organized in 1908

OBJECT

To promote through the schools and the educational public of America the interests of international justice and fraternity

THE WAR:

What Should be Said About it in the Schools?

By

FANNIE FERN ANDREWS

Secretary, American School Peace League

Special Collaborator
United States Bureau of Education

American School Peace League
405 Marlborough St., Boston

November, 1914

The War: What Should Be Said About It in the Schools

By Fannie Fern Andrews

The appeal of President Wilson to the people of the United States to "act and speak in the true spirit of neutrality" comes to the teachers of the country with peculiar force. They, as much perhaps as any other persons, enjoy opportunities to preserve, as the President expresses it, "the spirit of impartiality and fairness and friendliness to all concerned." More than that, the War affords teachers a unique opportunity to exercise their most important function,—the training of citizens. For, is not this, after all, the ultimate aim of education? And should it not be the purpose of the Twentieth Century Teacher to develop a civic intelligence regarding present day problems,—a gradually developing social consciousness, which will terminate, it is hoped, in universal brotherhood?

The war that is now ravaging the continent of Europe has no parallel in history. It seems unnecessary to say that what is going on should be presented in the schoolroom in such a manner as to give pupils a proper interpretation of the whole dreadful story. The task is difficult, but the American teacher, reared in a country whose foundation principles are based on tolerance and respect for the rights of others, is equal to the emergency. Many of our school children draw their origins from the nations now at war, and it is natural that their sym-

pathies should be alert for the home countries. Then, too, among those who have no ancestral allegiance to the warring factions, it is inevitable that childish immaturity and the universal instinct to take sides will lead to partisan expressions over the daily occurrences of the war. Evidences of this are seen on every hand. The war is the subject of supreme moment. The children, like their elders, eagerly watch the newspapers, scan the war maps, listen to heated discussions, and form what may or may not be correct opinions. But whatever their conclusions are, animosities and recriminations against one nation or the other appear to be the rule. Under these conditions, race antagonisms are allowed to develop, the children become partisans, and that very spirit of neutrality which our President so urgently desires is flagrantly violated. The child is not able to comprehend the necessity or the duty of neutrality, nor the reasons why the United States should remain the one great nation friendly with all "to do what is honest and disinterested and truly serviceable," as Mr. Wilson says, "for the peace of the world."

This is the situation which confronts teachers. What shall they do about it? Their opportunity lies in correcting this partisanship. They should not allow imperfect or prejudiced ideas to find lodgment in the pupils' minds, especially on a subject which is so vital to the civilization of the future. They should point out that every boy and girl who really loves America will "act and speak in the true spirit of neutrality"; that the great idea of American patriotism is to wipe out racial prejudices; that with its historical background and unique mixture of peoples, our nation is peculiarly fitted, again quoting the President, to "play a part of impartial mediation and speak the counsels of peace and accommodation, not as a partisan but as a friend." Only by instilling such ideas into the pupils' minds can they be placed in sympathy with the policy of this

country. To do this, the teacher must "exhibit the fine poise of undisturbed judgment, the dignity of self-control," which our Executive hopes will be the attitude of this nation. Moreover, painstaking teachers cannot fairly escape discussions on this subject in the schoolroom. Lessons in history, geography, civics, and the like cannot go far without touching at some point on what is actually taking place across the water. European history and European geography must be eliminated if we bar out a discussion of this war.

The request, made at the beginning of the school year by certain superintendents that there should be no discussion of this subject in the schoolroom, was apparently in line with President Wilson's policy. At that time, the world stood aghast at the tidings of a continent at war, and how to keep out of the trouble was our supreme concern as a nation. But today, when the significance of this world object-lesson comes more and more into light, when the causes are becoming better understood and the results to be hoped for more clearly defined, when the American ideal of universal peace is seen in its direct relation to the conflict, the superintendents of the country should take the matter under serious consideration. To lose this opportunity is to lose the supreme moment for teaching history. Silence on this subject in the schoolroom at this time is inconsistent with the purpose and the spirit of education. Consequently the Great War should form a part of school instruction, and its treatment should be indicated with careful precision. The schools, if true to their aims, must react to the meaning of great events, to the ideas which govern men and nations.

So delicate and intricate are the elements involved, that we are impressed at the outset with the necessity for eliminating the perilous phases of the subject. The motives of any nation engaged in the war should not be impugned in the schoolroom. To do so would give offense to some of our own citizens. It

would, of course, violate the President's injunction as to neutrality, and what is more, it would tend to keep alive racial prejudices. Nor should daily reports of the military movements be followed in the schoolroom. Such details as reach us are vague at best, but in any case, they should be eliminated, because they tend to excite the interest of the pupils unnecessarily in the game of war, and enmity toward one or the other of the contestants would naturally result. The study of military minutiae has no proper place in the common school curriculum. What we really need at this time is to grasp the philosophy of militarism, reach the elemental causes that brought on the trouble and find a chart that will lead the world out. Therein lies the only course for safe and sane action. Certain American colleges, in giving courses of lectures on the vital relations of the war to history and to civilization, are providing a wise method of acquiring scientific background for the real setting of this war in the historical sequence of world events. While the History Teachers' Magazine suggests that "the history teacher has now the opportunity to stand as an expert guide for his school community and for the larger community about the school."

Teachers should lead pupils to understand the historical causes of the war, to look upon this spectacle of human suffering and devastation with horror, to contrast a world at war with a world at peace, to comprehend the principles which should govern the terms of peace—in fact that would make another great war impossible, to be conscious of the part which the United States, a nation founded on democracy, universal brotherhood, and good-will, should play after the cessation of hostilities, to realize that every boy and girl has an interest in the movement which shall bring about the reign of law in place of the reign of the sword.

I. What Should be Said as to the Causes of the Struggle?

No single event brought on the war. Its causes reach far back in history. In the development of nations, based on racial lines, there have grown up between some of them misunderstandings and enmities. These differences and the clashing of interests, which usually result when people of one type undertake to dominate those of another, are in large part responsible for this sudden plunging of the world into unprecedented disaster.

Another cause is the failure of governments to keep pace with the processes of civilization that in all the great countries of the world have been moving forward almost abreast, and this failure is due to the fact that they have blindly assumed national greatness to be dependent on fighting strength. Powerful nations, long after they should have known better, clung to the ancient doctrine that might makes right. Their false philosophy has led to secret alliances which have, of course, rendered impossible frank and fair dealings among the peoples of the world. Suspicion is the inevitable result of such a system and the nations have believed that they must protect themselves against one another by building up larger and larger armaments on the land and on the sea. With these forces they have defied their enemies and have likewise defied civilization. For, in every instance, the real enemy was within. His name is Militarism. He is the common enemy of all the warring nations. The teachings of militarism affirm that without war the virile virtues gradually decay, that war is indispensable for the development of nations, that since war lies in the great world plan the supreme duty of each nation is to prepare for it, and that the well-being of a nation demands obedience to the mandate of military leaders. These ideas, held to a greater or lesser degree in all the countries now at war, developed an armed peace, which threatened at any moment to become active hostilities.

With the materials of mischief ready at hand, it required but a slight provocation to plunge a continent into chaos. When the combustibles are piled high, one spark suffices to set them ablaze, and militarism, the common enemy, has full sway.

II. What Should be Said as to the Results of the War?

The state of mind which war produces is probably the worst result of war. The legacy of ill-will, the play of the savage instincts for killing and robbing let loose in the frenzied madness of the battlefield and persisting long after war ceases, are undoubtedly the chief obstacles to be overcome in the final process of reconstruction. Moreover, there will be lower standards of living and a heavy loss in human efficiency; for millions of the best men of each nation, victims of guns and disease, will be sacrificed. The next generation, to whom must be entrusted the interests of civilization, will, to a degree at least, be of inferior stuff, because it has descended from the weaklings rejected by the recruiting sergeant. Of course, there are the other obvious results,—the world-wide interference with commercial and industrial progress affecting alike belligerents and neutrals, the depletion of national treasuries, the set-back to scientific and cultural progress, the destruction of the world's art treasures, to say nothing of human suffering, distress and want and private griefs which always follow in the wake of war.

Our own country, separated from Europe by about three thousand miles of ocean and on friendly terms with each of the warring nations, finds itself among the victims of the conflict. We were startled last August at the closing of the stock exchanges. We are now alarmed at the serious plight of the cotton planter and of the miner who find their markets curtailed. Many of our industries are gravely hampered. We look with concern at the thousands of men and women who are swelling

the ranks of the unemployed. And we are disturbed in our plans for cultural enjoyment by the interruption of foreign study and travel, as well as by the cessation of international exchanges among our schools and universities.

Perhaps the most important result of the war will be to teach the peoples of the world that great armaments are not guarantees of peace,—that the tenets of militarism are detrimental to the well-being of nations and to the progress of civilization. It has centered reflection on the fact that forty years of the most elaborate military organization in the world's history have been followed by possibly the most stupendous war of the ages. The final result of the war will, it is hoped, be the stimulation of international organization,—the only guarantee of permanent peace. This aspiration should become common among the peoples of the world, who now look with helpless grief on the devastation wrought by a terrible conflict and see too late that the nations have been following false ideals. Public conscience should be unanimous in demanding that this be the last war, —that the world must enter upon a new order of things.

III. What Should be Said as to the Terms of Peace?

The final settlement should compel loyalty to the world's order. It should be based on a world conscience that international harmony is not only a pressing need but a pressing duty. Out of the struggle should come a complete revulsion of feeling against the use of force as a means of settling international disputes. The substitution of law for war should be the final order. There is an approaching unanimity of opinion not only in this country but among the leaders of thought in Europe, as to the policy which should inspire the conditions of peace. They may be summed up as follows:

1. *A Concert of Europe.* The surest method of establish-

ing permanent peace is to bring about a Concert of Europe, based upon the knowledge that, with nations as with individuals, co-operation and not conflict is the law of progress. In order to insure mutual conference and concerted action, there should be organized a representative Council whose deliberations and decisions would be public. This would mark the end of offensive alliances and ententes which have proved their inability to safeguard the real and permanent interests of the people.

2. *Nationality Must be Respected.* No territory should be transferred from one nation to another against the will of the inhabitants, nor should any readjustments be made which might breed fresh wars. National boundaries should coincide as far as possible with national sentiment. No terms of settlement should be regarded as satisfactory if they impose upon any nation such harsh and humiliating terms of peace as would be inconsistent with its independence, self-respect, or well-being. All idea of revenge should, of course, be rooted out.

3. *Limitation of Armaments.* Since the policy of huge national armaments has lamentably failed to preserve peace, competition in armaments should end. The nations should agree to have no military forces other than those maintained for international police duty. Militarism should be abandoned by all nations, because they recognize the absolute futility of force as a means of advancing the moral or material well-being of any country. To facilitate the elimination of militarism, the conditions of peace should stipulate that all manufactories of arms, armaments, and munitions for use in war shall hereafter be national property. No private citizen or corporation should be permitted to engage in such manufacture.

IV. What Should be Said as to the Part which the United States Should Play in Final Mediation?

There is a growing conviction that the world has reached a turning point in its history,—that it is about to enter upon a new social and political era. However true this may be, it is a fact that at the close of the war the world will have to face a stupendous task of reconstruction; and in solving the problems that must arise, the United States may be destined to assume a unique responsibility. This country may assist in shaping events which will lay the foundations of a higher civilization. Certain it is, that the appeal of the embattled nations for our favorable judgment has conferred on us a sort of moral leadership, with all the obligations which this implies. And our traditions seem to fit us for the task. Founded on the principles of democracy, which make every person responsible for the common good, and wipe out race prejudices in giving freedom to every type of human being, the United States is distinctly the nation which can extend the idea of human well-being throughout the world. World brotherhood is but the expansion of American faith. The union of our forty-eight States, containing representatives from all the races of the world, working together and abiding by the laws of the Central Government, demonstrates that the principle of federation is practically applicable to political harmony regardless of racial, religious, or economic differences. Each State retains its identity, has its local laws and local governments, pursues its own ideals, and yet remains loyal to the whole, presenting in little, as it were, the plan for a world federation, where civilization can progress unhampered.

Immanuel Kant, in his famous essay, "Perpetual Peace," published in 1795, declared that the world will never attain universal peace until it is politically organized and that it can never be so organized until the people rule. Thus, the greatest

thinker of the eighteenth century, perhaps the greatest of all time, hinged the world's progress on the realization of an international federation and the universal extension of democracy. The twentieth century has seen a revival of Kant's ideas. Men distinguished in diplomacy and in statesmanship have accepted them as the true philosophy of peace; and at this time, when peace is shaken to its very foundations, may not world federation and the extension of democracy be the props by which we can hope to sustain the fair structure?

After the cessation of hostilities, there should be opportunity to impress this view. We can point out that the variety of elements and the combination of types that comprise our own people have given our country its distinctive character and that every type of manliness has contributed to our prosperity. There is no reason why the forty-six civilized nations of the world should not be bound together in the pursuit of a common ideal, and for the common good, as effectively as our forty-eight Commonwealths. Our experience and our vision prompt us to characterize this as the next great step in world development. Nor would this involve a sudden change in world politics. For the past forty years, although more obviously since 1899, the date of the opening of the First Hague Conference, the world has been moving rapidly on toward international federation. In 1862, when Montgomery Blair, the Postmaster General during Lincoln's Administration, proposed to the nations that they make a joint agreement for a more efficient postal service, he started what has grown to be an international organization of first significance to the world's progress. On October 8, 1874, delegates from twenty-five nations signed the constitution of what is now the Universal Postal Union, which has a permanent bureau at Berne, supported jointly by the whole world. Many other instances could be given to show how the nations have adopted uniform practices in the conduct of important affairs.

The most important result of the First Hague Conference was the establishment of the International Court of Arbitration, which will doubtless develop eventually into a real judicial tribunal. As the world is gradually creating a code of international law, so the recurring Hague Conferences are the forerunners of an international parliament, with power to legislate on all affairs of common concern. Logic and the world's political history force us to look to a future in which the world shall establish an international executive to carry out the decrees of both the court and the legislature, and an international police to enforce these decisions. The program appeals peculiarly to the American spirit. The prominent part which the United States took in the First and Second Peace Conferences at The Hague in 1899 and 1907 was in keeping with that spirit. America had the honor of opening the Hague Court in 1902, since which time this international institution has shown on eleven different occasions its efficacy in settling disputes between nations.

Our country has taken the lead among the nations in negotiating treaties of arbitration, and this activity has not abated even in the midst of the European War. Twenty-nine nations have signed peace commission treaties with the United States, while eight others have signified their willingness to sign similar treaties. As these provide that all matters in dispute shall be investigated during the period of a year before any declaration of war or commencement of hostilities can take place, it is believed that they will make armed conflict between the contracting nations improbable, if not entirely impossible. More than two-thirds of the civilized globe are now living under the protection of these treaties. Our Government has cheerfully taken this long step in the direction of peace, and it is not only willing but indeed anxious to execute similar instruments with all remaining nations, large and small.

V. What Should be Said as to the Part Which Every Boy and Girl has to Play in Furthering Human Freedom?

The youth of our country should be conscious of their direct relationship to this world-wide movement for the extension of human freedom. The child will readily see that being a member of a family, a school, a town, a state, a nation, and the world at large, he has functions to perform in all these relations. In discharging his duties well in any one of these ways, he becomes a better citizen in all other respects. But it should be impressed upon him that all artificial and political relationships are secondary to what he owes the whole human race.

Return to Seamus Clay.

INTERNATIONAL CONCILIATION

To the American Business Man

AN OPEN LETTER

BY

NORMAN ANGELL

MARCH, 1914

American Association for International Conciliation
Sub-Station 84 (407 West 117th Street)
New York City

Apr. 21, 1915.

To the American Business Man

AN OPEN LETTER

BY

NORMAN ANGELL

Has the average American business man any practical concern with foreign policy, with these questions of war and peace that sometimes fill the newspapers? As an intelligent spectator of the affairs of the world at large, he has, of course, a detached interest therein as in other large general questions, and he is doubtless prepared to do what he can to help forward the progress of the world in this particular, though what he can do seems, doubtless, very little. America, he will perhaps urge, is little enough warlike or militarized as her failure to intervene in Mexico in the legitimate defense of property rights proves. As to European affairs, what can America do therein even if she had any interest in doing it? Indeed, it may occur to him that it is somewhat to his interest that Europeans should be so disposed to spend their times fighting one another instead of developing their countries. This last contingency might, in view of the necessary commercial rivalry of nations, be to his disadvantage, however much he might welcome it on humanitarian grounds. A peaceful and united Europe might constitute a very redoubtable competitor.

In any case it might with plausibility be argued that with all sorts of home problems clamoring for solution and needing attention, it is hardly wise for us to concern ourselves with matters that do not touch us very nearly and concerning which we can take very little effective action.

Now I am going to put it to you, as the lawyers say, that your interest in the problem of armaments,

and war and peace, in the war system of civilization in other words, is, taking this country as a whole, just as direct and probably more considerable than in most of the questions with which you concern yourselves, like tariff, or currency, or trade unionism; and that you are in position to influence the war system to an immense, perhaps a determining, degree.

Suppose you were asked the question, " What, as a business man, do you regard as the prime factors of prosperity in this country? What are the conditions which you would assure for the country if you could? I imagine that largely and generally you would define those conditions about as follows:

(1) Expanding Markets. That is to say a rising standard of consumption at home and abroad, free from checks and set-backs so that merchants and manufacturers can go ahead in the development of their business, assured that there would be a market for increased output to justify expansion.

