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Peace Movement

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A PRIMER OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT ^{107.}

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BY

LUCIA AMES MEAD
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NINTH EDITION
REVISED

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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1915

The following pages contain the revision of 1915, the ninth edition of the enlarged text of the illustrated exhibit of the American Peace Society at the World's Fair, St. Louis, 1904, which received a gold medal. The Primers are sold at ten cents a copy, \$5.00 a hundred. American Peace Society, Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.

MAR 6 1930

FOREWORD.

Christian nations in 1915 are enacting the greatest tragedy in all the ages. The world now stands at the turning point of human history and the fate of civilization hangs in the balance.

The European war differs from every other war, not merely, because it is employing 28,000,000 men, is spending \$50,000,000 a day and is carrying bitterness and bloodshed into three continents, like a dozen wars in one, but because, since Napoleon's day when travel was no faster than in Abraham's time, the world has become organic, complex and sensitive, and now all neutrals suffer with belligerents. This war is destroying the world's capital and impoverishing customers; there is pinching poverty in Alabama, Brazil and China, and higher prices everywhere. The world's innocent suffer with the guilty. Had war ended forever in July, 1914, three generations of prosperity without the burden of arms could not have wiped out the world's old war debts. The interest on them was all that many could pay. The incredible sums now spent are borrowed from the inheritance of the unborn. Future generations, unable to bear the intolerable inherited burden, may repudiate it and thus bankrupt and overthrow their governments.

CAUSES OF THE EUROPEAN WAR.

There are two wars with two distinct political causes. The Eastern war is largely the outcome of the Balkan war and of the rival ambitions of Russia and Germany.

The Western war is due to the alliance of France with autocratic Russia: this compelled her in loyalty to fight, but most unwillingly. France had abandoned her earlier intention to regain Alsace Lorraine but, finding her death rate almost reached her birth rate while Germany's population increased by 20,000,000, she allied herself with Germany's rival and loaned her enormous funds, part of which were pledged for armaments.

Could France have broken her alliance with Russia. Germany, who was loth to fight her, would not have invaded Belgium, and France. Great Britain, Canada, Australia, Africa, and Japan would not have been dragged into war.

The psychological causes of the war are the fallacies, economic illusions and confused thought which were for generations taught

by militarists, legislators, editors and preachers. These men, though educated in technique and science, misread human nature, economic laws and the laws of God.

Christianity has not failed. Its principles were never tried by any government. But church and school sanctioning two codes of ethics—one for the nation, another for the individual—both failed lamentably to teach clear thinking on either ethics or economics and to create the international mind.

THE WORLD'S PEACE.

The world's peace depends chiefly on eight nations, seven of which are "Christian." These eight own nine-tenths of the armaments of the world. Six of them are at work destroying civilization—Russia, Germany, Austria, Great Britain, France and Japan. The seventh, Italy, has her troops mobilized and may go to war. The United States, alone free and unmenaced, bears a stupendous responsibility to help the nations at the war's end to attain a permanent peace. Its peculiar privilege is to show the way to a United World.

The great powers must together take one of two paths. The one leads upward through general reduction of armaments and world organization to peace and progress; the other, downward through continued reliance on force to conscription the world around. This means, presently, an armed Asia facing an armed Europe, and perpetual fear and suspicion, intolerable debt, and the decay of civilization. The world now is one; no nation suffers alone; world problems have become our own. Apathy and timidity here may be fatal not only to us, but to civilization. An agonized world calls upon America for sanity, courage and leadership.

AMERICA'S DUTY.

To refuse increase of armaments until the war is over; to wait, while all possible enemies are becoming poorer and weaker, and not create suspicion and ill will by taking advantage of the situation.

Increase of war preparations now beyond the usual amount would be construed as a menace by tax-ridden Japan. It would lessen our influence with the warring powers when we at the war's close ask for a general reduction of armaments. It might make our action tip the world's balance for more militarism instead of less. The safest nation in the world is called by suffering humanity to show courage, confidence and moral leadership. If we engender panic and suspicion by establishing more military schools and by following the Old World's folly of supreme reliance on force, we strike a blow at civilization and progress.

WHAT CONSTRUCTIVE WORK FOR PEACE DEMANDS.

