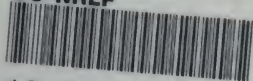
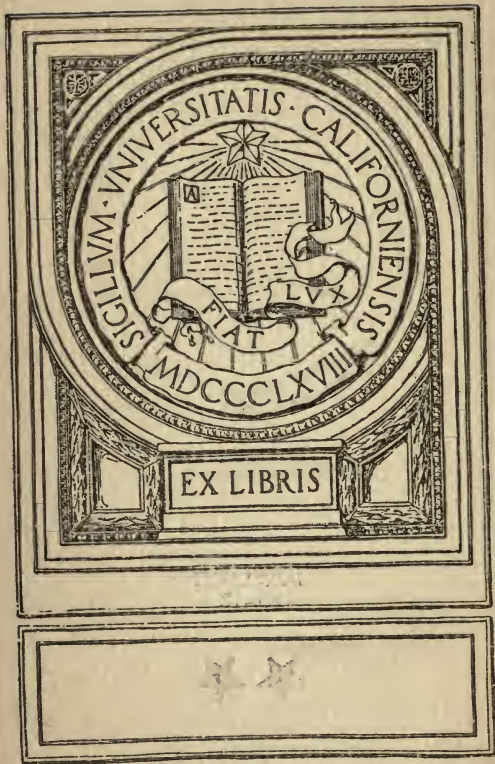


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INTERNATIONAL GOOD-WILL AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR ARMIES AND NAVIES

BY
REV. WILLIAM C. GANNETT



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INTERNATIONAL GOOD-WILL AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR ARMIES AND NAVIES.

BY WILLIAM C. GANNETT.*

Lovers of peace in these days have much to be thankful for, but they have little reason for believing that their hopes are close to fulfilment. While the situation to-day is tragic, the mere paradox of it is interesting. The ex-President, whose jest about the Spanish War was that "there was not enough of it to go round," and whose permanent sermon, ringing over the land, has had for its text, "In time of peace prepare for war," and whose principles, could they be embodied in bronze, would set up in the Capital a statue of *Jesus armed to the teeth*, and still called "the Prince of Peace and Good-will,"—this ex-President is the same of whom it was truly said that "he sheathed the swords of a million men" by the treaty he brought about on the island in Portsmouth Harbor, and who won the Nobel peace-prize for his feat, and who, if I remember aright, devoted his prize, the \$40,000, to plans for the conciliation of Labor and Capital. Roosevelt represents, within the bounds of his own personality and action, the peace-and-war paradox of the time in which we are living.

Write that paradox large, and it becomes terrific in terms like these:—

The years in which we are living are bristling and exploding with war-tension. Though the movement for peace found its Year of the Lord and began a new era with the First Conference of the Hague in 1899, we have to remember with shame that America came to that Conference, her hands red with the blood of a little Philippine people who were resisting our war of conquest; only one month between,—not long enough to wash them

* Address before the National Unitarian Conference, Washington, D.C., October 24, 1911.

clean. Our Beautiful One came to that Conference a Lady Macbeth! "Here's the smell of the blood still: all the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten this little hand. Who would have thought the small people to have had so much blood in them?" We have to remember that England went home from that Conference—not three months between—to plunge into her South African war with another small people. And that before the Second Hague Conference met, Russia, she who summoned the nations to these Councils of Peace, had reeled under crushing disaster in another war motived by conquest; and that her victor, Japan, was absorbing soft Korea as an amœba its prey. We have to recall that, as the Second Conference gathered in 1907, France was busy securing "influence," as the first step is called, in Morocco; and that, in the quick years since then, Austria has seized the two little provinces, France and Germany have been growling over their bone in Morocco, and now Italy has startled all Europe to its feet in alarm, and braved the title "Brigand," if she have not out-Turked the Turks, by her dealings in Tripoli.