(2) Satisfactory Money Conditions. Security from panic, stable credit on the part of your customers, capital and credit facilities available for the development of your own business.

(3) Freedom from industrial trouble. Quite prepared as you may be to pay the best wages your industry can stand and to have the general prosperity shared by the workers as a whole, you naturally want wage and work contracts to be kept so that you on your side can fulfill your own obligations.

(4) Freedom from harassing, experimental and amateur legislation, which takes little account of the

necessary conditions of modern business. Prepared to submit to any control which may be necessary in the interest of the community as a whole, you want such control to achieve its end and to serve the community,—not to be a mere harassment which damages you and does no one else any good.

I take it that the American business man would say: "Give me those conditions and you can leave the rest to me."

It is evident therefore that any effective effort toward the establishment of such conditions is well spent effort.

Well, there is no one fact which stands in the way of those four things so much as the military system of western society and all that it involves.

Let us take the four points cited. I will deal with Number 2 first merely because its relation to your problems is the most visible.

You know of course—the fact has been abundantly illustrated in the history of the last two or three years—that no one economic center of the civilized world can escape the effects of grave disturbances in any of the other centers. In 1907 as the direct result of the monetary conditions in New York, the bank rate in London—and not merely the bank rate but the market rate—rose from 4% to 8%, and if the conditions had been reversed and the panic had occurred in London, your own credit situation would have reacted in just the same way. You have only to go back to instances like the Baring crash, when the interdependence of the economic centers was much less acute than it is now, to realize how

intimately monetary conditions in America are tied up with monetary conditions in Europe. These are not incidental and passing facts—they are operating the whole time. If you take up any day of the year the financial supplement of the *London Times* you will find some American corporation raising capital in the London market. Some months since I was in an American city where ten thousand men were out of work and large enterprises were held up because fourth-rate European powers had gone to war in the Balkans. The disorder, the possibility of great powers being drawn into the conflict, had rendered it impossible to place upon the European market the bonds necessary wherewith to carry on the particular enterprise in question. But this thing does not need illustration; it is a familiar, daily commonplace to all who deal with the capital of the world. I say "the capital of the world" advisedly, because it means that the capital of the civilized world has, as a matter of fact, become a common reservoir. Let any one section draw it off or waste it to any considerable degree and the rest of the world to lesser or greater degree goes thirsty.

So much for the direct, visible side of the thing, the side which the bank rate and the prices of your bonds and shares will indicate any morning. But the indirect effects are still more important. If this country is to draw the advantages that it might from the development (for instance) of the southern continent it will have to be with the co-operation of European capital. Just imagine that no European capital had ever been invested in the western continent. Would it be an exaggeration to say that our

development would have been at least a generation behind what it is? Now, the United States is not a finished country; it is not a sucked orange; it has not yet said its last word. It would be truer indeed to say that its possibilities have only been scratched. We have therefore plenty of employment for our own capital right here in our own country. So that if we are to find the markets and field for our enterprise which we might in South America or Siberia or China, we must encourage this investment of his money by the European in these undeveloped countries. That development furnishes us with a possible market. It means that we use (to his advantage) the money of the thrifty Frenchman and the wealthy Englishman. And of course you will not forget this,—that when the European invests his money in our railroads we do not pay the dividends in coin, we pay the dividends in the wheat and cotton of our farmers. And if Britain is buying from us so much more than we are buying from her it is precisely because that kind of thing is taking place. We are paying the interest on our debts with our produce.

So you see how we are led to Factor No. 2 in those that I have enumerated—Expanding Markets. If we are to have the markets that we might in the undeveloped countries of the world it will be with the help of the old, fully developed countries. As between them and us will take place this division of labor: we shall be either directly or indirectly the users of capital and they will be the furnishers of capital, and if conditions arise which make that operation impossible, or embarrassed or restricted, we suffer quite as much as they do. And you know,

of course, that there is no one element so likely to embarrass and restrict that operation so much as the waste of the capital of these old countries upon unproductive expenditure, in preparation for war, and the outright destruction of capital and the source of capital by war itself.

And in the elements I have just recounted I have said nothing of this fact: the markets which the old countries themselves constitute directly for our products—not merely for our food products but for an increasing range of manufactures, our typewriters, harvesters, labor-saving machinery, printing machinery, shoes and the thousand and one things that are becoming more and more essential to our increasingly complex civilization and for the production of which we have shown a special genius—are themselves grievously restricted by the drain of unproductive expenditure which the European war system imposes upon them. I will illustrate it by one single typical fact of the last few months. Russia has just voted six hundred million dollars for the construction of a navy. This sum is paid by a population so poor that a very considerable portion of it dies every winter from actual lack of food, while the majority of it perhaps is chronically hungry in winter from too little food. Now, if that six hundred million dollars—which is as much to the Russian as six thousand million would be to the American—had been expended upon, shall we say, the development of Siberia, in the construction of railroads, etc., making of that country what it might be, another Canada, we should have had a possible market there for our machinery and what not, comparable to the market

that we should have in Canada if the population there were thirty or forty millions instead of ten.*

There is one other minor factor which shows your concern in these problems of the older world. If the waste of enormous sums in unproductive expenditure which now depresses the standard of living in Europe were stopped and the expenditure so directed as to raise their standard of living, the problem of European immigration into this country—the absorption of elements which threaten to become a little indigestible—would be very much relieved, to say the least.

Now, I think the foregoing facts which are quite simple and visible are sufficient to establish your direct and considerable interest in the war system of Europe. That, quite admittedly, more than any one thing embarrasses their finances and restricts their normal social development. To say that their finances are embarrassed means that yours are not as satisfactory as they might be; that they are exposed to recurrent risks and disturbances; that you are deprived of the use of capital for the development of your industry, both directly and indirectly; directly because your own sources of capital are restricted, and indirectly because countries which might otherwise be a market for you remain undeveloped or are unable to buy your goods.

---

*Recently an American business man interested among other things in the production of newspaper machinery happened to be present at a dinner where a Russian diplomat spoke of the possibility of so improving the educational system in Russia that instead of a population of twenty or thirty millions able to read and write there would be a population of a hundred millions capable of reading. The American, speaking to the Russian official, said: "If ever your law is carried into effect it will be worth several million dollars to me, for I shall sell your countrymen a great many of my printing machines."

II.

But I myself am disposed to think that of the four factors which I indicated as essential to satisfactory business conditions in America the two with which I have just dealt are much less important than the remaining two, which are, freedom from (*a*) Industrial Trouble and (*b*) Harassing Legislation.

Now, I want to point out a fact which may strike you as very irrelevant, but which is, in reality, very relevant indeed. And that is this: there is one thing upon which you have never been able to put a tariff or to exclude by any exclusion act however thorough going, and that thing is ideas. This industrial unrest of which we hear so much—Socialism, Syndicatism, I. W. W.-ism, Marx-ism, to say nothing of such things as a progressive income tax, nationalization of railroads and mines, are all foreign importations. Even where, as in a case like the single tax, the finished product is an un-American theory, you will find that the raw materials are European. The fact is merely an illustration in the intellectual field of what we have already seen in the financial and the commercial, which is this: that the civilized world has become one. If our stock exchanges and our bank rates react the one upon the other, so do our minds and our ideas, and it is as impossible to prevent the one reaction as the other.

How does this concern you?

Well, this single body, the thing that we call the civilized world or organized society, is at present wrestling with certain very definite problems. The workers for instance are determined to have, or in any case are determined to try and get, a larger share of the good things of the world than they have had heretofore. If they cannot get them with due regard for the existing order of things,—with due regard, for instance, to the capitalist classes,—well, they will try and get them without due regard to these

classes. Personally I do not think that they will succeed if they use certain methods which they seem disposed to use. But the point is that whether they will succeed or not, they will apply those methods if they cannot succeed otherwise.

Now if those methods are used in Europe, if you get European countries trying progressive income tax, appropriation of capital, repudiation, nationalization of the means of production, and what not, *you* are not going to escape. There never was a revolution in any one considerable country that did not affect all the others whatsoever. The French revolution was a world revolution, necessarily. Those "theorists" of the eighteenth century who wrote and talked a few years before the French revolution broke out, were not only making France republican, they were making the Western hemisphere Republican, or hastening that process; they were separating this country from Great Britain, tearing the colonies away from Spain, introducing the Reform Bill into England, depriving the Pope of his temporal power, liberating Italy, and much else. For if you examine any of those events, the seeds of them, that is, you will find that all of them were infected by this virus of the ideas which preceded the French revolution. And this, mind you, at a time when the newspapers did not print in New York on Tuesday a speech delivered in London on Monday; in which the articles of the journalists were not "syndicated" throughout a thousand newspapers. These ideas had to spread through the medium of books which took perhaps ten years to translate from one language into another, which percolated through slow and imperfect channels. How can you suppose, therefore, that any great and stirring experiment of social organization tried by a country like France, or England, or Germany, is not going to affect your legislation here?

The point I want to make clear is this: If we knew how to manage our society we could, without

depriving the possessing classes of one cent of their property or incomes to satisfy the claims of those who demanded a larger life. But to do that demands on the part of civilization two things: that is, energies shall be productive instead of unproductive and that it shall in the matter of the management of society, "know how"—for all these social problems are not simple problems; they demand a large measure of "knowing how."

Now, the militarist organization of European society involves an immense waste of energy and stands in the way of "knowing how." And the ideas that are born of those conditions continue to influence our social and political experiments. I had occasion recently to state the European situation thus:

> During forty years in Europe something like five millions of the picked men of European society have been devoting anything from one to four of the best years of their lives to equipping themselves to perform a certain function—to kill one another in the most efficient way. During that same period the peoples of Europe have been spending something like two billion dollars a year upon perfecting machinery, not destined to aid in the management of society, the production and equitable distribution of wealth, but also destined to kill men in as large numbers as possible, and in ways against which those it is desired to kill have as little chance of protecting themselves as possible. The main preoccupation of the statesmen of Europe and of those who deal with high politics, and try to unravel its problems, has not been with questions arising out of the attempt to render the daily lives of the population better or easier, but has been directed at finding either by intrigue or force the means of injuring other groups of men or preventing those other groups from inflicting injury. The form that Governments have taken has been dictated mainly not by what would best aid the management of society, but by what would best enable a Government to exercise physical force against some other Government. When our political emotion has been stirred most deeply, it has been not over the problem of man's struggle with nature and ignorance, destitution, hunger, want, disease—these matters at periods of warlike excitement do not merely take a secondary place, they disappear altogether—but with the physical struggle of one group against another.
>
> To these things mainly have been given the energy of Governments, the attention of our statesmen and politicians and the public

generally, the profoundest emotion which can be excited by public questions; the considerations that go into the makings of Governments, an immense proportion of the money that Governments have been able to collect, and nearly all the spirit of self-sacrifice that exists in the political field. I say that that is what we have done in Europe during the last fifty years: that, of course, is what we have been doing throughout the world during most of written history. But I keep the illustration to a period of fifty years, because that brings it more nearly within the radius of our imagination.

And this is the question that I want to put you: If during the last fifty years we had been training something like five millions of young men, annually, to equip themselves for the real battle of life, and if every man in Europe had been practically trained to know and deal with the real problems of civilization; if two billion dollars annually were devoted to the systematic struggle with poverty, destitution preventable disease; if national service meant for our wealthy young men not going into the Guards, but systematic and scientific help in the improvement of the people; if the main object of Governments had been a cordial co-operation one with the other for these purposes; if all the interest and emotion that has gone into our wars had been devoted to this other war with poverty, ignorance and wild nature—if in short these lives, this time, money and emotion had gone to improving the world instead of preparing for the destruction of the people living in—do you suppose we should still know so little of the problems of wealth distribution as not to be able to ensure that every child at least has enough to eat?

It is not mainly the money question (if the expenditure of a sum like that wasted on the Navy were demanded by a real need this country could raise it twenty times over), but the question of the diversion of public attention and political capacity, that distortion which makes "patriotism" mean, not care for the interest of one's countrymen, but the killing of foreigners, "National Service" playing at soldiers; the loss of the sense of proportion which makes the important thing seem small and the small thing important. While the rivalry of nations exists, their chief interest and attention will not be given to solving the problems of society at all, but to preparing to fight one another. It is for this reason that our Governments do not become an instrument for the management of society, but an instrument for the management of armies and navies. It means that we cannot grapple with the real problems of life because we are grappling with an artificial problem of our own creating; and this condition, far from getting better, is getting worse.

One may put the matter thus: The burden of the war system and all that it involves is leading the pop-

ular thought of Europe, not to understand their problems, but merely to get angry with their miseries.

And it is affecting the kind of solution that will be given to social difficulties in another and perhaps more direct way. With the militarist organization of the modern European state necessarily goes a militarist attitude to all these problems. You know what has been happening recently in a little Alsatian town, where a boy lieutenant cuts open the head of an unarmed shoemaker because "he thought the shoemaker was going to laugh at him," and where such action is defended by the lieutenant's immediate superiors and by the government. In itself of no importance, it has immense importance as indicating a temper and attitude in politics, which is predominate throughout continental Europe because it is an inevitable part of the general military system.

That temper dominates both parties to the great social cleavage in Europe. If you will recall the outstanding facts of European history during the last ten years, such things for instance as the Dreyfus case, the Boer War, the Spanish-American, Russo-Japanese, Turco-Italian Wars, the Zabern Affair, the Anglo-Irish conflict, in such matters as the Ulster question, you will find the militarist attitude causing men not merely to lose their tempers, but to lose their tempers and to expend themselves on the things that do not represent the real problems of society at all. They are not learning how to manage society. They are quarreling over artificial differences.

The whole situation involves, therefore, grave material burdens on the mass of the population which

alone increases the difficulty of solving social problems. It involves a division of political attention and thought which renders the popular mind incapable of giving sufficient attention to the complex social questions that demand solution. It spells throughout a tendency to resort to violence, hot temper, insurrection, etc., which color quite definitely the European political thought on the popular side, and will inevitably mean a whole body of legislation, extreme and socialistic in character, which, whether it succeeds or not, will set the pace to similar legislation here.

To say that you are not concerned with the political experiments of Europe nor with the ideas of Europe, that they will not affect this country, is simply childishly to disregard everything that has happened and the way things have happened in the past. If we are part of the civilized world financially and economically, we are also part of the civilized world intellectually and morally, and are as much affected by the ideas of Europe as by its bank rate; and in the long run it is the ideas of the masses which will determine the kind of legislation which we are likely to have during our generation.

III.

Well, what are you to do about it? How can you affect this war system and all that it involves?

Your action can affect it immensely. Such action can be both negative and positive. By this I mean you can use your influence to see that there are certain things this country and its government do

not do as well as certain things they do. That, for instance, it does not take a line which helps to perpetuate the absurd system of rival armaments. You can use your influence to ensure that the treaty obligations of a country like this are regarded as sacred; that where there is doubt in their interpretation the benefit of the doubt be conceded as the price that we gladly pay to vindicate our good faith and honor to the world at large. The notion that our honor can be vindicated by sheer military strength, that we can prove our honorability like the boy lieutenant of whom I have spoken, by being ready to cut somebody's head open, are obsolete notions that we should repudiate with indignation. To show Europe that the most powerful nation in the world, the one most able to embarrass and damage other nations, is precisely the nation that never does these things and is never likely to do them, is to make a very real and effective contribution to a better order of things, to do a great deal to undermine the present system. I know from personal experience that the fact that the greatest colony owned by Great Britain has no military protection whatever against the greatest power in the world, which is this country; that during a hundred years this country has been in a position to invade Canada had it been so minded; that despite many quarrels and much bitterness this aggression has never been committed, is an argument which is having a very powerful effect in England, and is certain to have still greater effect when its full significance is realized, toward which realization the celebrations of next year will con-

tribute very greatly. There is no argument like a fact, and here we have had the fact of two expansive, enterprising, aggressive and quarrelsome members of the same family, living side by side and yet having maintained during a century marked by some severe differences of opinion a practical disarmament treaty—the formal treaty concerning battleships on the Great Lakes and the informal treaty concerning forts along the Canadian-American border. These two nations have in this matter done a service to the cause of international sanity very much greater than Americans, I believe, at present realize.

On the positive side almost everything yet remains to be done. During the last twenty or thirty years there has come into being, unnoticed for the most part, a World State, that is to say, a whole body of legislation concerning such things as the conditions which shall determine the negotiability of bills of exchange, the standardization of certain electrical and railroad machinery, the system of bookkeeping between the various national postal departments, copyright, the safety of life at sea, marine signalling, the investigation of the White Slave traffic, and much else which has grown up more or less haphazard. The bankers meet in Madrid; the engineers in Berne; the publishers at Leipsic or Brussels; the ship-owners in Paris; the agriculturists in Rome; those concerned in the safety of life at sea in London. They constitute a real "Parliament of Man" transacting practical and vital legislation having no sanction in the shape of an international army because none is needed. (If your electrical machinery does not conform to the standard it is not salable and that is sanction enough.)

It is, as far as it goes, quite effective, but nothing like as far reaching as it might be if definitely and scientifically organized. And what is to prevent America, the great neutral, industrial, most modern of all nations, organizing this World State, giving it, by its beneficence, a capitol, and definite and permanent means of carrying on its work, and furnishing it that genius for organization which has enabled the American to push his conquest of nature so much further than it has been pushed by any race of men that has lived heretofore?