1. A convention of neutral nations to band themselves into a League of Peace; to consider conditions of permanent world peace and to try to prevent "fighting to a finish."

2. No indemnities when this war ends; no transfer of land by conquest; an abolition of defensive alliances; a substitution of a Concert of Powers for "Balance of Power."

3. The immediate calling of the Third Hague Conference after the war and the creation of much needed law. There must be collective action for righteous readjustments of abnormal boundary lines, for neutralizing trade routes and for removal of unjust conditions lest these breed further war.

4. The carrying out of the program for World Organization—as sound and healing a remedy for world anarchy as it has been for three-quarters of a century while the physicians of peace have offered it to blind and stubborn governments who now cry out in anguish because they had not taken it.

THE PRACTICAL PROGRAM FOR WORLD ORGANIZATION.

ALREADY ACHIEVED.

1. Some degree of representative government in practically all independent nations, even in China, and the peaceful union of small states to form larger ones, as in Italy and Germany.

2. A Permanent Tribunal of Arbitration opened at The Hague in 1901, with provision for Mediation and International Commissions of Enquiry. In 1907, provision for a Prize Court to decide upon captures made in time of war.

3. For any one of the forty-four signatory nations to lay its case before the Hague Court whether its opponent agree or not, and for a third Conference which was planned for 1915.

4. Prohibition against bombarding or laying tribute on unfortified places.

5. Approval of a Permanent International Court of Arbitral Justice.

6. The Porter-Drago convention, practically preventing the use of force to collect contractual debts.

7. Establishment of an International Institute of Agriculture in Rome by signed treaties of forty-seven nations. The International Postal Union embracing the globe and hundreds of unofficial international organizations. Endowments amounting to the cost of one battleship, to promote justice and peace between nations.

8. Treaties between all the Central American States and also between some other nations to submit all differences to arbitration.

YET TO BE ACHIEVED.

1. Treaties by all nations pledging reference of all international disputes to arbitration, or to one or more of the International Courts of Justice yet to be established.

2. The development of Hague Conferences into a Stated World Congress, at first only advisory, but gradually increasing its powers and evolving a code of international law. This will deal not only with measures to preserve peace, but with quarantine, commerce, tariff, and all matters which affect international relations.

3. Gradual disarmament and transference of troops from military to civic service of the state. The principle of non-intercourse embodied in law as penalty for breaking pledges.

4. A small International Police for land and sea.

These measures will not do away with the use of militia and may not end the possibility of civil war for an indefinite time;* but they will end our barbarous international duels by substituting the System of Law for the System of War.

THE FIRST HAGUE CONFERENCE.

On May 18, 1899, one hundred delegates of the twenty-six nations that had representatives at St. Petersburg met in the Queen's House in the Wood 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 leading to the "very cataclysm they are desired to avert," had urged the nations to discuss the question of limitation and reduction of armaments. For nearly three months the Conference in three committees worked steadily on its problems. 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 upon by the delegates. They also arranged for commissions of inquiry and methods of mediation and conciliation between the signatory powers.

Their achievement was the greatest of the kind in human history. The delegates, who had assembled 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—and used until the Peace Palace provided by Mr. Carnegie was opened in 1913—and a permanent secretary installed. It has now a board of one hundred and forty-four judges from the countries that ratified the Conventions. 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. Several jurists have repeatedly been asked to serve at The Hague, and thus have in a peculiar sense become international judges.

* When civil war in any country becomes a menace to civilization, it may be ended by the friendly offices of a group of States or, as a last resort, by recourse to cutting off outside supplies of munitions of war and by the employment of non-intercourse.

The Hague provision for Commissions of Inquiry prevented strife between England and Russia when the Russian admiral in the North Sea fired on an English fishing fleet, mistaking it for Japanese torpedo boats. An international commission of admirals which met in Paris allayed English fury, and Russia paid the widows and orphans more than \$300,000 for her blunder. The Hague provision for mediation was used by President Roosevelt when he invited Russia and Japan to send commissioners to settle their war at Portsmouth, N. H.—one of the most romantic achievements of modern history.

THE SECOND HAGUE CONFERENCE.