Never, too, never in human history has the burden of simply keeping the peace between non-fighting nations been so heavy and grievous as during these same dozen years,—“the whole [civilized!] creation groaning and travailing in pain together until now.” Peace itself has become a tragedy. The frenzied race between England and Germany in the building of battleships has been on until both nations are panting with financial exhaustion,—and no stop in sight. Neighbor nations, catching the infection, have ordered their battleships. Nations over the sea catch it,—Argentina, Chili, Brazil. Even we, triply safe in our distance, our strength, and in the world's favor, have caught the madness and entered the race. Thirteen years ago, through the nineties till 1898, our army was averaging a cost of fifty millions a year: now the fifty are doubled. Thirteen years ago our navy was costing an average of thirty millions a year: now it costs more than quadruple that. What has happened to make the difference? Nothing has happened but that little war of which “there wasn't enough to go round,” but

of which there was plenty to print the word "Imperialism" over the word "Democracy" on our banners, and plenty to expose us as never before both to national temptation and to national peril. Absolutely nothing has happened but that, to make a difference; that accounts for it all. No one has attacked us, no one has insulted us. Thirteen years of profound peace between us and the rest of the world; thirteen years of better liking by the nations than perhaps ever yet in our history; thirteen years of wonderful growth; yet, pricked by new fears, we, too, have shared in the panic and caught the frenzy of battleship building. To that doubled and quadrupled budget for army and navy add the hundred and fifty millions for pensions, and it ranges about 70 per cent. of our national revenue to-day going to pay for war,—the consequences of past war and precautions against improbable new ones. 70 per cent. of the national income for war,—and not an enemy in the world! It is as if a man, well liked of his neighbors, were earning \$1,000 a year, and spending \$700 of it regularly to pay "for old, unhappy, far-off things," and quarrels long ago, and to keep himself safe should new quarrels arise,—\$700 for this, and \$300 for shelter and food and clothing and education and pleasure and the children. Our huge national debt of \$1,300,000,000 or so,—and it is not half what it was on the day when Grant said, "Let us have peace!"—is *wholly* a creation of war. It is the remainder debt of the Mexican, the Civil, the Spanish American Wars, the three together lasting less than eight years of our national life.

This is one side of the paradox in which we are living to-day, with illustration from home life.

Nevertheless—and this is the other side—nevertheless, our claim is that the twentieth century is destined to organize nations in relations of peace and good-will. In the sense in which, speaking broadly, the fifteenth, the sixteenth, the seventeenth, the eighteenth, the nineteenth centuries were each the exponent of one or two dominant ideas and achievements in social advance, this

twentieth century of ours is likely—is sure, as some of us think—to become the century of *world-organization* far and away beyond all previous centuries. Never before such keen perception of war's human and economic *wastes* as to-day! Never such realization of its varied *insanities*, and of the impossibility of maintaining peace as we have been trying to maintain it by heavier and heavier armaments! Never such trenchant exposure of traditional "*illusions*" that underlie war,—illusions of "honor" therein, illusions of "profit" thereby! Never before such powerful forces combining in commerce, in industry, in science, all working unconsciously for peace, as to-day. The vast ramifications of the credit system during this last generation, the credit system on which all commerce is now based, are almost enough by themselves to arrest war to-day. The change from visible bullion to invisible credit as the basis of trade means such complex, intricate, sensitive, ethicalized, spiritualized inter-relations of nation with nation, that to-day a war-shock in any corner of Europe shows itself in radiations felt throughout the exchanges and markets of two continents. That is "civilization,"—to feel the brother's ache in our own side, whether we will or no. It is "Christian" civilization when we *want* to feel it there, and govern our actions accordingly. But this change in the basis of trade makes the whole economics of war very different from those economics a hundred, or fifty, or even thirty years ago; and the colonels and jingoes of the land, and half of the editors, haven't yet found this out. (Read Norman Angell's "The Great Illusion," to know what I mean.) The bankers to-day can lay hand on the shoulders of emperors, and say, "Hold!" It is whispered that they did lay hand on Emperor William's shoulder only a month ago,—and the Moroccan situation suddenly cleared. Four new phases of civilization—these widening ramifications of credit and capital, the bankrupting of nations by the enormous costs of the modern armed peace, the perfecting of agents of ordinary destruction into agents of annihilation, and the apparition of the air-ship, suggesting changes in warfare as momentous as those which the invention of gun-powder wrought five hundred years

ago—are contemporaneous phenomena of our own generation; and they all make strongly for peace.