If that World State, a very real, active and operating thing, however little we may realize it, were made visible and definite, it might be possible to push forward several achievements in human order and good sense which have heretofore hung fire. I take one case: the projected international agreement to make private property at sea inviolate even during war as it is already on land. America has, it is true, a very good record in that matter. But if her point of view were pushed with a little more insistence, backed by a world organization of commercial and industrial kind, she could break down the few barriers that are still opposed to this achievement, an achievement which would accomplish what most certainly would be the beginning of the end of the war system of the world.

But the greatest work of all, in which America might lead the way, is the organization of wisdom, "the management of the human mind" as someone has termed it, the application to ideas of that genius which America has heretofore applied rather to material things. For if it is true, as I have pointed out,

that the drift of European political ideas, whether in the direction of socialism, or the nationalization of property, or the taxing out of existence of the capitalists, or what not, will largely influence our politics, it is also true that our ideas and our achievements in social management will very largely affect theirs, are, indeed, largely affecting them. Only those who, like the present writer, have lived in England the best part of a lifetime, know with what superstitious awe certain European governments regard the direction of American policy. With Great Britain, for instance, our influence in most international affairs, where it is exercised at all, is pretty certain to be a determining one. Where we lead Great Britain is pretty sure to follow, and where Great Britain and America lead the other nations cannot long lag behind.

But the most effective methods in this field, especially at this stage, will not be through the government. More and more is it true that the real forces of the world are those that operate outside politics. Venezuela has, I think, the same constitution as the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; it really has not the same kind of society. Given sound judgment, understanding minds among the great mass of the people, and almost any kind of government would work. Without these things, no government, however perfect it might be on paper, would work at all.

At the time when religious differences were a cause of wars, and enmity more bitter and wasteful than political differences are today, a strenuous and prolonged attempt was made by a group of able French statesmen to solve the differences between Catholics

and Huguenots by means of treaties between these groups—"Edicts of Pacification" as they were called. That system of dealing with the trouble failed utterly. The trouble was brought to an end not by these means at all, not by treaties in any way, but by an improvement of the general mind, a widespread realization of the fact that religious truth neither could be, nor ought to be, enforced with the sword. With that realization the whole system of imposing belief by the force of the state came to an end. The war system of the world will come to an end in the same way.

Just as the man of the Sixteenth century believed that he had to protect his faith by military force, so does the man of the Twentieth century believe that he has to protect his national property and national prosperity by force. I had occasion recently to make the parallel in these terms:

How has war disappeared in the past? How did religious warfare—at times the bloodiest, most hateful, most passionate, most persistent warfare that ever devastated Europe—come to an end? Obviously it has not been the work of Conventions and Treaties between the religious groups—though that plan was for the best part of a century tried by the statesmen of Europe without success. Nor has it been the result of government "imposing" peace—indeed, the wars largely arose from an attempt to do that. Obviously it was a matter of advancing opinion, a change of ideas and intellectual conceptions in Europe. The cessation of religious war indicates the greatest outstanding fact in the history of civilized mankind during the last 1,000 years, which is this: that all civilised governments have abandoned their claim to dictate the belief of their subjects. For very long

that was a right tenaciously held, and it was held on grounds for which there is an immense deal to be said.

Well, that once universal policy has been abandoned, not because every argument, or even perhaps most of the arguments, which led to it have been answered, but because the fundamental one has. The conception on which it rested has been shown to be, not in every detail, but in the essentials at least, an illusion, a *mis*conception.

The world of religious wars and of the Inquisition was a world which had a quite definite conception of the relation of authority to religious belief and to truth—as that authority was the source of truth; that truth could be, and should be, protected by force; that Catholics who did not resent an insult offered to their faith (like the failure of a Huguenot to salute a passing religious procession) were renegade.

Now what broke down this conception was a growing realization that authority, force, was irrelevant to the issues of truth (a party of heretics triumphed by virtue of some physical accident, as that they occupied a mountain region); that it was ineffective, and that the essence of truth was something outside the scope of physical conflict. As the realisation of this grew, the conflicts declined.

So with conflict between the political groups. They arise from a corresponding conception of the relation of military authority to political ends—those ends for which governments are founded—the protection of life and property, the promoting of well-being. When it is mutually realised by the parties concerned that security of life and property, like the security of truth, is not derived from military force; that military force is as ineffective, as irrelevant, to the end of promoting prosperity as of promoting truth, then political wars will cease, as religious wars have ceased, for the same reason and in the same way.

The present political conceptions as to the relation of force to prosperity which constitute the prevailing political force, in the international field at least, are as monstrously fallacious as was the 16th Century conception of the relation of force to truth.

IV.

What are the fundamental motives that explain the present rivalry of armaments in Europe? Each nation pleads the need for defence; but this implies that someone is likely to attack, and has therefore a presumed interest in so doing. What are the motives which each State thus fears its neighbors may obey? I have attempted* to indicate them thus:

> They are based on the universal assumption that a nation, in order to find outlets for expanding population and increasing industry, or simply to ensure the best conditions possible for its people, is necessarily pushed to territorial expansion and the exercise of political force against others (German naval competition is assumed to be the expression of the growing need of an expanding population for a larger place in the world, a need which will find a realization in the conquest of English colonies or trade, unless these were defended); it is assumed, therefore, that a nation's relative prosperity is broadly determined by its political power; that nations being competing units, advantage, in the last resort, goes to the possessor of preponderant military force, the weaker going to the wall, as in the other forms of the struggle for life.

Now I believe it quite possible to demonstrate the fallacy of this whole doctrine; to show that it belongs to a stage of development out of which we have passed; that the commerce and industry of a people no longer depends upon the expansion of its political frontiers; that a nation's political and economic frontiers do not now necessarily coincide; that military

---

* "The Great Illusion," Putnam's, New York.

power is socially and economically futile, and can have no relation to the prosperity of the people exercising it; that it is impossible for one nation to seize by force the wealth or trade of another—to enrich itself by subjugating, or imposing its will by force on, another; that, in short, war, even when victorious, can no longer achieve those aims for which people strive.

I have indicated the outline of the case which support these propositions, as follows:

The case can be established, in so far as the economic problem is concerned, by showing that wealth in the economically civilized world is founded upon credit and commercial contract (these being the outgrowth of an economic interdependence due to the increasing division of labor and greatly developed communication). If credit and commercial contract are tampered with in an attempt of confiscation, the credit-dependent wealth is undermined, and its collapse involves that of a conqueror; so that if conquest is not to be self-injurious it must respect the enemy's property, in which case it becomes economically futile. Thus the wealth of conquered territory remains in the hands of the population of such territory. When Germany annexed Alsatia, no individual German secured a single mark's worth of Alsatian property as the spoils of war. Conquest in the modern world is a process of multiplying by x, and then obtaining the original result by dividing by x. For a modern nation to add to its territory no more adds to the wealth of the people of such nation than it would add to the wealth of Londoners if the City of London were to annex the county of Hertford.

The author also shows that international finance has become so interdependent and so interwoven with trade and industry that the intangibility of an enemy's property extends to his trade. It results that political and military power can in reality do nothing for trade; the individual merchants and manufacturers of small nations, exercising no such power, compete successfully with those of the great. Swiss and Belgian merchants drive English from the British Colonial market; Norway has, relatively to population, a greater mercantile marine than Great Britain; the public credit (as a rough-and-ready indication, among others, of security and wealth) of small States possessing no political power often stands higher than that of the Great Powers of Europe, Belgian Three per Cents. standing at 96, and German at 82; Norwegian Three and a Half per Cents. at 102, and Russian Three and a Half per Cents. at 81,

The forces which have brought about the economic futility of military power have also rendered it futile as a means of enforcing a nation's moral ideals or imposing its social institutions upon a conquered people. Germany could not turn Canada or Australia into a German colony—*i. e.*, stamp out their language, law, literature, traditions, etc.—by "capturing" them. The necessary security in their material possessions enjoyed by the inhabitants of such conquered provinces, quick intercommunication by a cheap press, widely-read literature, enable even small communities to become articulate and effectively defend their special social or moral possessions, even when military conquest has been complete. The fight for ideals can no longer take the form of fight between nations, because the lines of division on moral questions are within the nations themselves and intersect the political frontiers. There is no modern State which is completely Catholic or Protestant, or liberal or autocratic, or aristocratic or democratic, or socialist or individualist; the moral and spiritual struggles of the modern world go on as between citizens of the same State in unconscious intellectual co-operation with corresponding groups in other States, not as between the public powers of rival States.

This classification by strata involves necessarily a redirection of human pugnacity, based rather on the rivalry of classes and interests than on State divisions. War has no longer the justification that it makes for the survival of the fittest; it involves the survival of the less fit. The idea that the struggle between nations is a part of the evolutionary law of man's advance involves a profound misreading of the biological analogy.

The warlike nations do not inherit the earth; they represent the decaying human element. The diminishing role of physical force in all spheres of human activity carries with it profound psychological modifications.

These tendencies, mainly the outcome of purely modern conditions (rapidity of communication), have rendered the problems of modern international politics profoundly and essentially different from the ancient; yet our ideas are still dominated by the principles and axioms and terminology of the old.

We are now in possession of facts which do enable us to crystallise into a definite and comprehensive social and political doctrine, of a quite simple nature, likely to affect public opinion—the principle of the futility of military force as applied to the things for which the world is striving. We are able to show how and why the transfer of wealth or trade or moral

possessions or ideals (for the same process which makes the material object impossible also makes the moral) cannot be achieved by military force. We can demonstrate by fact that the mechanism of trade, the processes of wealth making, do not permit of transference in this way; and that this is the result, not of any mere accident—just because it happens—but because human society is so shaping itself, and necessarily so shaping itself, as enormously to increase the element of mutual dependence the one upon the other. That element has increased not merely in degree, but in extent and area; it is not simply that, if the mythical German invader were to sack the Bank of England, the German merchant would pay the piper perhaps equally, with the English, but that other merchants—French, American, Italian—would in some degree suffer also. It is not merely that the prospective rivals are dependent the one upon the other, but that third, fourth, fifth and sixth parties are equally dependent upon the interdependent situation of the first two.

Thoroughly to appreciate the meaning of this situation is to recast our conceptions not merely of the morality or otherwise of warfare, but of the mechanism of human society, and to recast mainly one fundamental conception, that of the relation of force to social advantage.

It is possible to reduce the thing to a system easily understandable, to furnish a simple social and economic philosophy of trade and the ordinary activities of life: to give the common man a pretty clear and well-defined working hypothesis of a warless civilization. For this is certain: merely to disentangle detached

facts, merely to express a general aspiration towards better things, is no good when we are opposed by a system as well-defined and understandable in its motives and methods as is the war system of Europe. To a system like that, reposing upon a quite definite philosophy, upon a process which is intelligible to the ordinary man, you must oppose, if you hope to replace it, another system, another working hypothesis which you must demonstrate to be more in accordance with facts.

To such a work, which is mainly that of the scientific and organized dissemination of truer ideas, America should contribute a preponderant part. She might then, by her constructive capacity create in the Twentieth Century a political revolution as widespread and even more beneficent than that accomplished throughout the world by France in the eighteenth. It would not inaugurate the millennium or a new heaven and a new earth any more than did the French revolution. We are not urging a patent scheme which is going to transform mankind from Friday to Saturday, but we should be marching along the right road instead of the wrong one. To do that makes even hard marching tolerable and inspiring. And America might be leading it by virtue of the individual work and quality of her men of affairs. It is mainly a matter of the organization of knowledge, not merely in the schools and universities but in those places where the education of the great masses really takes place,—in the newspapers, the Churches, the Y. M. C. A.'s, the country store, among the workmen of the great factories. The machinery of enlightenment is there if the American captain of

industry would give to this matter something of the acuteness and the energy which he has given to the conquest of markets and to the distribution of his products.

This American captain of industry has learned during the Nineteenth Century to manage matter as no race of men has yet learned to manage it. During the Twentieth Century he might turn his attention somewhat to the work of "managing minds" with the same efficiency. By that means, and by no other (whether it concerns this question or not), can he do the best for the people of his country and make it the real leader of the civilized world.

THE EVENING POST JOB PRINTING OFFICE
156 FULTON STREET, NEW YORK

Return to Loaner Clay.

INTERNATIONAL CONCILIATION

TO THE AMERICAN STUDENT
AN OPEN LETTER

BY

NORMAN ANGELL

MARCH, 1914

American Association for International Conciliation
Sub-Station 84 (407 West 117th Street)
New York City

Apr. 21, 1915.

TO THE AMERICAN STUDENT.

What is the American student going to do with American civilization and what part does he intend that it shall play on the world's stage?

For, if American civilization is not to be in his hands, his education has little meaning. Civilization is a matter of ideas. The character of any society—whether that of a cannibal island or Catholic nunnery—is determined by the ideas of the units which compose it. The Indians who inhabited this country five hundred or five thousand years ago were, in point of physical strength, emotional vigour, bravery, readiness to fight certainly the equal of ourselves; they were dealing with the same soil and raw materials of nature. The factors which make our society somewhat different from theirs are intellectual and moral.

The work of the American student stands for the perpetuation and development of these intellectual and moral factors—if his work touches the heart of things at all. If you say that your education does *not* bear upon the things which account for the difference between ourselves and palaeolithic man, upon the perceptions which make that difference possible and are, let us hope, destined to widen it; if the kind of ideas now being absorbed in American universities is not the kind of ideas which have any influence upon American society and determine its character—then obviously your education is not bearing upon

the vital realities. It means either that its teachings are not concerned with the perceptions upon which civilization rests, (in the development of which of course the exact and physical sciences are as important an element as, or a more important one than, the moral and social sciences, philosophy and speculation properly speaking) or that it has not included the problem of keeping that structure upon its proper foundations—the problem of applying the result of your work to real ends in your society.

Now no person whose life, like that of the present writer, happens to have been passed in large part abroad, can fail to have some dim realization of the fact that the generation now upon us in the New World might play a dominant role in achieving for the new society, and consequently for human society as a whole, one of those intellectual transformations which are at the base of all real social development. Such a transformation, for instance, was that conception of toleration which gave western mankind a certain measure of religious and political freedom; or, the establishment of that inductive reasoning as a method of testing truth which alone made possible our modern science and the conquest of nature which it accomplishes.

Not that it is necessarily America's mission to save the world. The first duty of every country is to her own people, and perhaps America has her work cut out in settling her own destiny, in liberating American civilization from the grosser evils which the older communities have bequeathed to her.

But in the accomplishment of this latter task, in the creation on the Western Hemisphere of a better human

society than has yet been evolved, she must in the nature of things also achieve the former. To the degree to which the New World succeeds for itself it must by virtue of its special position be the teacher of mankind as a whole.

So far, unhappily, America has taken over without fundamental correction those basic conceptions of the methods of human association which have shaped and colored and which explain the character of older European society; and so long as the intellectual foundations are the same, built upon the same mechanism, guided by the same principles, the structure is pretty certain to possess the same deep-seated defects; of more imposing appearance perhaps, with the paint a bit fresher, but with all the dangers none the less real and none the less failing to fulfil the needs and aspirations of its builders.

Now if at this point you hurry on to see what this open letter really is about and conclude that it deals with the problem of war and international peace, you will wonder why I have indulged in this portentous introduction which you may deem to have little relevance to that problem.

Well, as a matter of fact, this letter deals only incidentally with war, for that is only one of the effects which flow from a cause creating a far wider range of evils than those which we generally associate with it. You will probably agree readily enough that the diversion of national wealth, energy and attention which goes to war and its preparation among all the peoples of the world pushes into the background a whole series of deep and pressing political, social and industrial problems; and involves a treatment of them

which is much more summary, superficial and defective than it would be if the emphasis of national effort were given to them instead of elsewhere. That much is obvious. But it would probably strike you as fanciful and far-fetched—the sort of over-statement that we generally look for from "the one-idea Reformer"—to say that the misconceptions which create war and which we shall dispel most effectively by grappling efficiently with that one definite problem, are precisely the misconceptions which need correction before we can deal efficiently with most of the social and industrial problems that confront us. It will almost certainly strike you as just such an over-statement as I have described to say that the direction in which our governments develop, the nature of their working, the method of their administration, the treatment of such problems as political privilege, economic monopoly, Free Trade and Protection, trade unionism, Syndicalism and Socialism, rival methods of achieving needed social reforms, will all depend mainly on the extent to which we come to understand, or fail to understand, certain principles concerning the mechanism of human society; and that whether we achieve that understanding or not will depend mainly upon the question of whether we succeed in dealing with the problem of war.

And yet such a statement is the quite simple truth, in keeping incidentally with the method by which mankind achieves most of its advance. That method is generally this: in solving special problems general principles which solve larger general problems are thereby uncovered.