In June, 1907, the second Hague Conference, the call for which had been delayed by the Russo-Japanese war and the Pan-American Conference, convened with 256 delegates from forty-four nations, representing practically the power and wealth of the world. Hon. Joseph H. Choate headed the American delegation and presented a plea for a Court of Arbitral Justice at The Hague, to supplement (and not abolish) the present Arbitration Tribunal. This was agreed upon, and will be established as soon as any group of nations agrees upon the method of selecting judges. This court will hold regular and continuous sessions, and gradually build up a definite system of international law. The Porter-Drago doctrine arranged for the peaceful settlement of difficulties arising from non-payment of contractual debts. Germany, which had been an obstacle to progress in 1899, led to the establishment of a Prize Court, to adjust ownership of captures in war. This marks the first real concession of the absolute right of sovereignty, and is a very important precedent. The Conference was practically unanimous in endorsing the principle of obligatory arbitration. Among provisions agreed to for lessening the injustice of war was that forbidding bombardment of unfortified places.

A third Hague Conference was planned and, two years previous, suitable preparations were to be made by an international commission to avoid the loss of time incident to the second Conference.

SOME CAUSES OF WAR.

Fear and suspicion, bred of huge armaments. War traders, coining large dividends from war supplies, who own newspapers and promote war scares in order to get contracts.

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 a superstitious notion that questions of honor can be settled by explosives.

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.

A treaty between Germany and France of delay before hostilities, such as the United States has signed with 30 nations. Had France been able to avail herself of it, Russia would probably not have entered war. At all events the western war would not have come. Had the nations waited but one month, the financial forces would probably have brought pressure to avert war.

Had even one month of the war's cost been turned into constructive work, it could have used \$1,500,000,000 in creating all these things in the warring lands:

- 1,000 Churches, at \$50,000 each.
- 1,000 Public Libraries, at \$100,000 each.
- 1,000 Hospitals, at \$100,000 each.
- 500 City Halls, at \$200,000 each.
- 3,000 schools, at \$100,000 each.
- 500 Factories, at \$500,000 each.
- 10,000 Farms, at \$10,000 each.
- 10,000 Shops, at \$10,000 each.
- 10,000 Engines, at \$10,000 each.
- 150,000 Houses, at \$2,000 each.

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 Peking foreshadowed this.

That armies and navies are useful in giving employment. So is a Baltimore fire or Galveston flood, a San Francisco or Kingston earthquake. 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 already ranks third. It may be second when the war is over. It has no fear of the greatest navy so long as our Canadian line remains unguarded. Our outlay for our navy has increased seven hundred per cent since 1886. We are going wildly beyond the needs of defense, are considered aggressive, and are arousing suspicion and jealousy. Our rich, safe nation, without enemies except those we provoke, of all others can best afford to lead the world toward reduction of arms.

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.

"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. The European war did not come because men loved slaughter. They loathed it, but were helpless to free themselves from the war system that they had permitted.

"In time of peace prepare for war." This principle is responsible for the European war. It 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 for peace."

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. Peaceful China is the only nation of antiquity that survives.

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

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

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 as soon as they create a World Court. The skeptics in 1901 said the Hague Tribunal 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 or the nations will be on the highroad towards decay.

"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.

TRUE AND SHAM PATRIOTISM.

Patriotism is not tested by a show of bunting nor making noise nor 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, more than nine-tenths of the time? Our civic corruptions, due to civic apathy and general disregard of law, made us a by-word in Christendom. Increase of wealth and opportunity has made multitudes selfish and indifferent to the country's dangers. This means treason to the Republic. It means that we have deserters and cowards as well as patriots in office, factory, shop, and parlor.

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 the virtues of other nations as well as our own, will condemn all hysterical talk about a Yellow Peril, and will show the truth of Ambassador Wright's statement that "the talk of war with Japan is not even respectable nonsense."

Said John Hay, Secretary of State: "If the press of the world would adopt and persist in the high resolve that war should be no more, the clangor of arms would cease from the rising of the sun to its going down, and we could fancy that at last our ears, no longer stunned by the din of armies, might hear the morning stars singing together and all the sons of God shouting for joy."

WHAT VOTERS CAN DO.