Such agencies, perhaps the mightiest of all, are the *unconscious* promoters of peace. Count also the *sub-conscious* agencies,—the rise of woman, the rise of trades-unions, the rise of socialism, the widening and deepening democracy. Suffragette or not, member of unions or not, socialist or not, democrat or not, we may greet all of these movements as re-inforcements in the war against war.

Time fails to count the *conscious* agents working for peace,—the associations of noble men and women who are planning, persuading, resolving, enacting together in this behalf to-day. You must ask Edwin Mead of Boston or his wife, our General Peace Secretaries, for the list; or read Mr. Mead's address on "International Organization" before the Congress of Races in London last summer. Take such facts as these. There are about three hundred associations to-day discussing and studying the principles of international law. The Inter-parliamentary Union—and that means the combined brains of the statesmen of the civilized nations—has twenty-five hundred members. And there are the great recurrent Peace Congresses, both national and international, and the veteran Peace Societies that have grown gray in their noble service. And there are the Smileys, two of them still with us, and their Mohonk Conferences; and Edwin Ginn's "World Peace Foundation"; and, here in Washington, Carnegie's ten million Endowment for the advancement of peace, whose programme is even now in the printer's hands, and whose work is to be the scientific study of the five C's,—the causes, conditions, costs, consequences, and cures of war. Ten millions for that,—isn't it splendid? Yet it isn't the cost of one battleship! And there, above all, are the Hague Conferences, with all that has come and is to come out of them in the way of national treaties and arbitrations and the judicial and legal organization of peace.

This is the other side of the paradox in which we are living to-day.

And what is the result of it all? A conviction, spreading wider and wider, that war to-day is an anachronism,—not a glory, not an inevitability, not a profit, and not merely a waste and a horror, but an anachronism, a superstition, an illusion; if Moltke is to be trusted,—and he said it when Germany had won the two provinces, and was writhing in the pain of digesting the billion of dollars indemnity bitten from France,—an experience that even to the victor “costs more than it brings”; a disgrace to person or paper or party or people that hurrahs for it; and in almost all cases a national crime on the part of the nation beginning it. The indictment can hardly be drawn too severely against war to-day. Conceding the naturalness of war under savage and barbarian conditions, and the good that it may have done in the past by caking the nations together, by broadcasting seeds of civilization (Alexander Grecizing the East, Rome giving laws to the West), in withstanding oppression, in developing the virtues of courage and loyalty and self-sacrifice and co-operation,—conceding all this, as we must,—and thank God that we can trace good coming out of an infinite woe!—the new conviction is that *now* war as a method of reaching these good ends is becoming an anachronism, and that the soldier *as soldier* is becoming a rudimentary organ in the body politic, hardly honorable any longer as member; pitiful, rather, and even a danger,—like an appendix. These vast buildings here of the War, the Navy, the Pension Departments, represent the *has-been*, not the *to-be*, of human development. It is the other departments and buildings that are prophetic, creative. We shall not forget the men who have died for us in battles; but who can believe that at the end of the century, as now at its beginning, five of each seven of the statues in Washington will be those of men who have dared or died for us *thus*? A great and good soldier, one of our own, said frankly, “War is hell”; and we read on his monument in yonder park the words, “War’s legitimate object is more perfect peace.” The line would be nobler had he said, “War’s *only* legitimate object is more perfect peace.” But even that would be saying that hell’s

only legitimate object is more perfect heaven,—which is so; and, as Sherman probably knew, hell is a temporary, not an eternal, affair.