The object of the Egyptians in measuring land and

time was to define property and to observe festivals : that of the Chaldeans in studying the stars to find data for soothsaying, but the results went immeasureably beyond the object of the Egyptians and were quite destructive of the objects of the Chaldeans. These results established the foundations of an organized knowledge by which man brings the world into subjection to himself. They formed the beginnings not merely of the classified details of mathematical and astronomical science which furnished man with the chief instrument for the conquest of nature, but they also made possible that conception of ordered law in external Nature which alone enabled him to use effectively his instrument and to direct his fight with her. All real students know of course that any fundamental misconception touching any one large human issue involves misconception in all to lesser or greater degree. Yet all fundamental corrections, all new interpretations, have had to struggle against the view either that their recognition is practically unimportant, or that it may lead to the undermining of some large body of general doctrine, the retention of which is deemed of great practical importance. Probably all that the contemporaries of Galileo could see in his theory was that it tended to discredit an ancient and venerable faith for a perfectly futile thing, the demonstration that the position or the movements of the world on which we live were not what they had been thought to be. "As though our opinion concerning it could alter the thing one way or another" we can imagine the "practical" man of his time declaring. And nearly 500 years later, when Darwin gave another new interpretation of facts, the

real attitude both of the academic world and the practical man was very similar. It was felt that to leave undisturbed the ancient doctrines concerned so deeply with the daily life and conduct of men, and upon which mankind had learned to lean for guidance, was infinitely more important than the discussion of a merely zoological or even biological truth which had no direct bearing upon life and conduct.

Yet we now realize that in these cases, as in numberless similar ones that have come between, the popular assumptions I have indicated were wrong. The full recognition of the new truths did not involve the collapse of the general body of the old doctrine—it left all that was of real value therein undisturbed; and it did have very great, incalculable, practical value. Just imagine the general opinion of Galileo's times having been triumphant, the new heresy successfully extirpated, and the geocentric hypothesis imposed as a dogma not to be questioned, with all that told against it suppressed. It is certainly not too much to say that such success of the popular and orthodox view would have made impossible the modern world as we know it, reposing as it does upon a basis of organised knowledge, with huge populations dependent for their very daily food upon the use of such organised knowledge in the exploitation of the universe. So with Darwin's work. It would be a very ignorant person indeed to-day who would dismiss it with the gibe so common a generation since, about men and monkeys and our grandfathers' tails. We know that the hypothesis has profoundly affected our conceptions in an immense area of human knowledge, and by so doing has affected human society and conduct in very many fields.

Now, this attitude, which academic authority and popular opinion have almost invariably assumed towards the correction of error during such long periods in Europe, is precisely the attitude now adopted towards attempts to correct certain errors in prevailing political and economic ideas.

Because the discussion of those ideas has been associated in the past mainly with the effort to secure international peace, the "man of the day," as someone has called him (or the "man of yesterday," as I should prefer to call him), can only think of the discussion as concerned at best with an effort to avoid fighting. Or it means to him mainly the advocacy of an abstract ideal which disregards practical difficulties like those now confronting us in Mexico and which conceivably at least could only find solution through force, some form of war; and at worst he thinks of it as the promulgation of a doctrine based on a readiness to take risks in the matter of our country's safety and interest in order to avoid sacrifices, which, however sad because involving suffering to innocent parties, are made readily enough in the field of industry and commerce. This "man of the day" is apt to feel that a policy the prompting motive of which is the avoidance of suffering, and which to, attain that end, will throw discredit upon instincts of patriotism that are sacred and precious even above human life, cannot make any very deep appeal, especially when we remember that more lives are sacrificed to industry than to war. No one suggests that we should not bridge continents with railroads and seas with ships, because in so doing we sacrifice lives with a certainty as great as though we con-

demned, by our deliberate act, thousands of men to be crushed to death or drowned or burnt alive.

I think it is quite fair to say this: that to the "man of yesterday" "Peace" advocacy appears as made up in part by a recoil from the sacrifice of life, which, however, is infinitely less than that which he sees going on around him every day in the interests merely of material wealth—a sacrifice which in that case excites no protest; and in part by disparagement of such things as national safety and honour, or of the fulfillment by our country of a great role as a civilizer (in less orderly areas of this hemisphere for instance) which he regards as of infinitely greater worth than the industries and commerce which take a heavier toll of life than does war. And consequently, looking at what would be achieved by the change and what is jeopardized by it, he opposes to all ideas which seem even remotely to be concerned with schemes of international peace either a ferocious hostility which he feels ought to be excited by all doctrines that imply indifference to his country's safety and interests, or a tolerant contempt which he would mete out to all sentimental or academic futility, just as 500 years ago he dismissed the "theories" of Galileo with some reference to everybody standing on their heads, and fifty years ago the theories of Darwin by some reference to monkeys and their tails.

May I say that, if the case for Pacifism were what I have just indicated, if really its object were merely the avoidance of suffering, to be obtained at the price of national jeopardy, his attitude would be entirely justified; and I hope you will not think me callous if I say that, did Pacifism offer nothing more than the mere

avoidance of that physical suffering which war involves, I should not be troubling you now. Because the word "peace" generally connotes this narrow objective, and leaves aside altogether what is really implied in our attempt to correct what we believe to be very deep-seated errors in human relationship, I almost wish that that word could never be used. Just as Galileo knew that the real justification of his attempt to correct prevailing error was not a trivial point as to the exact place or shape of the planet on which we live, but the right understanding of the physical universe, its laws and nature, so do we know that our case is bound up with the destruction of misconceptions which distort and falsify the fundamental principles on which human society is based and incidentally render insolvable those problems on behalf of the solution of which force is generally most readily invoked.

What I have to urge upon your attention, therefore, is not the desirability of "Peace" in the sense of the cessation of conflict, still less of a cosmopolitanism which asks that you shall, in obedience to some abstract ideal of instinctive or intuitive origin, sacrifice national preferences and characteristics, or, even prejudice; or surrender any useful task which your nation might perform in the world. Indeed I am not urging any cut-and-dried political doctrine or dogma at all. What I want to urge is the open-minded consideration of certain facts and forces, the significance or which is for the most part ignored, although they must profoundly affect principles of action between men that cover the whole field of human society, affect to some extent the form and character of all our social structure; which have a very practical bearing upon prevailing concep-

tions in morals, legislation, jurisprudence, political science generally, economics, law, and the interpretation of history.

II.

Now I think you will admit that in the domain of social adjustment, of human relationship, we sadly need such enlightening principle.

For this certainly will have occurred to you: that while we have successfully established general laws in the field of mechanics which have given us to a marvellous degree the material conquest of nature, while the laws of the physical world are being revealed to us in increasing measure, there is no corresponding development of understanding in the field of human relationship, in our conception of human right and obligation, the laws of the social world, the nature of the social organism, the mechanism of human society. In all that we are hardly more advanced than the Greeks and the Romans, or for that matter the Egyptians and the Chaldeans. We have covered the earth with a marvellous mechanism which will carry our thought and understanding to the uttermost corners; with the invisible waves of wireless telegraphy, with post-offices, railroads, hotels de luxe, and cinematograph shows, but we cannot cover it with a system of law. We can analyze all human food and we know most of the mysteries of its growth and composition but we cannot so distribute human food as to give every child a cup of milk. We can blow a town to pieces with a handful of dust but we cannot destroy the monstrous pile of misery

which every great city connotes. Wherever, leaving material things it touches human relations, the things of the mind, our management fails.

Our advance during the last century in the material conquest of nature has been blinding in its rapidity, but can any man say that in the understanding of the laws of human relationship we are much beyond the Romans from whom we still take our jurisprudence or the Greeks from whom we still take our philosophy? In the mechanical reproduction of the written word, for instance, in the mechanism of our modern newspaper, we have material instruments that would have seemed to Socrates and to Aristotle achievements of the gods themselves. But the mind revealed in these papers of such mechanical marvellousness, by the ideas which find expression in them,—well, it would be rather cruel to push the comparison. But make for yourselves, with some detachment, the comparison of the public discussions of Paris, Berlin, London, or New York with the general public discussions of the Greek capital 2,000 years ago. Would it be very unjust to say that the understanding of the essentials of human intercourse revealed by the men capable of these modern mechanical wonders (which would have seemed miraculous to the ancient world) is not very much better than that of the desert tribesmen who gave us our proverbs and our psalms, and whose mechanical conquest of nature was hardly more advanced than that of the men to whom the manufacture of a stone axe represented the highest achievement of human engineering?

Now, what you would deem, I do not doubt, my somewhat tiresome insistence upon this comparison is

prompted by this fact. All our advance on the material side threatens to be of no avail in the really vital and fundamental things that touch mankind because our understanding of the nature of human association has not kept pace with our understanding of matter and its control. Of what avail is our immense increase in wealth production if we do not know how to distribute it in the order of our most vital needs—if the total net result of our discovery and achievements is to give still more to those who have already too much and to render the under world still more dependent, their lives still more precarious? What should we say, asks Shaw, of the starving man who on being given a dollar forthwith spends it all on a bottle of scent for his handkerchief? Yet that is what the modern world does, and it is, we are told, incapable of doing anything else, so intellectually bankrupt are we to assume it. So immense is the failure on this side that responsible students of the comparative condition of men seriously question whether the mass in our society are in essentials either morally or materially better off than those of the thirteenth century.

Evidence enough remains, as one good historian points out, to show that there was in ancient Rome as in London or New York today, a preponderating mass of those who loved their children and their homes, who were good neighbors and faithful friends, who conscientiously discharged their civil duties. Even the Eastern Roman Empire, that not many years ago was usually dismissed with sharp contempt, is now recovered to history, and many centuries in its fluctuating phases are shown to have been epochs of an established state, with well devised laws well ad-

ministered, with commerce prosperously managed and social order conveniently worked and maintained.

And you know, of course, the sad doubt of Mill:

"It is questionable if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lightened the day's toil of any human being. They have enabled a greater population to live the same life of drudgery and imprisonment, and an increased number to make fortunes. But they have not yet begun to effect those great changes in human destiny which it is in their nature and in their futurity to accomplish."

So that unless we can make some equivalent advance in the understanding of the laws and principles of human association, in the management of society, all our advance on the material side, the management of matter, may go for nothing, or conceivably even, worse than nothing.

It is conceivable, for instance, as an ingenious novelist has suggested, that our researches in radioactivity might give us the secret of atomic disintegration so as to make a cent's worth of rock equivalent in value as a source of energy to a train load of coal—to multiply the wealth of the world a thousand times and the result of it to be merely more poverty of the many, and luxury and dangerous power on the part of the few.

The great need, therefore, is an understanding of the nature and mechanism of human association, a realization of its more fundamental laws, for I hope that you do not take the ground that the present defects of society are the result of a "plot" on the part of a powerful few and that if their rule be broken a new earth would come into being next Tuesday morning. It has doubtless sometimes occurred to you to ask "What

would happen if the reins of government were seized by a group of very radical and advanced Socialists or Syndicalists, or other social reformers?" Well, nothing at all would happen; things would go on very much as usual. It has occurred more than once in Europe that wild revolutionaries have achieved power —and they generally end by accomplishing less than their more conservative colleagues—and becoming more reactionary.

They are obliged to realize that society, because it is an organism, cannot stop breathing while experiments are made with its internal mechanism. The mere possession of power does not give you control either over a complex machine or a complex organism. If the mechanism of your motor car works imperfectly it serves no purpose that you have a crow-bar which will smash the whole thing to pieces. You must "know how" or you are helpless since the power of destruction serves no purpose at all.

And the revolutionaries who have from time to time "arrived" have not "known how." For the social organism is even more complex than a motor car, and its general control is in the hands not of experts but of all of us.

Can we ever hope that "the general mind" will rise to effective knowledge fitting men for the control of their own social destiny? In these complex matters where the experts differ what hope is there that the mass will ever achieve sufficient capacity to enable social progress to equal the advances made in those material sciences which are in the hands of experts?

Many would answer that question in the negative although a negative answer involves a paralysing pessi-

mism which one is glad to think is no part of the American genius.

And I do not think that a negative answer need be given.

In the sixteenth century Montaigne, who did not believe in witchcraft and saw the evil that it brought, wrote to this effect: "The day will never come when the common ruck of men will cease to believe in witchcraft. If lawyers and judges, men trained to sift evidence and learned in science, can be so far deceived as to send thousands of victims to their deaths for impossible crimes, how can we ever hope that the common man will avoid these errors?"

Yet, ask a ten-year-old boy of our time whether he thinks it likely that an old woman would or could change herself into a cow or a goat, and he will almost always promptly reply: "Certainly not." (I have put this many times to the test of experiment). What enables the unlearned boy to decide right where the learned judge decided wrong? You say it is the "instinct" of the boy. But the instinct of the seventeenth century boy (like the learning of the seventeenth century judge) taught him the exact reverse. Something has happened, what is it?

We know, of course, that it is the unconscious application on the part of the boy, of the inductive method of reasoning (of which he has never heard, and could not define), and the general attitude of mind towards phenomena which comes of that habit. He forms by reasoning correctly (on the prompting of parents, nurses and teachers) about a few simple facts—which impress him by their visibility and tangibility—a working hypothesis of how things happen in the world,

which, while not infallibly applied—while, indeed, often landing the boy into mistakes—is far more trustworthy as a rule than that formed by the learned judge reasoning incorrectly from an immense number of facts.

Such is the simple basis of this very amazing miracle—the great fact which is at the bottom of the main difference between the modern and mediaeval world, between the Western and Eastern civilizations.

It has two outstanding lessons for us: it shows the incalculable service that the correction of a fundamental misconception or wrong principle may achieve; and it shows that such correction of general principle may be the unintended but inevitable by-product of the correction of error in some special case.

For the revival of the inductive method and all that it has involved was in large part the unintended result of the religious reformation. And it has had these immense results because, like the views which I am now urging, it was a readjustment of ideas concerning the place of force in certain activities of life.

III.

Elsewhere* I happen to have made the following parallel:

> The world of religious wars and of the Inquisition was a world which had a quite definite conception of the relation of authority to religious belief and to truth—as that authority was the source of truth; that truth could be, and should be, protected by force; that Catholics who did not resent an insult offered to their faith (like the failure of a Huguenot to salute a passing religious procession) were renegade.

---

* "Arms and Industry." Putnam's, New York.

Now what broke down this conception was a growing realization that authority, force, was irrelevant to the issues of truth (a party of heretics triumphed by virtue of some physical accident, as that they occupied a mountain region); that it was ineffective, and that the essence of truth was something outside the scope of physical conflict. As the realization of this grew, the conflicts declined.

So with those conflicts between the political groups which we call war. They arise from a corresponding conception of the relation of military authority to political ends—those ends for which governments are founded—the protection of life and property, the promoting of well-being. When it is mutually realized by the parties concerned that security of life and property, like the security of truth, is not derived from military force; that military force is as ineffective, as irrelevant, to the end of promoting prosperity as of promoting truth, then political wars will cease, as religious wars have ceased, for the same reason and in the same way.

Now I want you to note this: What the pioneers of the religious reformation really hoped to accomplish was to impose some definite detail of dogma as against some other detail of dogma and to use power in every form for that purpose. The last thing which any party to the Reformation desired was general toleration and free examination of all dogma; but that was the result of their work—the recognition that power and authority is irrelevant to the issues of truth, which survives best where power and authority are not invoked.

Now, the discussions of the Reformation gave as their result a new conception of the relation of force to truth, utterly destroying the old conception of that relation. That accomplished two things: First, it put a practical end to the wars of religion and to religious persecution,—one of the few real developments of human relationship which it is possible to mark as a definite advance and one of the really great

changes in history. Second, by virtue of a truer perception of the relation of authority to truth, it led to what was in reality a new method of dealing with facts and phenomena in all fields; it set up a new mode of reasoning, the inductive method, which gave European thought a new guide or compass so that it was able to find its way in a jungle of facts which had heretofore baffled it. And it is from the general revival of the induction method that dates those conquests of science which gave us the modern world as we know it.

Now just as that new conception of the relation of force to truth which underlay the cessation of wars for religious ends had this important secondary result in facilitating our comprehension of the facts of external nature, so we may hope that that better perception of the relation of military force in nations to the ends of wellbeing and prosperity, which is destined to bring international war to an end, may have an equally important secondary result in revealing certain basic truths of all human relationship and furnish for social action some general principle or guide that may be as fruitful in the domain of social adjustments as the inductive method of reasoning has proved to be in the domain of intellectual adjustments.

IV.

What is the problem of War? Why do the nations give their first care to the preparations for it? To defend themselves! But that means that some one believes in attack; otherwise, if no one believed in the advantage and effectiveness of successful attack, none

of us would be threatened and the whole problem would be solved.

At the bottom of the problem of war, of the need for preparing for it, of defence, is the belief in the effectiveness of force as a means of achieving the ends, moral and material, for which men strive; the belief that in certain cases it is the only means or the best means of achieving them. If we are really threatened by Japan or have been in the past by England or Germany, it is because those countries believe or believed that by war upon us they could satisfy certain material or moral needs, or promote certain national interests, or vindicate certain rights. If we desire to intervene in the Mexican embroglio, it is because we believe that the interest of civilization could most

---

* The following, which is from an article in the current "National Review" (London) is indicative of accepted thought on these problems:

Germany *must* expand. Every year an extra million babies are crying out for more room, and as the expansion of Germany by peaceful means seems impossible Germany can only provide for those babies at the cost of potential foes, and France is one of them.