They can ask all candidates for Congress whether they will join its Arbitration Group, will vote against increase of the navy, and for the neutralization and independence of the Philippines. They can create public sentiment in favor of securing passage by the Senate of the broadest arbitration treaties with all nations and of a pledge by all nations at the Third Hague Conference to begin a general and extensive reduction of armaments. They should keep constant watch on the 530 men in Washington who voice the American Republic. These are constantly surrounded by over 700 "active and retired army and navy officers, who," said Justice Brewer, "are making a military center of our national capital."

WHAT TEACHERS CAN DO.

They can join the American School Peace League,* which has no fees. It has about 45 State organizations, and is initiating similar leagues in Europe. It is powerfully aiding a better teaching of history, literature, and patriotism.

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 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. Teach pupils that we began our three foreign wars since 1789, and lost in them all told less than 15,000 men by foreign bullets. This is only one-tenth the number lost annually by tuberculosis! Our constant, definite dangers are from within; we have no enemies without.

* Secretary: Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, 405 Marlborough street, Boston, Mass.

We sustained the Monroe Doctrine when we had a very small navy. Our great navy implies no more security.

3. 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. Let children figure up the number of dollars spent if one had been thrown into the ocean on the first Christmas day and continued every minute for 19 centuries and see that this is about what Europe has wasted in one month at the rate of \$50,000,000 a day. Never let children sing without explanation such words as "The army and navy forever," or "Then conquer we must, for our cause it is just." This is misleading. In war, justice does not imply success. The strong wins.

4. Celebrate the 18th of May, the anniversary of the opening of The Hague Conference, by instructive exercises in the schools. This is recommended by the superintendents throughout the country.

5. Oppose the movement to put rifle shooting into the schools. No nation taxes its people to teach its boys the art of killing. For us to begin would imply a new danger and timidity on our part that has no basis. Spend the time and money in teaching boys to make friends rather than how to kill supposed enemies.

WHAT BUSINESS MEN FORGET.

Three-fourths of the teachers of the United States are women. The salary of the average woman teacher has been about half that of a garbage-hauler or street-sweeper. Our true national defense is not short-lived battleships, but what teachers can achieve. Our rich country, lying safe between two oceans and with no enemies on earth, spends about \$12,000,000 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 millions of 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 about \$1,000,000 a year. Today, when population is twenty-five times as great, our total outlay for national defense has increased two hundred and fifty times.

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

WHAT BUSINESS MEN CAN DO.

Chambers of Commerce and Merchants' Clubs should send to the World Peace Foundation for a list of all bills pending in Congress every session which affect the peace cause, and should bring their influence to bear after making investigation of these.

Business men can endow lectureships in colleges and theological schools, to provide yearly lectures on international justice and the organization of the world. They can help extend the prizes offered at the Intercollegiate Contests, in which 500 students in 22 States contested in 1914 by orations on peace and arbitration.

They might win worthy fame and help to change the course of history by endowing the American School Peace League, which needs \$50,000 annually to reach the teachers and normal schools and enable them to teach history and patriotism from the twentieth-century point of view.

Syndicate articles written by experts should be sent to every newspaper. Economic facts about the cost of armed peace should be advertised everywhere. Why are not business men more practical? When millions can be had for naval displays, our people are criminally neglectful in spending so little to show the public the methods to attain peace with justice. Utilize the moving-picture shows.

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 came not to bring peace, but a sword," etc. Never permit "Boys' Brigades" in your church.

Read the history of arbitration, and consider the practical program for the organization of the world. Preach on peace problems until your congregation is adequately informed. Do not confound international peace, which is attainable in a generation, with universal peace, which requires the conversion of the lowest classes in all nations and requires an indefinite time. Always show your audience what are the next practical steps toward peace *and what they can do*. Apply to the Church Peace Union, 70 Fifth avenue, New York City, for information and literature.

After this mad conflict the chief concern of the church must be to interpret one nation's point of view to another and to remove bitterness.

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 sport and pleasure.

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 religiously teach them the significance of the European war, how it could have been avoided, and the only hope of preventing future wars. War news 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."

HISTORY.

PEACE CONGRESSES.