It is all a question of evolution and the time of day. It is growing late to take the hell way to heaven. *To-day is to-day, and we are living in to-day. War was yesterday's way.* There's a new preposition creeping into the language, or rather, an old preposition creating new prefixes,—the preposition "inter." It is coming into the language because its significance is coming into consciousness as never before,—intercourse, intercommunication, interdependence, interstate, international, interracial even. These words and conceptions are growing familiar, and together they mean,—World-peace is coming! Apart from religion, patriotism has been deemed the noblest virtue to which appeal can be made in the case of the average man. Again and again it has lifted him high out of self. But also again and again and again it has acted to drag men down from a still higher loyalty. Let patriotism call, and the best manhood in each of two facing nations has felt it "duty" to do many things which it would lay down life *rather* than do, apart from that call. We are passing out of that stage. To-day the best manhood is beginning to understand that patriotism, to be *true* patriotism, has to be—may we not call it?—*inter-patriotism*; that to say, where other countries are involved, "My country, right or wrong," is to say, "My country, whether God will or no"; and that the God who taketh up the isles as a very little thing and counteth the nations as the small dust of the balance provides that such patriotism sooner or later brings sorrow and shame to the country beloved. Patriotism to-day demands the new prefix. All the good things and great are showing themselves inter-patriot. Science, industry, commerce, economics, literature, are all internationals. Of course ethics is, always has been, and must be. It follows that politics must be, for politics is only ethics applied in the making of history; and when politics learns this, war—war will become the patter of rain-drops after the departing storm.

The organization of the world in relations of peace and good-will! It is no longer a dream, it is a beginning. More than in any other specific direction, I said, we are looking toward the Hague to discern that beginning. Anything seen there at present is, and can be, no more than beginning. But, looking from the Hague Conferences onward, we think we can see clearly five steps in the coming organization:—

First. The International Court of Arbitral Justice, already existing in embryo, and even in that condition with six international quarrels settled by it; but not such a court as now, summoned with difficulty and only at pleasure of disputants,—not that, but one in permanent session, with regular procedure, and regular judges, and easy of access. The nations, meanwhile, are making treaties of pledge with each other to refer to its final adjudication their questions of difference,—even those involving “honor and vital interests,” if President Taft has his way. All blessing upon him! Between the two Conferences already held thirty-three separate treaties of “obligatory” arbitration for certain classes of dispute were registered, and two of these made by Denmark, one with the Netherlands, one with Italy, stipulated arbitration for *all* differences without exception. Little Denmark was six years ahead of our big President. By the end of 1909 the number of arbitral agreements had grown to two hundred and eighty-eight. (I quote Ambassador Hill, who was part of the events he describes in his new book called “World Organization and the Modern State.”)

Second. An International Congress, like the present Interparliamentary Union, but official, with regular sessions, and with members delegated by the nations to represent them; its work to be the discussion and shaping and recommendation of measures that make for the common weal of the world.

Third. A Code of International Laws, gradually evolved from the decisions of the International Court and the recommendations of the International Congress. Mr. Hill reminds us that “the price of a single battle-ship has never yet been expended by *all the nations of*

the earth combined for the judicial organization of peace." Folly? Yes; and what in such matter was folly yesterday and insanity to-day is to-morrow criminality. If ten Powers—England, France, Germany, Russia, Austria, Italy, the United States, the South American Republics as a group, China, Japan—were to contribute each *one-tenth* of a battleship's cost to endow at The Hague the Arbitral Court of the Nations and a Commission on the Codification of World Law, that one-tenth apiece would save whole fleets of battleships on the seas, and promote more happiness on the earth than probably any other million which any of those nations ever has spent, or could spend to-day.

Fourth. The Establishment of an International Police, —an international army and navy, with constituents furnished by nations in league for the purpose; at first by a few, and then by more; at first having very limited and then with widening functions, all under treaty arrangements. A police system is needed by the world, and, until something international of the kind is created, it is hard to see how, with the nations under present conditions of distrust, disarmament on any large scale can be effected. It may not be so far off as we think, the day for this international police in place of the separate armies and navies with their ruinous cost. Even Sir Edward Grey, in responding to President Taft's proposal, ventured to predict it. One or two hundred policemen, with three or four courts and a jail, are enough to represent all the force-element necessary to maintain justice in huge communities of hundreds of thousands of citizens. Peace rules between them, order is kept, the rogues are awed, the criminals are held at bay, and measures for the common good are carried out, because the public opinion of the whole community is back of the tiny blue-coat army that wears the buttons and carries the night-stick of authority. A small army, a small navy, with the united strength of the great Powers behind them, would insure national protection and the world's peace more effectively, and with incomparably less cost to humanity, than the rival armies and navies

that now strut and sidle and growl and dare each other to cross the boundary lines.