A vanquished France might give Germany all she wants. The immense colonial possessions of France present a tantalizing and provoking temptation to German cupidity, which, it cannot be too often repeated, is not mere envious greed but stern necessity. The same struggle for life and space which more than a thousand years ago drove one Teutonic wave after another across the Rhine and the Alps is now once more a great compelling force. Colonies fit to receive the German surplus population are the greatest need of Germany. This aspect of the case may be all very sad and wicked, but it is true. * * * Herein lies the temptation and the danger. Herein, too, lies the ceaseless and ruinous struggle of armaments, and herein for France lies the dire necessity of linking her foreign policy with that of powerful allies.

promptly and effectively be promoted by the employment of our force.

And of course if we admit that force is effective to promote vital needs, as well as the right, even arbitration does not solve the question since no court can ask one litigant to commit suicide in favour of the other. If the accepted view of the necessary economic and industrial rivalry of nations is just, we are faced by a condition in which one nation must either see its children of the future starve or suffer; or must obtain from other nations concessions to grant which they regard as equally disastrous to *their* children of the future. We are faced, that is, by what the Greek author 2000 years since declared to be the great tragedy of human life—the conflict of two rights.

So I say we can lay down as a premise upon which we are all agreed that the problem of war is the problem of the effectiveness of force to promote the ends which we desire and which we believe we are entitled to promote, ends which are right.

But the question of the effectiveness of force, of the place of force in human relations, is obviously one of the fundamental questions at the base of all problems connected with the organization of human society. Law is simply a question of determining in what conditions the force of the state shall be exercised, conditions which we define by our Magna Charta, *habeas corpus* and the rest of it. The development of popular government from what the political schoolmen call "status to contract" is but the story of the modification of the conditions in which force is used, as is indeed all those problems which grow out of the relation of the citizen to the government, that is to society.

The same problem of the place of force is the problem of private property, a question of the conditions in which the force of the community shall be invoked by the individual for determining the respective position of the two parties. Allied with that is the problem of State Socialism, the use of the force of the state for determining the conditions of the distribution of wealth. Protectionism is the use of the force of the state for controlling the current of trade. It is, of course, more obvious that such questions as revolutionary syndicalism, "direct action," dynamitard Trade Unionism are just problems of the effectiveness of force and the right to use it in social and industrial adjustments. Problems of jurisprudence and criminology, like the effect of penal laws, are equally questions of the effectiveness of force in a somewhat different sphere.

Indeed, as we have seen, the question of the place of force, of authority, was at the bottom of one of the greatest of all the acts in our human drama, that correction of perception, that development of what Lecky calls human realizations, which is neither the Rennaissance nor the Reformation, but is nevertheless a quite definite dividing line. On one side of that line you have the Europe of religious wars and the Inquisition and the massacres of St. Bartholomew, and on the other side a certain measure of security in our spiritual and intellectual possessions, and the liberations which give us the modern world. That movement or change was in reality nothing but a readjustment of our conception of the place of force in one group of affairs—the religious affairs.

I have attempted to show just how and why current

conceptions as to the relation of military force in nations to the promotion of their well being are in large part fundamentally false (1) and in what manner a readjustment of those conceptions may lead to clearer vision as to social processes in all fields (2). It is not mainly the more visible evils of war and armaments which give the greatest value to the study of the accepted theories of international polity, but the fact that the fundamental misunderstanding of any large human issue involves the misunderstanding in some degree of all human relations. The continued justification of the military form of international society has involved perpetuating a political philosophy which misrepresents the basic principles of human association and co-operation, a distortion which has widespread moral results as affecting not merely the form of our social structures within the nation, but our relative valuation of the qualities of human character; and large material results in diminishing the effectiveness of that exploitation of the earth by which we live.

If what I am urging with reference to international politics is broadly true, then in much of our general political action, not merely with reference to one group in its relation to another group, but also to a large extent with reference to the relations of men individually to other men, we have misunderstood some of the fundamental principles which must govern their life in communities in order to insure the best conditions for them: misunderstanding the mechanism of human

---

(1) "The Great Illusion," Putnam's, N. Y.

(2) "Arms and Industry," Putnam's, N. Y.

society, misreading the means by which we wring our substance from the earth, failing to seize the arrangement most advantageous for the purpose of carrying on our war with nature.

It is not a question for the moment where the conclusions upon which the study I have in mind may point—though I want you to believe that no political, religious, national, or sentimental prepossessions of any kind have weighed in my own case, and that I would as readily have drawn, if the facts had pointed thereto, exactly contrary conclusions, and by no means have been frightened therefrom by the rattle of the sabre—but, if you are concerned at all with the large issues I have indicated, I do not think you can afford to ignore the bearing of the forces in question.

Nor should you conclude from the illustrations that I have just employed, and the emphasis I have laid on the importance of the indirect effects of the principles I want you to investigate, that their direct effect is insignificant. However much we may be divided in other aspects of the problem of war and national defense, we are all accustomed to say, whether we believe it or not, that those problems are both morally and materially the most important of our generation. And yet we find that in this problem we are not facing facts; that we proceed habitually upon assumptions which analysis does not support, that we are ignoring changes which have taken place, and basing our action daily upon conceptions which have become obsolete, upon unrealities, sometimes upon shams.

And will you note this: that though you may not draw the conclusions which I draw, though you regard

war as an inevitable element in human affairs, the facts upon which I base them concern any policy, any principle of international action, which you may favor, concern indeed all social organization, national as much as international.

An English writer, a very able advocate of the militarist school—the school whose assumptions I am challenging—lays down this rule.

A prudent statesman, before letting himself be drawn into a quarrel with another State, will take pains to reach a true estimate of the importance of the point in dispute, both to his own State and to the antagonist; for in proportion as a community finds its being and its well-being bound up with a particular purpose, the more intense and persistent will be its exertions for the assertion of that purpose. If, then, I commit my people to a war for something that turns out to be a mere whim, they will sooner or later grow tired of the struggle; and if the conditions on which I propose to insist involve the ruin of the State opposed to me, the people of that State will only grow more determined and more desperate as the struggle proceeds. This disparity of motive for exertion may go far to compensate for almost any degree of inequality between the real strength of the two opponents.

The beginning of war, then, is the purpose in view. From a purpose which is plain you may get a well-conducted war; from a purpose about which you are not clear you never can. Unless you know what you want, you cannot possibly tell whether war is the appropriate way of getting it; therefore, in that case, the decision to go to war is foolish. Moreover, unless you know what you want you can hardly manage your war properly—that is, so as to get what you want. The starting-point of a good war is, therefore, a purpose necessary to your State and clearly understood by your statesmen. Thus, the foundation of success in war is sound policy, without which the greatest generals and the finest armies come to ruin."(1)

---

(1) "War and Policy," by Prof. Spencer Wilkinson, page 394 (Constable, London).

Whatever final conclusion therefore we may draw, the facts are worth more study than, for the most part, they get. To deprecate such study is to argue that, in the most difficult problems of our civilization, ignorance and prejudice are better guides than knowledge and wisdom.

It is for these reasons that I urge upon you the study of those problems of the place of force in that group of affairs which we have designated "International Polity."

Appendix A.

The general position with reference to current conceptions in international politics referred to in the preceding letter may be indicated by the following synopsis of a work in which I have attempted to deal with the main lines of the problem:

WHAT are the fundamental motives that explain the present rivalry of armaments? Each nation pleads the need for defence; but this implies that someone is likely to attack, and has therefore a presumed interest in so doing. What are the motives which each State thus fears its neighbours may obey?

They are based on the universal assumption that a nation, in order to find outlets for expanding population and increasing industry, or simply to ensure the best conditions possible for its people, is necessarily pushed to territorial expansion and the exercise of political force against others (German naval competition is assumed to be the expression of the growing need of an expanding population for a larger place in the world, a need which will find a realization in the conquest of English colonies or trade, unless these were defended); it is assumed, therefore, that a nation's relative prosperity is broadly determined by its political power; that nations being competing units, advantage, in the last resort, goes to the possessor of preponderant military force, the weaker going to the wall, as in the other forms of the struggle for life.

The author challenges this whole doctrine. He attempts to show that it belongs to a stage of development out of which we have passed; that the commerce and industry of a people no longer depends upon the expansion of its political frontiers; that a nation's political and economic frontiers do not now necessarily coincide; that military power is socially and economically futile, and can have no relation to the prosperity of the people exercising it; that it is impossible for one nation to seize by force the wealth or trade of another—to enrich itself by subjugating, or imposing its will by force on, another; that, in short, war, even when victorious, can no longer achieve those aims for which people strive.

He establishes this apparent paradox, in so far as the economic problem is concerned, by showing that wealth in the economically civilized world is founded upon credit and commercial contract (these being the outgrowth of an economic interdependence due to the increasing division of labour and greatly developed communication). If credit and commercial contract are tampered with in an attempt of confiscation, the credit-dependent wealth is undermined, and its collapse involves that of the conqueror; so that if conquest is not to be self-injurious it must respect the enemy's property, in which case it becomes economically futile. Thus the wealth of conquered territory remains in the hands of the population of such territory. When Germany annexed Alsatia, no individual German secured a single Mark's worth of Alsatian property as the spoils of war. Conquest in the modern word is a process of multiplying by x, and then obtaining the original result by dividing by x. For a modern nation to add to its territory no more adds to the wealth of the people of such nation than it would add to the wealth of Londoners if the City of London were to annex the county of Hertford.

The author also shows that international finance has become so interdependent and so interwoven with trade and industry that the intangibility of an enemy's property extends to his trade. It results that political and military power can in reality do nothing for trade; the individual merchants and manufacturers of small nations, exercising no such power, compete successfully with those of the great. Swiss and Belgian merchants drive English from the British Colonial market; Norway has, relatively to population, a greater mercantile marine than Great Britain; the public credit (as a rough-and-ready indication, among others, of security and wealth) of small States possessing no political power often stands higher than that of the Great Powers of Europe, Belgian Three per Cents. standing at 96, and German at 82; Norwegian Three and a Half per Cents. at 102, Russian Three and a Half per Cents. at 81.

The forces which have brought about the economic futility of military power have also rendered it futile as a means of enforcing a nation's moral ideals or imposing its social institutions upon a conquered people. Germany could not turn Canada or Australia into a German colony—*i. e.*, stamp out their language, law, literature, traditions, etc.—by "capturing" them. The necessary security in their material possessions enjoyed by the inhabitants of such con-

quered provinces, quick intercommunication by a cheap press, widely-read literature, enable even small communities to become articulate and effectively defend their special social or moral possessions, even when military conquest has been complete. The fight for ideals can no longer take the form of fight between nations, because the lines of division on moral questions are within the nations themselves and intersect the political frontiers. There is no modern State which is completely Catholic or Protestant, or liberal or autocratic, or aristocratic or democratic, or socialist or individualist; the moral and spiritual struggles of the modern world go on as between citizens of the same State in unconscious intellectual co-operation with corresponding groups in other States, not as between the public powers of rival States.

This classification by strata involves necessarily a redirection of human pugnacity, based rather on the rivalry of classes and interests than on State divisions. War has no longer the justification that it makes for the survival of the fittest ; it involves the survival of the less fit. The idea that the struggle between nations is a part of the evolutionary law of man's advance involves a profound misreading of the biological analogy.

The warlike nations do not inherit the earth ; they represent the decaying human element. The diminishing role of physical force in all spheres of human activity carries with it profound psychological modifications.

These tendencies, mainly the outcome of purely modern conditions (rapidity of communication), have rendered the problems of modern international politics profoundly and essentially different from the ancient; yet our ideas are still dominated by the principles and axioms and terminology of the old.

The author urges that these little-recognized facts may be utilized for the solution of the armament difficulty on at present untried lines—by such modification or opinion in Europe that much of the present motive to aggression will cease to be operative, and by thus diminishing the risk of attack, diminish by that much the need for defence. He shows how such a political reformation is within the scope of practical politics, and the methods which might bring it about.

Appendix B.

The general attitude indicated in this letter has in England become the basis of a fairly definite "movement" represented by some fifty societies and clubs including many university ones, the most important of which is "The Cambridge University War and Peace Society." The movement, which is largely one of the younger generation in England has recently acquired a monthly organ, the first number of which contained the following "declaration of policy":

With no desire to disparage previous Pacifist effort, it is obvious that only a real difference can justify the separate expression which this journal hopes to embody.

That difference does not reside in the fact that we value the economic as opposed to the moral plea. All human values are moral or they are not human. The value of wealth, as of food, is derivable from the fact that it supports human life; of literature, that it embellishes it; of religion, that it sanctifies it—though the first may connote a glutton, the second a bore, and the last a bigot. Peace, the mere avoidance or cessation of conflict as an end in itself, is not the motive that has prompted the efforts of those who have founded this review. Our test is not a subjective ideal expressed in terms of instinct and intuition, but the ultimate realities of life, which, though they include the intangible, include also the tangible. If war promoted them, we should favour war. We believe in peace in the sense of the substitution of union for disunion, of partnership for rivalry, of comradeship for quarrel, only in part because it is a means to the end whereby men can more efficiently carry on their war with Nature; much more because it is a means to the end of making human intercourse of greater worth and finer quality, more purged of cowardly suspicions, of hatreds and misconceptions masquerading as virtues, of cruelties and stupidities that darken life. And it is so a means because the emergence of the finer things depends upon a form of human intercourse which can

only rest upon a basis of justice, and that in its turn upon understanding; both of which are in jeopardy so long as they are subject to the mechanical hazard of physical force.

The difference which we hope will justify this separate expression resides in the fact that we place the emphasis of effort upon the intellectual means; that we base our hope upon an improvement of understanding rather than of intention.

That failure of understanding which we call war is not a mere perverse brutality in one special field of human intercourse, to be cured by an improvement of intentions and a finer sensitiveness, but is a natural and necessary outcome of certain beliefs and misconceptions which can only be corrected by those intellectual processes that have marked all advance in understanding—contact and discussion. The Europe of the Religious Wars and the Inquisition was not a more cruel or a worse intentioned world than the tolerant Rome which made man-killing a vicarious sport. The world of the Crusades and Heretic-burning, of asceticism and serfdom, of chivalry and *jus primae noctis*, the honor of the duel and the justice of the ordeal, the evidence of torture and the religion of physical compulsion was not a badly-meaning but a badly-thinking world, and the men who destroyed it—the Bacons, the Montaignes, the Luthers, the Voltaires and the Rousseaux—were perhaps in intention inferior to those who made it. We emerged from it by correcting a defect in understanding; we shall emerge from the world of political warfare or armed peace in the same way. We believe that at bottom the misconception which explained so many of the outstanding phases of mediæval Europe is related intimately to the misconception which explains the war system of our day.

It is necessary to reduce the thing to a system easily understandable, to furnish a simple social and economic philosophy of trade and the ordinary activities of life, to give the common man a pretty clear and well-defined working hypothesis of a warless civilization. For this is certain: merely to disentangle detached facts, merely to express a general aspiration towards better things, is no good when we are opposed by a system as well defined and understandable in its motives and methods as in the war system of Europe. To a system like that, reposing upon a quite definite philosophy, upon a process which is intelligible to the ordinary man, you must oppose, if you hope to replace it, another system, another working hypothesis which you must demonstrate to be more in accordance with facts.

We must bring before the mind of the European public the significance of a few simple, ascertainable, tangible facts in such fashion that they will frame unconsciously a working hypothesis of international society, which will lead to deductions sufficiently correct and sufficiently widespread to do for the political groups what has already been done for the religious groups.

To impress the significance of just those facts which are the most relevant and essential in this problem, to do what we can to keep them before public attention and to encourage their discussion, is our work.

Return to Seamus Clay.

INTERNATIONAL CONCILIATION

SPECIAL BULLETIN

THE CHANGING ATTITUDE TOWARD WAR

AS REFLECTED IN THE AMERICAN PRESS

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS

SEPTEMBER, 1914

American Association for International Conciliation
Sub-station 84 (407 West 117th Street)
New York City

Apr. 21, 1915.

THE CHANGING ATTITUDE TOWARD WAR

AS REFLECTED IN THE AMERICAN PRESS

THE moral reaction of the people of the United States to the most appalling event in human history has been both too profound and too subtle for portrayal in words. Reports and letters may tell something of its extent, but no written document will convey its quality to future generations. Only the art that is older than writing and closer to the elemental emotions has been able in part to express it. The cartoonists have caught its spirit. Collectively their work is a document of startling fidelity, and of compelling power.

When the storm is spent and the desolation is complete; when the flower of the manhood of Europe has passed into eternal night; when famine and pestilence have taken their tithe of childhood and age, the exhausted and the beggared that live on will one day care to know what we, who saw the carnage from a far-away safety and sanity,

thought of it. This little book will tell them much that they will not find in more pretentious works.

They will read here not the argued opinions, but the spontaneous feelings, the deepest moral convictions of a people. They will look in vain for praise of glory or of power, for admiration of anything that enters into or comes out of war. They will not be able to detect even the anguish of defeat or the exultation of victory. They will read only that our hearts and minds responded to the deepest notes of the scale of tragedy—in horror, amazement, stupefaction.

What else were possible?

"No death can further desolate
The heart that knows its god was dust."

The world believed itself civilized, Christian! It was proud and strong and self-respecting. It rejoiced in the triumphs of science, in the mastery of nature, in the amelioration of the human lot. And then, in an hour, when mankind was happier than it ever had been before, disillusion came. The inhibitions had failed. Covenants, laws, moralities, decencies were forgotten. Human-

ity faced about, to rush insensate backwards over "the road to yesterday," to barbarism, to savagery. The rest we know.