The first International Peace Congress was planned in Boston and held in London in 1843. Of its three hundred delegates, thirty 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 two thousand, 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 Paris, London, Rome, Berne, Chicago, Antwerp, Buda-Pesth, Hamburg, Paris, Glasgow, Monaco, Rouen, Boston, Lucerne, Milan, Munich, London, Stockholm, Geneva, and The Hague. Since the meeting in 1903, most 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 disputes causes many cases to be peaceably settled out of court.

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

National Peace Congresses in addition to the international have been held in England, Germany, France, and the United

States. The first National American Peace Congress was held in New York City from April 14-17, 1907, to arouse public sentiment regarding the points to be considered at the second Hague Conference. Secretary Root addressed it, and many thousands of persons attended it. The Second Congress was in Chicago in 1909. The Third National Peace Congress in 1911, at Baltimore, was opened by President Taft. The fourth was held in St. Louis in 1913, and the fifth will be in 1915.

Two National Arbitration Conferences have been held in this country, in Washington, in 1896 and 1904.

The annual Mohonk Arbitration Conferences since 1895, to which Mr. Albert K. Smiley annually invited hundreds of judges, college presidents, captains of industry, etc., have had great influence, and will continue by his provision.

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 upwards of six hundred international disputes settled by arbitration or by special commissions. The most notable fact is that no nation involved has repudiated its pledge and gone to war. Except the dozen or more cases which have been sent to the Hague Arbitration Tribunal, most of them were settled by special courts or commissions arranged for the occasion. Hereafter, the Arbitration Tribunal will probably settle many such cases even after the Court of Arbitral Justice agreed on in 1907 is finally opened. 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. Forty-six nations of the two hemispheres have now no excuse for war with each other. Since 1899, 175 arbitration treaties, some of them still unratified, have been signed between signatory powers.

The United States took the initiative in bringing about the establishment of a Central American Court of Arbitration, which has probably prevented two wars, and Mr. Carnegie gave \$100,000 to erect its court building.

Many questions involving honor, *e. g.*, the Alabama Claims, have been arbitrated. Ex-President Taft has rightly maintained that all questions of vital interest and honor can and ought to be peacefully settled.

THE NEW WORLD'S WORK FOR PEACE.

Following Edwin Ginn's gift in 1910 of \$1,000,000 for the World Peace Foundation, Mr. Carnegie gave \$10,000,000 for the

Carnegie Peace Endowment. His previous gifts of \$1,500,000 for the Peace Palace and International Library at The Hague with a gift of \$2,000,000 in 1914 for the Church Peace Union, added to those above mentioned, make a sum far exceeding all that had previously ever been given in the world for the peace cause. Nevertheless, the available income for the peace cause from all foundations and societies in the world amounts to less than the cost of one torpedo-boat destroyer.

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. Seventy years ago agitation for a World Court was so common here that Europeans called it "The American Way."

Bolivar, the Washington of South America, did much to promote peace by means of arbitration treaties. The constitution of Brazil decrees that no territory shall ever be taken by conquest.

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 of Argentina, led to an agreement to arbitrate their difficulties. The arbitration satisfied both countries. 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.

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 "Essay toward the Present and Future Peace of Europe."

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

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. DAVID L. DODGE, of New York, founded the first Peace Society.

6. WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING, the ablest and most strenuous supporter of peace that the American pulpit has produced.

7. 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.

8. ELIHU BURRITT. He secured cheap ocean postage. Half a century before the Czar's rescript he proposed a World Court.

9. The BARONESS VON SUTTNER, of Austria, whose story, "Lay Down Your Arms," together with her constant work for peace, won her the Nobel Prize in 1905.

STATESMEN AND JURISTS.

The Interparliamentary Union, composed of about three thousand 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. It was founded in 1889 by Wm. R. Cremer, M. P., afterwards knighted, 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 was founded in 1889 at Paris. It was at the request of the Interparliamentary Union, in 1904, that President Roosevelt called the second Hague Conference, which, owing to various hindrances, was delayed until assembled by the Czar in 1907. Next to the Hague Conferences, this great body of statesmen has been most influential in promoting progress toward peace. The group in the United States Congress has about two hundred and eighty members. Dr. Christian Lange, an able Norwegian statesman, is its permanent secretary.