Fifth. An International Protectorate; that is, the employment of the joint public opinion of the nations thus organized, and, when necessary, employment of the International Police, as a Protectorate against national crimes. Under such a Protectorate we may look for a great extension of three international methods of maintaining peace in the world,—Mediation, Intervention, and the Neutralization of nations and territories.

Call this a dream, if you will. The soldiers will. Half the diplomatists will. Politicians will, unless they are statesmen. Many, not all, of the business men will. *Most* of us will. But some of us will add, "A dream that is even now beginning to come true, and which the twentieth century will carry far towards fulfilment." The years will decide.

Meanwhile, under all such organization lies the spirit which alone makes it possible: the growing spirit of justice and good-will in the world, and the growing faith in moral law as really controlling progress and destiny. *Spirit* and *faith*, I say. These are terms of personality. In this age of growing "social consciousness," can we not realize that the State is a "person," a communal person? It has a kind of unitary self-consciousness. It has mind. It has temperament. It has sentiments. It has conscience. It has will. It has character. It is a joke, but not a mere joke, to say "Uncle Sam" and "John Bull." The very phrase, "a nation's honor," is an assertion of moral personality; and, if honor is a quality to be defended and maintained against others, it is a quality to be exercised towards others. Of course, a State has body and hands, and can act. It grows, like a person,—is a child, an adolescent, mature, sometimes senile. The trouble with most States is that the period of childhood and egoism and impetuosity lingers; adolescence has not brought them to self-control and to altruism. And the State lives as a communal person among other communal persons, sister nations, in relation to whom it has rights, in relation to whom it has obligations

and duties. It feels good-will and ill-will. It can indulge in suspicion, resentment, passion, injustice towards them, and it can train itself in feeling and self-control to acts of trust and good-will and generosity and love. It can learn to recognize the essential unity of itself and its fellows as *man-kinned*, and the solidarity of their interests, and the supremacy of a Law of Justice and Good-will binding on all, and which, when obeyed, binds all together in higher and higher conditions of civilization and happiness.

It is time to apply this conception of the State as a "person" to all inter-relations of the nations with each other. Peace and war are fundamentally questions of spirit. Secretary Root was right when he said, as he laid the corner-stone of the building for the International Union of American Republics: "There are no international controversies so serious that they cannot be settled peaceably, if both parties really desire peaceable settlement; while there are few causes of dispute so trifling that they cannot be made the occasion of war, if either party really desires war. The matters in dispute between nations are nothing: the spirit which deals with them is everything." The relations that have lasted a century between England and America prove the secretary right. A hundred years of peace, and most of them years of growing friendship! 1915 brings the centenary of that friendship, as also it does of the American Peace Societies. Yet, as ex-Secretary Foster points out, in that hundred years there have been eight differences with England, each of which might have easily brought on war, had the "spirit" of war been present deciding the issues. Just before the hundred years began there was a difference that did bring a war,—that of 1812,—in consequence of our own precipitate action. Though not without long provocation, that war, when it came, was a war of boyishness and ignorance of conditions; much as our last—the Spanish-American—was. Two days before the first was declared, the English Orders in Council, which, by authorizing capture of neutral American ships, had been the main cause of trouble, had been repealed,—and we did not know it. A telegram,

could one then have been sent, would have probably saved the War of 1812! A very little more patience might have saved the War of 1898! "The matters in dispute are nothing. The spirit which deals with them, everything."