Well! The task must be taken up anew. Once more the race must climb the stony road of toil and privation. Again it must try to chain the savage within itself. Will it this time succeed?

One thing we may hope and believe. A part of the energy that has hitherto been spent in producing material gratifications, often beyond all bounds of reason, may now be diverted by the stricken and sobered nations into other channels. With ripened wisdom, and a sterner resolve, the world may set about the work of improving the relations of man to man, of nation to nation. It may value enlightenment now, above riches. It may care, as it has not cared hitherto, for those things that are more than meat, more than raiment, more even than pride and power.

If these things happen, and not otherwise, disarmament may come, and peace.

FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS.

(*Copyright*)

THE ECLIPSE

Morgan in the Philadelphia Inquirer

BLESS YOU, MY CHILDREN!

Rehse in the New York World

THE REAL PATRIOT

Weed in the New York Tribune

THE MASSES MUST BEAR THE BURDEN

Coffman in the New York Evening Journal

THE MAN WITH THE SWORD

How will it be with kingdoms and with kings—
With those who shaped him to the things he is—
When this dumb terror shall reply to God
After the silence of the centuries?

—*Edwin Markham.*

Cesare in the New York Sun

WAITING

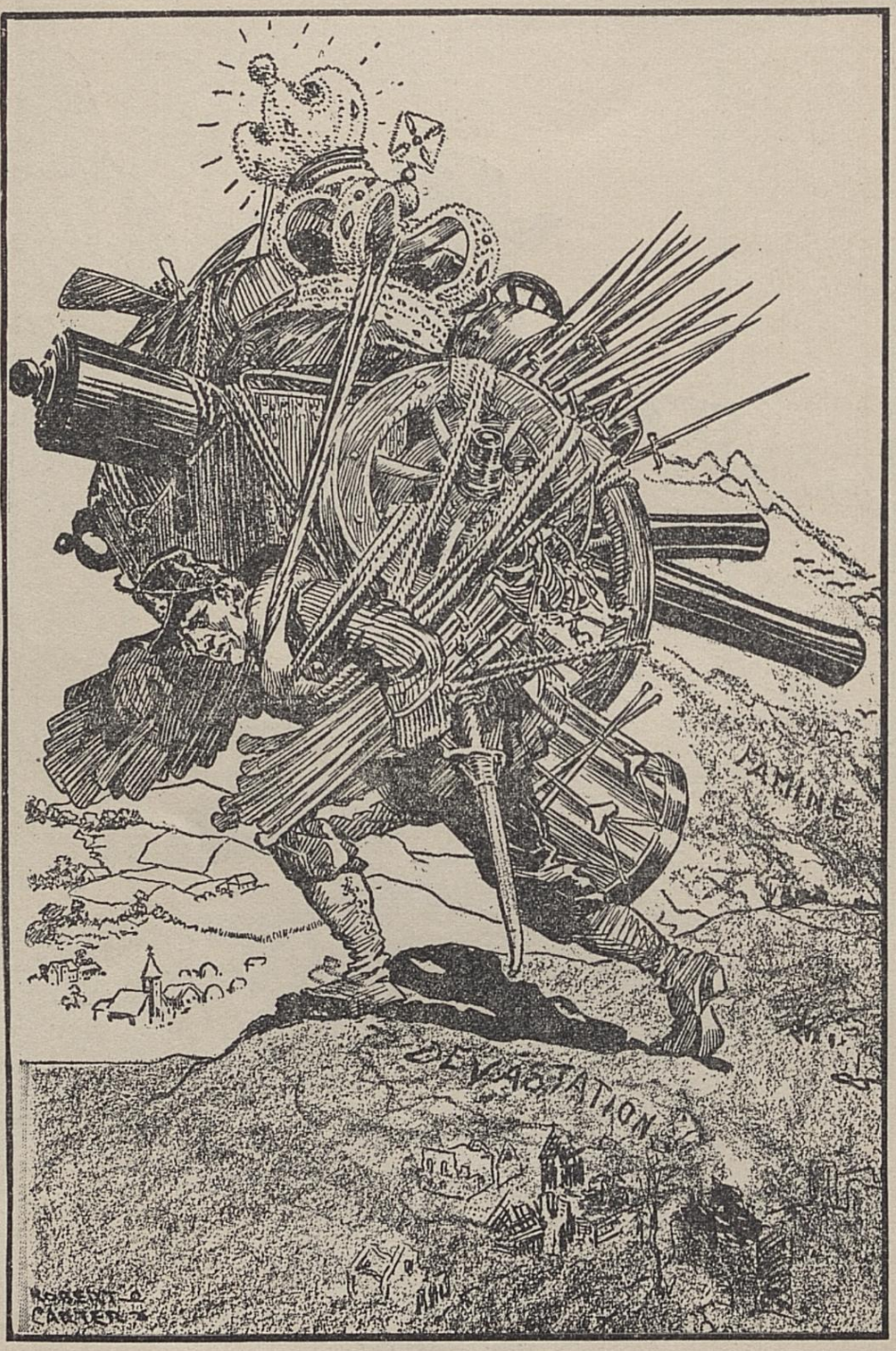
Osborn in the Baltimore News

THE BURDEN OF WAR

Bowen in the Chicago Herald

THE ADMIRAL

Kirby in the New York World



THE ARMY WORM

Carter in the New York Sun

THE LAST RAG OF CIVILIZATION

Rogers in the New York Herald

THE BEAST IN MAN

Donahey in the Cleveland Plain Dealer

NINETEEN CENTURIES AFTER CHRIST

Harding in the Brooklyn Daily Eagle

MURDER: I LOOK BETTER IN UNIFORM

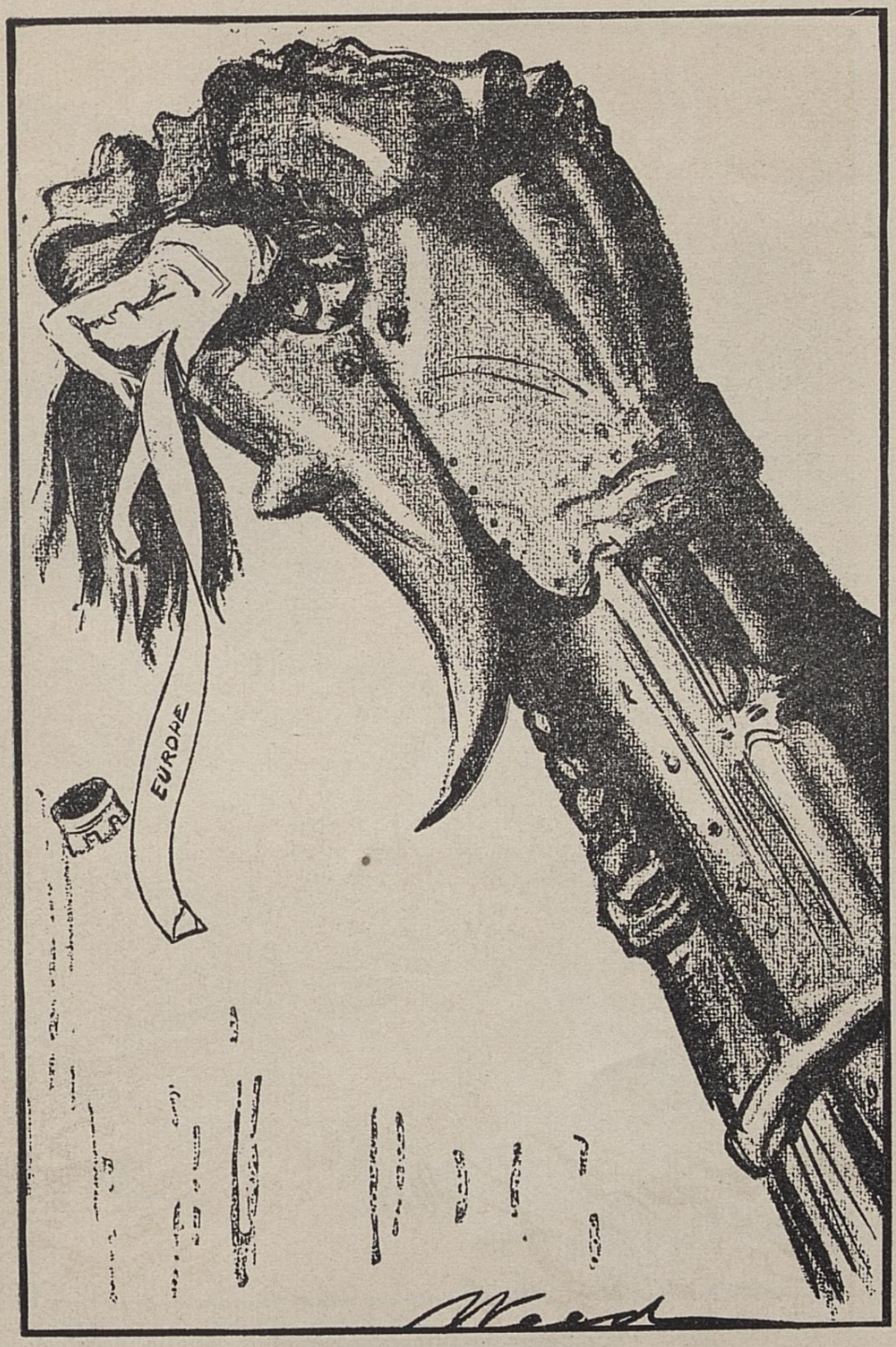
Fitz in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

THE WOLF AT THE DOOR

Kessler in the New York Evening Sun

PRO PATRIA

Cesare in the New York Sun



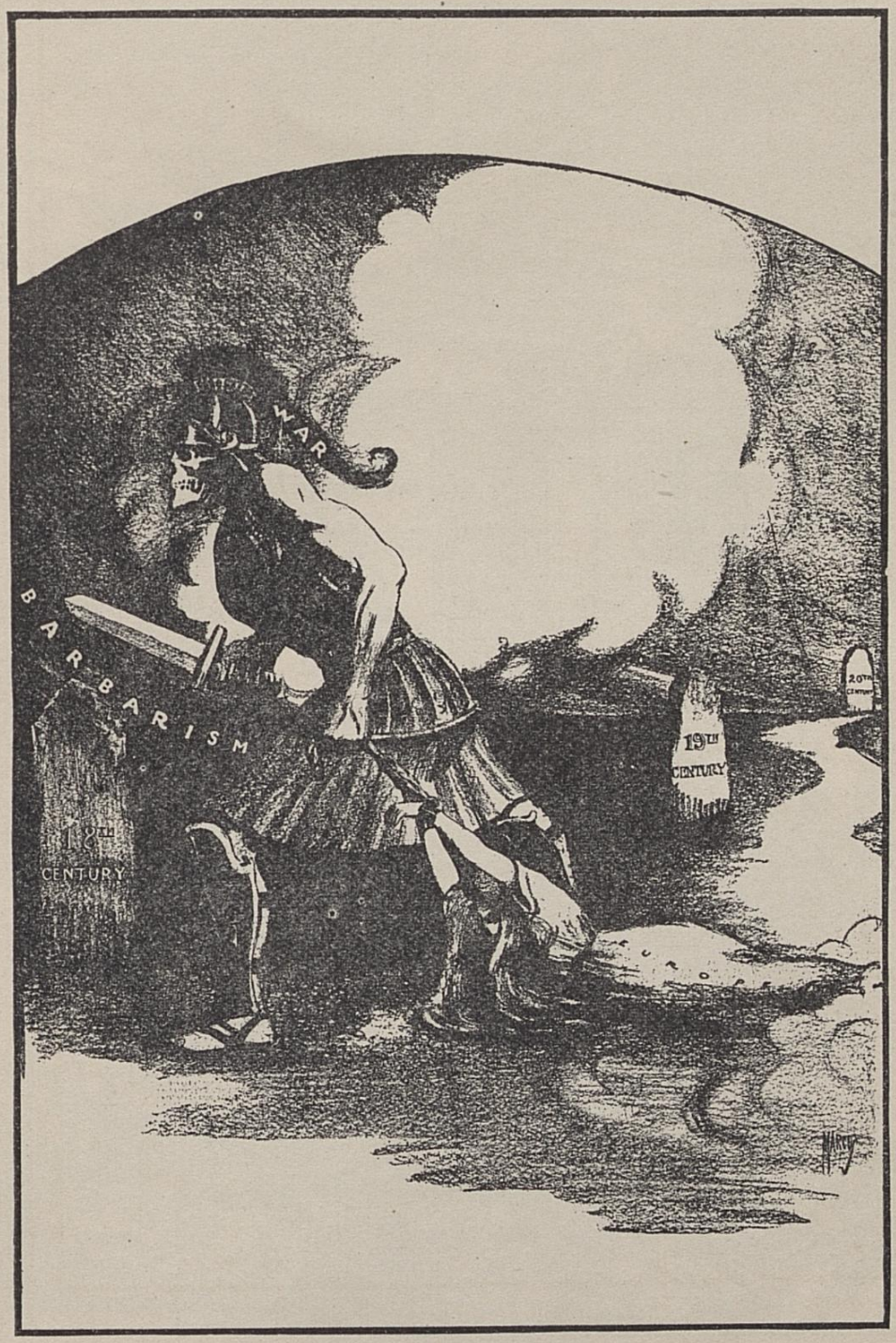
THE MAILED FIST

Weed in the New York Tribune

(*Copyright*)

THE NEXT MOBILIZATION

Minor in the New York Evening World



THE ROAD TO YESTERDAY

Marcus in the New York Times

WHAT ARE THEY CHEERING FOR?

Cesare in the New York Sun

IT WAS LOADED

Sykes in the Philadelphia Public Ledger

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

Nos. 1–66 (April, 1907, to May, 1913). Including papers by Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, George Trumbull Ladd, Elihu Root, Barrett Wendell, Charles E. Jefferson, Seth Low, William James, Andrew Carnegie, Pope Pius X, Heinrich Lammasch, Norman Angell, Charles W. Eliot, Sir Oliver Lodge, Lord Haldane and others. A list of titles and authors will be sent on application.

67. Music as an International Language, by Daniel Gregory Mason. June, 1913.

68. American Love of Peace and European Skepticism, by Paul S. Reinsch. July, 1913.

69. The Relations of Brazil with the United States, by Manoel de Oliveira Lima. August, 1913.

70. Arbitration and International Politics, by Randolph S. Bourne. September, 1913.

71. Japanese Characteristics, by Charles William Eliot. October, 1913.

72. Higher Nationality: A Study in Law and Ethics, by Lord Haldane. November, 1913.

73. The Control of the Fighting Instinct, by George M. Stratton. December, 1913.

A New Year's Letter from Baron d'Estournelles de Constant. December, 1913.

The A B C of the Panama Canal Controversy. Reprinted from The Congressional Record, October 29, 1913. December, 1913.

74. A Few Lessons Taught by the Balkan War, by Alfred H. Fried. January, 1914.

Wanted—A Final Solution of the Japanese Problem, by Hamilton Holt. January, 1914.

The South American Point of View, by Charles Hitchcock Sherrill. January, 1914.

75. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, by Nicholas Murray Butler. February, 1914.

76. Our Relations with South America and How to Improve Them, by George H. Blakeslee. March, 1914.

77. Commerce and War, by Alvin Saunders Johnson. April, 1914.

A Panama Primer. Reprinted from *The Independent*, March 30, 1914. April, 1914.

78. A Defense of Cannibalism, by B. Beau. Translated from *La Revue* of February 15, 1909, by Preston William Slosson. May, 1914.

79. The Tradition of War, by Randolph S. Bourne. June, 1914.

The Causes Behind Mexico's Revolution, by Gilbert Reid. Reprint from the *New York Times*, April 27, 1914. June, 1914.

The Japanese in California. June, 1914.

80. War and the Interests of Labor, by Alvin S. Johnson. Reprint from the *Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1914. July, 1914.

81. Fiat Pax, by George Allan England. August, 1914.

82. Three Men Behind the Guns, by Charles E. Jefferson, D.D. September, 1914.

83. Official Documents Bearing upon the European War.

Up to the limit of the editions printed, any one of the above will be sent postpaid upon receipt of a request addressed to the Secretary of the American Association for International Conciliation, Post Office Sub-Station 84, New York, N. Y.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR INTERNATIONAL CONCILIATION

Executive Committee

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER
RICHARD BARTHOLDT
LYMAN ABBOTT
JAMES SPEYER
STEPHEN HENRY OLIN
SETH LOW
ROBERT A. FRANKS
GEORGE BLUMENTHAL
ROBERT BACON

Secretary

FREDERICK P. KEPPEL

Assistant Secretary for the Southern States

DUNBAR ROWLAND

Director of Pan American Division

HARRY ERWIN BARD

Correspondents

ALFRED H. FRIED, Vienna, Austria
FRANCIS W. HIRST, London, England
T. MIYAOKA, Tokyo, Japan
WILHELM PASZKOWSKI, Berlin, Germany

Organizing Secretaries for South America

Dr. BENJAMIN ACACIA VICTORICA, American Legation, Buenos Aires
Dr. HELIO LOBO, Foreign Office, Rio de Janeiro
Dr. JUAN BAUTISTA DE LAVALLE, San Pedro, 88, Lima

Conciliation Internationale

34ter rue Molitor, Paris XVIe, France

President Fondateur

BARON D'ESTOURNELLES DE CONSTANT

Honorary President

LEON BOURGEOIS, Senator

Secretaries General

A. METIN and JULES RAIS, Paris
W. FOERSTER, Bornim bei Potsdam
E. GIRETTI, Brichesario, Italy
SANGRO ROS DE OLANO, Madrid

Treasurer

ALBERT KAHN

Verband für Internationale Verständigung

Presidents

Dr. FRIEDRICH CURTIUS, Strassburg
Professor Dr. OTFRIED NIPPOLD, Frankfort am M.
Professor Dr. WALTHER SCHÜCKING, Marburg, a. L.