The International Law Association was formed in 1873, and has a membership of over 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: Judge George Gray, Hon. Oscar S. Straus, Prof. John Bassett Moore, Senator Elihu Root.

TWO REMARKABLE BOOKS.

Jean de Bloch, eminent economist, financier, and Russian Imperial Councilor, who was born near Warsaw in 1836 and died in

1902, 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 today 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.

"Norman Angell," in his volume, "The Great Illusion," now translated into over twenty languages, gives a startling revelation of the economic fallacies of the day regarding the relation of armaments to the maintenance of trade and prosperity. He proves how, under modern conditions of business and banking, the victorious nation in war loses more than it can possibly gain; that navies do nothing to create trade; that since all nations have become interdependent, it is for its highest advantage to promote the prosperity and buying power of every nation with whom it trades. The senseless naval rivalry between Great Britain and Germany is shown in a new light and the war has not invalidated the principles of the book.

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.*

"War is a most detestable thing. If you had seen but one day of war, you would pray God that you might never see another."—*Duke of Wellington to Lord Shaftesbury.*

"Though educated a soldier, and though I have gone through two wars, I have always been a man of peace, preferring to see questions of difference settled by arbitration. It has been my misfortune to be engaged in more battles than any other American general, but there was never a time during my command when I would not have chosen some settlement by reason rather than the sword."—*U. S. Grant.*

"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.*

* Mr. Angell is one of the leaders in the "Union of Democratic Control," which since the war began is voicing the sanest sentiment of Great Britain as to plans for a permanent peace and the control of foreign policies by the people. This plan opposes the crushing of any nation as a result of the war and aims at international co-operation.

"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*.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED.

The Friendship of Nations (profusely illustrated, for young people, 275 pages), Lucile Gulliver. Ginn & Co.....	\$0.75
The Great Illusion (translated into over twenty languages; an important revelation of economic fallacies), Norman Angell. G. P. Putnam's Sons.....	\$1.00
Swords and Ploughshares, 18 illustrations (a general survey for the average person), Lucia Ames Mead. G. P. Putnam's Sons.....	\$0.85
The Two Hague Conferences (valuable for reference), Prof. Wm. I. Hull. World Peace Foundation.....	\$1.65
Addresses on War, Charles Sumner. World Peace Foundation.....	\$0.65
Moral Damage of War, 462 pages, Walter Walsh. World Peace Foundation	\$0.90
Blood of the Nation, paper cover (how war destroys virility), David Starr Jordan. World Peace Foundation.....	\$0.15

PAMPHLETS RECOMMENDED.

Published or Supplied by World Peace Foundation,
40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass.

Heroes of Peace.
Outlines of Lessons on War and Peace.
The War; How to teach it in the schools.
Club Women and the Peace Movement.
The Nemesis of America.
The Drain of Armaments.
Woman and War.
Washington, Jefferson, and Franklin on War.
The Mission of the United States in the Cause of Peace.

Supplied by the American Peace Society,
Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.

Pride of War (brilliant narrative). Gustav Jansen.....	\$1.30
The American Japanese Problem. Sidney L. Gulick.....	\$1.75
The Christ of the Andes, per hundred.....	\$1.00
Hymns for Peace Meetings.....	\$0.05
Women in the Peace Movement, per hundred.....	\$1.50
Wanted: Aggressive Pacifism, per hundred.....	\$1.00
The Two Hague Conferences and Their Results (5 cents each), per hundred	\$2.50

Supplied by the American Association for International Conciliation, 407 West 117th Street, New York City:

Three Men Behind the Guns, Chas. E. Jefferson (September, 1914).

The War and the Way Out, G. Lowes Dickinson (December, 1914).

Send for full lists of publications of these three organizations.

Sample copy free on application.

"Japan's Message to America and America's Reply," Rev. C. F. Aked, L.L. D., Published by Japan Society of America, Orient Building, 332 Pine Street, San Francisco, Cal.

The Japanese Problem and A New Immigration Policy, Sidney L. Gulick. Bulletins No. 9 and 10, February, 1914. Federal Council of Churches, 105 E. 22d St., New York City.