If with England, why not with other nations such friendship? Why not with all? Why should there not be a nation known, the world round, for good-will as well as for justice,—known as a "lovable" nation? Why should there not be many such? Herbert Spencer observes in his grave and sensible way: "All conduct themselves with more than usual amiability to a person who hourly discloses a lovable nature. Such a one is practically surrounded by a world of better people than one who is less attractive." Might that not be true of a nation? and wouldn't it be? "All nations conduct themselves with more than usual amiability to a nation who yearly discloses a lovable nature. Such a one is practically surrounded by a world of better people than one who is less attractive." Why should not the United States become a lovable nation *by* loving? And find stronger walls of protection in the good-will that the peoples bear to it, because it bears good-will to them,—stronger walls in this than any it can find in its armies and navies? The perfect conquest of a foe is to convert him into a friend. That adds his strength to ours and our strength to his as protection to both. Something like this is already true of our country, I think. Whatever our faults, the peoples do trust us, do expect the right and generous thing of us, more than of most.

But higher acts of faith in the right, and of loyalty to it, than any we yet have dared it will take before we can stand in the world a thoroughly lovable or even trustable nation. We need a spirit of justice that will arbitrate all, really *all* sources of difference,—not excepting the question of the Panama Canal strip, while Colombia questions our "right" to it, President Roosevelt! Not excepting the Monroe Doctrine, because it is nearly a hundred years old, if the peoples, especially those of

the two other Americas, dispute our "right" in that doctrine, President Taft! Not until people and presidents are ready to submit *such* questions to arbitration is our President's suggestion as nobly complete as it should be. We need a spirit of honor that always, without debate or demur, as of instinct, will follow the lofty course of Roosevelt in returning the surplus indemnity to China,—an act which did more to strengthen us in the Pacific, and more for the peace of the future, than all the battleships built or projected in his two terms. *There* acted the honest, chivalric, far-seeing statesman! We need the sympathy that sweeps on the instant to rescue, whenever a community staggers under a blow of Nature,—as we did for Messina but lately; as the world did for us when Chicago went up in flames, and when San Francisco toppled in ruins. And against the old doctrine that "Might makes Right" between nations, we need the faith that, at last, Right is making for Might in the world, and that good-will and trust are better protectors to-day than armies recruited by fear and distrust.

In this spirit of trust we, the United States, should be willing seriously to consider neutralizing the Philippine Islands and the Panama Canal. Had we faith and daring for *that*, it might set the world's peace movement forward by one hundred years! It would be the equivalent, on our part, of England's, Germany's, Russia's partial disarmament. Courage, indeed, it would take, with somewhat of repentance, and much of self-mastery, and total abandonment of the conqueror's claim that we own those Islands and Islanders, to place the Philippines by neutralization under a joint protectorate of the strong World Powers. Danger therein? Yes; and is our present occupancy there devoid of it? Are not those distant islands our weakest point, the most inviting to attack, the hardest to defend, the most costly to hold? And what radiations of good would come of the deed! It would confirm to us the good-will of the nations, their trust in America, and so turn the Islands from a peril into a security for us. It would key up our national conscience, and strengthen us for leadership in other movements making

for righteousness and peace among men. It would insure greater safety to all other little peoples on earth against oppression by the strong; for the act would raise the standard everywhere of international justice.

And the Panama Canal. Protection it must have,— would not the joined hands of the nations that are to enjoy its benefits give it? Courage, again, it would take to-day, for such trust as that in moral forces; and higher reaches of statemanship than are often attained might be needed to accomplish the neutralization successfully. Yet, planned wisely, the whole world looking on, while the great Powers pledged their honor to the sacred task, that act of trust and generosity would probably protect our canal more effectively in the years to come, and with far less of danger, anxiety and cost, than any attempt by its builders to Americanize it and maintain their rights by force against hostile comers. Why? Because in the long years the world's good-will is stronger protection than armies and navies. And, again, what results in world-welfare might follow a Convention representing the nations, summoned by the United States to counsel together that the wedding of the Atlantic and the Pacific should mean Jubilee to all the earth!

To be a nation beloved, with justice, honor, sympathy, trust, even as great as I picture them here, is a consummation nearing possibility to-day. Who should dare the difficult paths of nobler international ethics, if not we? By our protected position on the young continent, by our freedom from traditions of history that keep Europe in bondage, by our unique discipline and long-tested experience as a Union of States, it is laid upon us, yea, upon *us*, to lead the world to its twentieth-century task.

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

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