Österreicher Verband für Allgemeine Völkerverständigung

President

Professor Dr. HEINRICH LAMMASCH

General Secretary

ARTHUR MÜLLER

Gersthoferstrasse 126, Wien XVIII

World Friendship Society

British Branch of Conciliation Internationale

President

Rt. Hon. SIR VESEY STRONG, Browning Hall, Walworth, London, S. E.

Return to Louise Clay.

INTERNATIONAL CONCILIATION

Published monthly by the
American Association for International Conciliation
Entered as second class matter at New York, N. Y.,
Postoffice, February 23, 1909, under act of July 16, 1894

THREE MEN BEHIND THE GUNS

By

CHARLES E. JEFFERSON, D.D.

SEPTEMBER, 1914, No. 82

American Association for International Conciliation
Sub-station 84 (407 West 117th Street)
New York City

Sept 24, 1914

COUNCIL OF DIRECTION OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR INTERNATIONAL CONCILIATION

LYMAN ABBOTT, NEW YORK
CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, BOSTON
EDWIN A. ALDERMAN, CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA.
ROBERT BACON, NEW YORK
RICHARD BARTHOLDT, ST. LOUIS, MO.
GEORGE BLUMENTHAL, NEW YORK
CLIFTON R. BRECKENRIDGE, FORT SMITH, ARK.
WILLIAM J. BRYAN, WASHINGTON, D. C.
T. E. BURTON, CLEVELAND, OHIO
NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER, NEW YORK
ANDREW CARNEGIE, NEW YORK
EDWARD CARY, NEW YORK
JOSEPH H. CHOATE, NEW YORK
RICHARD H. DANA, BOSTON, MASS.
ARTHUR L. DASHER, MACON, GA.
HORACE E. DEMING, NEW YORK
CHARLES W. ELIOT, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.
JOHN W. FOSTER, WASHINGTON, D. C.
AUSTEN G. FOX, NEW YORK
ROBERT A. FRANKS, ORANGE, N. J.
ROBERT GARRETT, BALTIMORE, MD.
JOHN ARTHUR GREENE, NEW YORK
JAMES M. GREENWOOD, KANSAS CITY, MO.
W. H. HATTON, LONDON, WIS.
FRANKLIN H. HEAD, CHICAGO, ILL.
WILLIAM J. HOLLAND, PITTSBURGH, PA.
HAMILTON HOLT, NEW YORK
DAVID STARR JORDAN, STANFORD UNIVERSITY, CAL.
J. H. KIRKLAND, NASHVILLE, TENN.
ADOLPH LEWISOHN, NEW YORK
SETH LOW, NEW YORK
CLARENCE H. MACKAY, NEW YORK
THEODORE MARBURG, BALTIMORE, MD.
BRANDER MATTHEWS, NEW YORK
SILAS MCBEE, NEW YORK
GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN, PRINCETON, N. J.
ANDREW J. MONTAGUE, RICHMOND, VA.
W. W. MORROW, SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.
LEVI P. MORTON, NEW YORK
STEPHEN H. OLIN, NEW YORK
HENRY S. PRITCHETT, NEW YORK
A. V. V. RAYMOND, BUFFALO, N. Y.
IRA REMSEN, BALTIMORE, MD.
JAMES FORD RHODES, BOSTON, MASS.
HOWARD J. ROGERS, ALBANY, N. Y.
ELIHU ROOT, WASHINGTON, D. C.
J. G. SCHURMAN, ITHACA, N. Y.
JAMES BROWN SCOTT, WASHINGTON, D. C.
ISAAC N. SELIGMAN, NEW YORK
CHARLES HITCHCOCK SHERRILL, NEW YORK
F. J. V. SKIFF, CHICAGO, ILL.
WILLIAM M. SLOANE, NEW YORK
JAMES SPEYER, NEW YORK
OSCAR S. STRAUS, NEW YORK
MRS. MARY WOOD SWIFT, BERKELEY, CAL.
GEORGE W. TAYLOR, DEMOPOLIS, ALA.
O. H. TITTMAN, WASHINGTON, D. C.
W. H. TOLMAN, NEW YORK
CHARLEMAGNE TOWER, PHILADELPHIA, PA.
BENJAMIN F. TRUEBLOOD, WASHINGTON, D. C.
EDWARD TUCK, PARIS, FRANCE
GEORGE E. VINCENT, MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.
WILLIAM D. WHEELWRIGHT, PORTLAND, ORE.

The Executive Committee of the Association for International Conciliation wish to arouse the interest of the American people in the progress of the movement for promoting international peace and relations of comity and good fellowship between nations. To this end they print and circulate documents giving information as to the progress of these movements, in order that individual citizens, the newspaper press, and organizations of various kinds may have readily available accurate information on these subjects. A list of publications will be found on page 21.

THREE MEN BEHIND THE GUNS

CHARLES EDWARD JEFFERSON

CHRISTENDOM is bristling with guns. There were never so many as to-day. There will be still more to-morrow, for the orders are already in. Day after to-morrow their number will be yet further increased, if present plans do not miscarry. The need for them is urgent.

To the man in the street this is perplexing. Repeated assurances have been given him that the cause of Peace is advancing. He has heard the good news in speeches, and read it in papers. Books written by well-informed authors have filled his ears with peals of triumph over the progress of the cause of international good-will. The evidences of progress are many. Peace organizations multiply amazingly. Arbitration treaties spring up like mushrooms on both sides of the sea. The exchange of friendly visits between representative citizens of various countries goes merrily on. The exchange of University professors has become an established feature of the educational system of the world. Never have rulers and statesmen made so many loving speeches as within the last dozen years. The nations have met in two Hague Conferences, and a third Conference is contemplated. A palace of International Justice has been erected and dedicated. Munificent foundations have been established to make the world's calling and election to Peace doubly sure. Groups of enthusiastic workers toil in season and out of season to tighten the bonds of international friendship. Nothing has so flourished within the present generation as the Cause of Peace—except the manufacture of guns. To the man in the street the millennium seem

almost at hand; but when he turns to look for it he finds himself staring into the muzzle of a gun. Peace and guns have formed an alliance. They flourish side by side around the world. The lion and the lamb lie down together, and for the first time in history the lion is inside of the lamb. The lion is now covered with wool, and the name of this beast is "Armed Peace." Centuries ago the Scythians stuck up an old scimitar as a symbol of deity, and to this they offered the main wealth of their country. The world has advanced. The Christian Nation have set in their midst a battleship as the symbol of national glory, and around this they sing hymns of praise to the Prince of Peace. The first article in their creed is, "We believe in peace, and therefore we prepare for war." It is generally conceded that the surest evidence of sane and fervent devotion to the cause of Love is unwavering confidence in the beneficent potency of guns. When nations, therefore, sign arbitration treaties they proceed forthwith to lay in a new stock of ammunition. When a ruler delivers a speech which has in it the note of a dove, his neighbors hasten to make a new inventory of their military wardrobe. One almost dreads to see a new arbitration treaty signed, or to have the Hague Conference meet again, for hitherto every such treaty has been followed by the launching of additional battleships, and each of the Hague Conferences has sent the nations home, eager to increase the weight of their armor, and to whet their swords to a finer edge.

ARMED PEACE IS OUR PROBLEM

The problem to-day, then, is not war but Armed Peace. He who stops to declaim against war is belated. War is conceded to be hell, and by common consent is taboo. But in consecrating itself to Armed Peace, many are beginning to wonder whether mankind has not jumped out of the frying pan into the fire. At any rate the wealth

of Christendom is being consumed. A volume setting forth the cost of armies and navies reminds one of a book on astronomy. The only figures used are millions and billions. All figures, after they pass a certain limit, cease to make a definable impression on the mind. The imagination is first dazed, and then paralyzed. When one scrutinizes for an hour the tables compiled by the statisticians showing the cost of Armed Peace, the mind is stupefied and the heart benumbed. The gold is flowing in a widening stream and to squander a people's money is to squander their blood. Governments are to-day not only impoverishing the living, but hanging millstones of debt around the necks of generations yet unborn. Guns are bought with borrowed money. The house is being mortgaged that the foolery may go on. All schemes of internal improvement are curtailed and embarrassed, and every program of social betterment is handicapped or postponed. Militarism blights like a pestilential wind the higher life of nations, and eats like a gangrene into the vitals of civilization. The very sinew and bloom of humanity are going into this expanding establishment of gold braid and steel, and the end is not yet. One thing is certain, the world cannot go on indefinitely in the direction in which it is now moving. Something is going to break. "I tremble when I remember that God is just," exclaimed an American statesman when he looked out across the tragedy of slavery, and well may any man who believes that nations, as well as individuals, are in the grip of inexorable moral law, tremble when he beholds the satanic heartlessness with which the peoples of Christendom are being plundered and oppressed by the ever accumulative expenditures for the enginery of slaughter.

THE POWER OF THE MILITARIST

One is dumbfounded by the impotency of every force which has thus far been called into play for the checking

of this militaristic movement. Every sane-minded man confesses that the present policy of the great Powers is folly, wickedness, madness. Before the bar of reason, Militarism stands assuredly condemned. The economic argument against it is unanswerable, the ethical argument is irrefutable, the religious argument is conclusive to any one who knows what the religion of Jesus Christ is, and yet not all these arguments massed together have been able to check the militarists, even for a moment within the last thirty years, in their devastating and magnificent advance. "Neither fact, nor argument, nor counsel, nor philosophy, nor religion" has availed to stay the spreading plague. The optimists who supposed that guns would cease to multiply after the signing of a few arbitration treaties, and after a few Hague Conventions had been agreed to, did not know the temper or resources of the hosts with whom they have to deal. It has been commonly assumed that huge armaments are the inevitable outgrowth of present-day commercial and political conditions, the creation of a lofty patriotism, disinterested and holy. It now begins to look as though they might be rooted in other soil. The suspicion is abroad that they may possibly be the elaborate handiwork of selfishness and cunning. If they are, perchance, a modern manifestation of the ancient mystery of iniquity, then they are not likely to vanish simply because, by the perfecting of international legal machinery, the need for them has disappeared. Profitable humbuggeries do not collapse in the presence of sound reason. Vested interests do not voluntarily surrender. Inherited privileges and favors are not in the habit of signing their own death warrant. No demon has ever yet been exorcised from mankind without tearing it. The downfall of human slavery is sufficiently recent to furnish lessons which it may be profitable to ponder. When our Republic was founded, slavery was in a state of decadence. It was so out of harmony with the ideals of Democracy and the

spirit of Christianity, that many imagined it would gradually disappear. There were evidences that the years of its life were numbered. Near the end of the century a change took place. The cotton-gin was invented. Other inventions followed. Slavery became profitable. Cotton was crowned king. Slavery and cotton formed an alliance. This alliance became aggressive. It was not content that slavery should be confined within its ancient limits. It coveted new kingdoms. It pushed its way into territory consecrated to freedom. It seized upon the political machinery. It dictated national legislation. It influenced the Supreme Court. It finally tore down the flag—with what result all the world knows.

WHY MILITARISM IS MIGHTY

Thirty years ago, Militarism to most of us seemed doomed. It was considered by Americans an anachronism, a survival of barbarism. It was one of the old-world follies and burdens which we thanked God we had escaped. And then something happened. A new invention came. Others followed. By these inventions ambitions were kindled to experiment with costly machinery in playing war games on the sea. Other inventions came, and with them came feverish desires to play war games in the air. Military life took on at once new attractions. Numberless new positions were opened for men who did not like to dig and who were ashamed to beg. For many, Militarism became enormously profitable. Professional ambition and commercialism formed an alliance. The alliance became aggressive, insolent, insatiable. It early laid its hand on legislation. It began to manipulate the machinery of government. It stationed its agents at the doors of parliaments, and its servants became the counsellors of Kings. The result was a world-wide recrudescence of the military spirit, a fresh coronation of military ideals. Recent history is illuminating reading. New

areas have been invaded and captured. Our own nation was one of the first to fall. Brazil and other South American republics speedily succumbed. Australia next fell into line. In the countries of Europe the old burdens have been systematically and mercilessly increased. The word has just gone forth that the whole world must be converted into an armed camp. Mighty standing armies must cover the land. Mighty fleets of Dreadnoughts must cover the sea. Mighty fleets of airships must darken the sky. Every strategic point must be fortified. Nations are not expected to fight, but they must keep the fighting edge. The way to keep it is to whet the mind constantly on thoughts of war. The instruments of destruction must never be out of sight. National rank is determined by Naval tonnage. The foundation of National greatness is military power. This is the new gospel and it is preached with a rage of eloquence unknown since the days of the Crusades. The attack is being made all along the line. Daily papers and pictorial magazines are pressed into service. New publications are launched to set forth this advanced and better way of life. While one corps of militants organize new raids on the treasury, another corps engage in a campaign to capture the schools. There must be military drill in the colleges, and also in the High Schools. Boys must be trained to shoot.

THE WORLD AT SCHOOL

In fact the entire world is now put to school, and we are all being systematically instructed by Colonels and Commodores, Admirals and Generals, in the ways of national safety and glory. One cannot help admiring the consummate ability and skill with which the whole movement is engineered. We are a refractory and stiff-necked people. Militarism is alien to our blood. But patience and pains can accomplish much, and already

multitudes of our citizens have learned to worship before the fetish of Sea Power, and to gloat over the distinction of possessing next to the greatest navy in the world. The policy of the Big Stick, in spite of the warnings of the founders of the Republic, is slowly making its way into popular favor. A Dreadnought is now launched with the imposing solemnity of a religious ritual, and the elite of the land are invited to look on with awe-struck and rapturous hearts.

THE NEXT STEP

Has the time not arrived when merchants and farmers, bankers and scholars, professional men and artisans, should begin to ask seriously, "Whereunto is this thing going to grow?" On her recent visit to this country the Baroness von Suttner confessed she was disappointed to find that the mass of the public seemed surprisingly uninformed when the peace movement was mentioned. The fact is that the average American has given the subject scant attention. He is preoccupied and is willing to leave all questions of national defense to the experts. His mind has been confused by sophistical talk of "police force" and "national insurance," and he has never really penetrated the problem, because his way has been blocked by assumptions and fallacies, which he could easily see through if he once gave them his sustained attention. Played upon by vague tales of hypothetical invasions, he has become a fatalist, accepting the notion that huge armies and navies have got to be. Their enormous cost appals him, but he accepts it along with other bitter and unescapable things. Swollen armaments, he is forced to conclude, are a natural product of evolution. He rails at them, but submits to them. Some day perhaps, he will take time to ask himself why evolution has taken this curious and disastrous twist. He might find that it is not in our stars but in ourselves that we are

underlings, peeping about the huge legs of the militaristic giant, which like a Colossus bestrides the world. Guns are not spontaneous freaks or accidents of nature. They are the expression of an ideal ruling in certain human minds. They exist only by the deliberate thought and premeditated act of men. We have too long berated and lamented them. The next step in the Peace Movement is the disclosure of the men behind the guns.

THE FIRST MAN IN THE TRIUMVIRATE

At one time in Roman history, the Empire was under the domination of three men. The governments of Christendom have fallen into the clutches of a triumvirate, whose power must be broken before the nations can free themselves from the bondage under which they now groan.

The first man of the three is the military-naval Specialist, the expert in the science of warfare. War is more and more a fine art, and years of technical training are needed to fit a man to deal with its problems. The modern fighting machines are intricate masterpieces of human genius, and only men of high scientific attainments can make use of them. The military expert must be proficient in mechanics and mathematics, chemistry and engineering and a dozen other sciences. He must know how to calculate the curves of projectiles, the force of explosives, the resisting power of metals, and the range and destructiveness of guns. In his own province, he is undisputed master.

This has given the military specialist of a certain stripe his opportunity. He has taken advantage of his acknowledged superiority in technical knowledge, to play upon the credulity of the people. I do not speak of all military specialists, but of one type only, the man who has the ideals of Cæsar, and who is ambitious to stamp his ideals on the policies of nations, This man, not con-

tent with fulfilling the duties of his own office, has little by little usurped the functions of other servants of the government, until he has become a foremost figure in the diplomatic world. His first move is to suggest a Council of National Defense, of which he shall be the head, thus acquiring a potent influence over the expenditure of national treasure. He is made a member of numerous commissions, and is sent on important diplomatic missions, becoming one of the nation's leading representatives in the realm of international affairs. In Europe one cannot go far in any direction without coming face to face with one of these uniformed guardians of the national interests and honor. He takes an upper seat in all peace conventions, for he is a stalwart advocate of peace as well as an expert in war. Although he believes that war is the mother of all virtues, he is willing to kill her in the interests of armed peace. There is no place he likes better than membership on the Committee which determines what subjects shall be discussed at Hague conferences. Wherever international policy is in the making, he is on hand.

OUR MODERN SIR ORACLE

The distinctions showered upon him feed his self-esteem. His haughtiness increases and he grows ever more domineering. He acquires the Olympian tone. His words are oracles. He looks down upon civilians as men of lesser breed. He poses as the anointed custodian of national honor, and is the only man who knows how this honor can be safeguarded. He alone is an expert in national perils. He often knows more than he will tell. When asked to state his reason for additional battleships or battalions, his reply is that he cannot make his knowledge public for fear of causing fresh international complications. He becomes a High Priest of the mysteries in the temple of international life. In this way

he adds new cubits to his stature. One must cross the ocean to see this gentleman full grown. Things are yet in the green tree here.

THE LIMITATIONS OF EXPERTS

But although somewhat snobbish, he has his virtues. He is not a barbarian or a charlatan. He is a patriot and a gentleman. He has not consciously entered into a conspiracy against humanity. His misfortune is that his ideal is pagan. His education has given his mind a bias which makes him a dangerous counsellor. He is a specialist, and, like many another specialist, he is expensive and has a knack of suggesting elaborate and costly methods of treatment. He is prone to diagnose along the line of his specialty. He can see what he is looking for whether it is there or not. Prolonged application to a narrow set of phenomena has destroyed his perspective. He is apt to see everything through the bore of a gun. Brooding over battles has turned the whole earth into a battlefield. Looking for enemies he has found them on every side. Dreaming of possibilities, he has reached the astounding conclusion that every conceivable contingency must be provided for. So long as he deals with matters within the scope of his knowledge, he is a man to be relied on. The moment he attempts to deal with questions of national policy he is to be feared. Of all the servants of the government he is the last to be entrusted with the responsibilities of statesmanship. He is peculiarly unfit to say how a nation's money shall be spent. National finances are in a muddle wherever he has his way. Because he is an expert in the firing of shells, it does not follow that he knows how many shells the people are able to buy. A knowledge of the force of explosives fits no man to deal with the tangled threads of international business. Sailing a battleship is one thing, and sailing the Ship of State is another. He evi-

dently knows nothing of the value of money, or of the danger of turning the screws of taxation until the people rise in revolt. He has never once in any land during the last thirty years suggested retrenchment. His one cry is ever, "More! More! More!"

THE PEN IS MIGHTIER THAN THE SWORD

This man has set himself up as an instructor of nations. He is writing for many papers. A long list of books is down to his credit. His literary fertility is amazing. No one realizes the extent of his industry till one consults the catalogues of the last twenty years. His purpose is ever the same—to extol the glory of military ideals and to show how urgent is the need for more guns.

It is here that we face one of the features of Armed Peace, too generally overlooked. In time of war the energies of army and naval officers are absorbed in the task of fighting, but the prolonged leisure of armed peace gives them opportunity to become instructors of the youth of the land. Latent energies are thus set free whose full power for mischief we are not yet able to compute. Who dare say what a great company of able writers, salaried by the government, can accomplish in shaping national character and destiny, if they spend their days and nights in writing their conjectures of the motives and intentions of neighboring nations, and vivid descriptions of the way in which suppositional invasions can be most successfully repelled. There are in Christendom over two hundred thousand commissioned officers in army and navy, eating at the government table, and when one takes into account how many of these are constantly engaged in laying before the public horrifying descriptions of imagined complications and conflicts, every description taking on the solemnity of prediction, and every prediction being followed up with a plea weighted with the authority of official knowledge, for more

guns, one cannot wonder that the world is where it is. Military and naval officers are retired from active duty in the prime of life, their ripest years being thus entirely free for the unhampered use of the pen. After the experience of the last thirty years, no one would care to dispute the old adage that the pen is mightier than the sword. By the pen, the doors of national treasuries have been forced wide open, and the stream of national revenue has been turned into a new channel. It is sometimes said that army and naval officers want to fight. This is calumny. They want to write. More things are wrought by printers' ink than bullets. The first man of the triumvirate is the literary expert in the science of war.

THE SECOND MAN OF THE TRIUMVIRATE

The second man is the Contractor, the man who makes ships and armorplate, cartridges and shells, swords and rifles, the man who supplies coal and oil for the ships, food and harness for the horses, provisions and clothing for the men, powder and ammunition for the guns, the ten thousand things which go to the upkeep of a great army and navy, and which cost hundreds of millions a year. He is a loyal comrade of the specialist. The specialist tells him what is needed, the contractor supplies it, and the government pays the bills. The contractor's job is a big one, and it pays. His prices are enormous, and government does not inquire into them too closely. Some of his guns bring a hundred thousand dollars a piece. He builds dreadnoughts at fifteen millions each. The prices go up every year. The dividends are large, and the contractor, in the generosity of his heart, allows prominent members of the aristocracy and wealthy legislators to become directors and stockholders of his company. In recent investigations in England, the most interesting fact brought to light was that a surprisingly large number of nobles and members of Parliament are

stockholders in the great armor-making plants of that country.

A BUSINESS THAT PAYS

In many lines of business, it is difficult to keep up a steady demand for the goods produced, but the military contractor suffers no such embarrassment. By keeping a large force of inventors at work he is able to bring out each year new patterns in sufficient number to coax from the government increased appropriations. It is natural that a government in constant peril of overthrow should want the very latest and deadliest of defensive weapons, and these the contractor is each year fortunately able to supply. There is no limit to the ingenuity of inventive genius, and so long as governmental gold is abundant, the stream of military and naval inventions is not likely to fail. The contractor is peculiarly fortunate in that his costliest creations soon became antiquated. Battleships which cost millions are used as targets at the end of a few years. Beginning with 1884 Great Britain in twenty years spent two and a quarter billion dollars on her navy, and in 1905 the British admiralty admitted that much of this expenditure was then represented mainly by scrap iron, one hundred and fifteen vessels being condemned as useless.

Aided by the Specialist, the Contractor publishes from time to time lists of the fighting vessels of the various nations, the comparison always bringing out the fact that his nation is in danger of losing its place in the race for naval supremacy. An open-eyed man is the contractor, and a busy one. He is everywhere. Through the rifts in the clouds which have hung recently over the far east, we have caught glimpses of him now and again, with bags of money to loan and hungry as usual for fresh contracts. His present ambition is to equip all China with guns. He is to-day undoubtedly one of the most forceful figures on the stage of the world's life.

Like the Specialist the Contractor believes in peace, and he wants it armed. Peace without armor would be to him ridiculous. Wars gigantic and terrifying loom in the near future, but he is ever optimistic, knowing that if government does not become parsimonious, he can supply the apparatus which will keep these wars indefinitely away. It has been said that the Contractor loves war. This is a slander. Armed peace is far more to his liking. War comes seldom, is full of uncertainties and is soon over; whereas armed peace goes on forever. Battleships burn as much coal and oil in peace as in war, soldiers eat as much and wear as much, and are therefore as desirable customers for a contractor. In sundry ways armed peace is more profitable than war. In war only a few shots are fired; in peace the target practice must never cease. When four hundred pounds of powder are used at one charge of a single gun, continuous target practice becomes glorious. In war a nation knows how many battleships it needs, whereas in peace nobody knows, and the number to be ordered is limited only by the gullibility of the government. In war the value of airships could be speedily determined, but in peace their value is conjectural, and hence government can be induced to go on buying them at fabulous prices. These two men, the Specialist and the Contractor, sit side by side at the door of the national treasury in every land. Professional ambition and commercial acquisitiveness make a strong team, not strong enough, however, to pull the militarist chariot along the upward way.

THE THIRD MAN OF THE TRIUMVIRATE

A third man is needed and at the call of the specialist and contractor he appears. He is the man who is scared. He is a patriot, but he is timorous. He is sensible, but

panicky. He knows all about his own business but nothing about guns. Whenever he is nudged he is ready to sign petitions for more battleships. He has been told on the highest authority that his country is in danger, and his heart is in a flutter. With a beautiful humility, he accepts whatever the experts have to say. He listens like a three years' child, and the experts have their will.

The triumvirate is now complete, and it is time to organize a military and naval league. Without the third man such a league is impossible. It is through the man who is frightened that the Specialist and Contractor work their miracles. This third man is a man of light and leading and is known to be disinterested, and hence he and his friends are much in evidence in the Leagues' literature and at all the Leagues' public meetings. But the core of the League is made up of the specialist and contractor along with their brothers and cousins and their wives' relations. The driving forces of the league are the first two members of the triumvirate. Professional ambition, commercial greed, and terror, welded together, constitute one of the most formidable alliances known to history. It is impossible to account for the phenomenal expansion of the military and naval establishments in recent years without taking into consideration the military and naval leagues. Such a league when full grown can play with a government as a cat plays with a mouse. Its methods in Europe are so effective that they are almost certain to be copied in time everywhere. The words with which it conjures are patriotism and peace. Everything it does is done to safeguard the vital interests of the country and to avert the horrors of war.

AN ADEQUATE NAVY AND ARMY

Its one and only aim is to secure an "adequate" army and navy, and of this aim every sensible man must heartily approve. The word "adequate" is peculiarly serviceable,

for nobody is able to find out what it means. When applied to an army or navy it means one larger than the one already on hand. Germany, for instance, has the mightiest of the world's armies, but the military specialists of Germany have recently admitted that their army is not adequate for Germany's needs. Great Britain's navy is the mightiest of the world's navies, but the naval Lords of Great Britain are convinced that it is far from adequate. We are forced then to conclude that there are at present no adequate armies or navies on the earth. To secure them is the avowed object of all military and naval leagues. The nations occasionally grow weary in their arduous quest, and these leagues are organized to spur them on.

THE POWER OF FEAR

The most effective spur thus far discovered is fear. Wherever one of these leagues exists the nation is in constant peril of invasion. Far-off nations hitherto friendly grow lukewarm or positively hostile, and the danger of losing valuable national possessions becomes imminent. Men rise, as if by enchantment, all over the land to warn the people of their complacency and blindness, and showers of letters fall on the desks of legislators written by voters who desire to throw light into the darkened legislative mind. Sunday newspapers and magazines blossom in gorgeous pictures of battleships, and in vivid descriptions of pressing military and naval needs. Fear is the blindest and mightiest of all passions, and nations, when dominated by it, become insane. Future generations will look back on our time as a period in which Christendom went mad. Nations were scared into insanity by the clever machinations of men who kept themselves out of sight. It is in a manufactured atmosphere of suspicion and terror that the militarist rides on to victory. In a world knit together by electric wires in which every whisper can be heard through mountains

and over seas, and in which rumor works like magic and panic runs like fire; in a world piled high with explosives and in which mischief-makers in the press and jingoes in public office are ready to egg on any enterprise however diabolical, if it only promises excitement, there is no limit to the power which can be wielded by an organization which, clothed with the garments of patriotism and working ostensibly for peace, has for its supreme end and ambition the further multiplication of guns. Through its salaried agents and still more through its uninvited and irresponsible coadjutors, it can keep a nation in a state of chronic alarm, and stampede statesmen again and again into courses of inconceivable folly. Who knows but that the time may come when the nations of Christendom may be driven in sheer self-defense to outlaw all such organizations as incorrigible fomenters of suspicion and discord, and insurmountable obstacles in the path of brotherhood and peace.

The hope of the future lies in the man who is scared. It is he who pays the taxes, and if his pulse can be calmed the world will be saved. When his eyes are once opened, and he discovers how egregiously he has been duped, his indignation will drive out his fear, and in his wrath he will grind the God of Armed Peace to powder.

Where shall we look for him? First in the United States. He is less intimidated here than anywhere else. In Germany he is apprehensive, in France he is excited, in England he is in hysterics, in America he is somewhat shaky, but not beyond the hope of speedy recovery. Once get the facts fairly before him, and we shall have reached the edge of the dawn of a new day.

THE OPPORTUNITY OF THE UNITED STATES

What the world is waiting for is a strong voice to cry a halt in armaments. The time is not ripe for disarmament, nor even for a reduction of armaments. The step

for which humanity waits is an arrest of armaments. Why should the United States not take that step? What is the use of being a great world power if we have not the strength to do a beautiful and original deed? In all dark situations the only way out is an act of heroism. In the present world crisis nothing less than magnificent and unparalleled courage will avail. When the nations are confessedly moving along a downward way, why should not the Republic of the West sound a note which will brace all forward-looking hearts everywhere? Is it a risk? Why not take it? It is not so great a risk as the risk we run in building up in our National capital a military-naval oligarchy which may some day prove our undoing. All history testifies that a Republic has no peril so insidious to fear as the growth of military power within its own borders. The military ideal and the ideal of Democracy cannot survive together. Why not adopt a naval policy which all the world can understand? Why not say in a tone audible around the world,—"We will go no further in this business! Hereafter there shall be no increased expenditures for shells and guns, but ever increasing appropriations for the warfare against poverty, disease and ignorance, and for the strengthening of those social and humanitarian agencies which will make us more and more a prosperous, happy, and mighty people."

It is in this way that America will most surely enlighten the world.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

Nos. 1–66 (April, 1907, to May, 1913). Including papers by Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, George Trumbull Ladd, Elihu Root, Barrett Wendell, Charles E. Jefferson, Seth Low, William James, Andrew Carnegie, Pope Pius X, Heinrich Lammasch, Norman Angell, Charles W. Eliot, Sir Oliver Lodge, Lord Haldane and others. A list of titles and authors will be sent on application.

67. Music as an International Language, by Daniel Gregory Mason, June, 1913.

68. American Love of Peace and European Skepticism, by Paul S. Reinsch, July, 1913.

69. The Relations of Brazil with the United States, by Manoel de Oliveira Lima, August, 1913.

70. Arbitration and International Politics, by Randolph S. Bourne, September, 1913.

71. Japanese Characteristics, by Charles William Eliot, October, 1913.

72. Higher Nationality; A Study in Law and Ethics, by Lord Haldane, November, 1913.

73. The Control of the Fighting Instinct, by George M. Stratton, December, 1913.

A New Year's Letter from Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, December, 1913.

The A B C of the Panama Canal Controversy. Reprinted from The Congressional Record, October 29, 1913. December, 1913.

74. A Few Lessons Taught by the Balkan War, by Alfred H. Fried, January, 1914.

Wanted—A Final Solution of the Japanese Problem, by Hamilton Holt, January, 1914.

The South American Point of View, by Charles Hitchcock Sherrill, January, 1914.

75. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, by Nicholas Murray Butler, February, 1914.

76. Our Relations with South America and How To Improve Them, by George H. Blakeslee, March, 1914.

77. Commerce and War, by Alvin Saunders Johnson, April, 1914.

A Panama Primer. Reprinted from *The Independent*, March 30, 1914. April, 1914.

78. A Defense of Cannibalism, by B. Beau. Translated from *La Revue* of February 15, 1909, by Preston William Slosson, May, 1914.

79. The Tradition of War, by Randolph S. Bourne, June, 1914.

The Causes Behind Mexico's Revolution, by Gilbert Reid. Reprint from the *New York Times*, April 27, 1914. June, 1914.

The Japanese in California, June, 1914.

80. War and the Interests of Labor, by Alvin S. Johnson. Reprint from the *Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1914. July, 1914.

81. Fiat Pax, by George Allan England, August, 1914.

82. Three Men Behind the Guns, by Charles E. Jefferson, D.D., September, 1914.

Up to the limit of the editions printed, any one of the above will be sent postpaid upon receipt of a request addressed to the Secretary of the American Association for International Conciliation, Postoffice Sub-station 84, New York, N. Y.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR INTERNATIONAL CONCILIATION

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Nicholas Murray Butler
Richard Bartholdt
Lyman Abbott
James Speyer
Stephen Henry Olin
Seth Low
Robert A. Franks
George Blumenthal
Robert Bacon

Secretary
Frederick P. Keppel

Assistant Secretary for the Southern States
Dunbar Rowland

Director of Pan American Division
Harry Erwin Bard

Correspondents: Alfred H. Fried, Vienna, Austria; Francis W. Hirst, London, England; T. Miyaoka, Tokyo, Japan; Wilhelm Paszkowski, Berlin, Germany.

ORGANIZING SECRETARIES FOR SOUTH AMERICA

Dr. Benjamin Acacia Victorica,
American Legation, Buenos Ayres

Dr. A. G. Araujo Jorge,
Foreign Office, Rio de Janeiro

Dr. Juan Bautista de Lavalle,
San Pedro, 88, Lima

CONCILIATION INTERNATIONALE

34ter rue Molitor, Paris XVIe, France
President Fondateur: Baron D'Estournelles de Constant
Honorary President: Leon Bourgeois, Senator

Secretaries General: A. Metin and Jules Rais, Paris; W. Foerster, Bornim bei Potsdam; E. Giretti, Brichesario, Italy; Sangro Ros de Olano, Madrid.

Treasurer
Albert Kahn

VERBAND FÜR INTERNATIONALE VERSTÄNDIGUNG

Presidents

Dr. Friedrich Curtius,
Strassburg

Professor Dr. Otfried Nippold,
Frankfort am M.

Professor Dr. Walther Schücking,
Marburg a.L.

ÖSTERREICHER VERBAND FÜR ALLGEMEINE VÖLKER-VERSTÄNDIGUNG

Professor Dr. Heinrich Lammasch, President
Arthur Müller, General Secretary
Gersthoferstrasse 126, Wien XVIII.

WORLD FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY

British Branch of Conciliation Internationale
Rt. Hon. Sir Vesey Strong, *President* Browning Hall, Walworth, S. E., London

139