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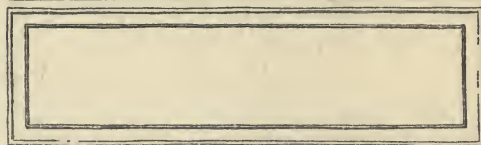
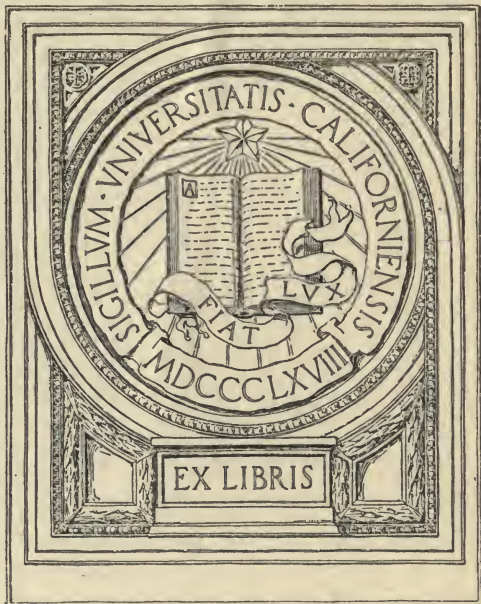
INTERNATIONALISM

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WILBUR F. CRAFTS, Ph.D.

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ROOSEVELT

GLADSTONE

WILLIAM II.

NAPOLEON

SALISBURY

BISMARCK

TALLEYRAND

METTERNICH

CAVOUR

ITO

GORTCHAKOFF

YUAN SHI KAI

LEADERS OF WORLD POLITICS

A Primer of The Science
of
INTERNATIONALISM

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
TO UNIVERSITY DEBATES

By

WILBUR F. CRAFTS, PH. D.

*Superintendent of the International Reform Bureau
Author of "Successful Men of To-day," etc.*



INTERNATIONAL REFORM BUREAU
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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PUBLISHER'S PREFACE

For those who need an introduction to the author of this book we subjoin the following brief sketch of his life and work from the British "Who's Who":

CRAFTS, WILBUR FISK, minister, author, editor, lecturer, reformer, *b.* Fryburg, Me., 12 Jan. 1850; *s.* of Rev. Frederick A. Crafts, a Methodist preacher of Puritan stock; *m.*, 1874, Sara J. Timanus, Sunday-school writer and speaker; graduated at Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., 1869, B. A.; 1871, A. M.; also from Boston University School of Theology, 1871, B. D. (Ph. D., Marietta College, 1896); 1867-89, was pastor of churches in Stoneham, Haverhill, New Bedford, all Mass.; Dover, N. H.; Chicago, Brooklyn, and New York. Since 1871 has been active in Sunday-school work and has participated (usually with his wife) in twenty-nine Sunday-school assemblies known as Chautauquas, and in countless conventions; founded the American Sabbath Union, 1889; lectured in all parts of the United States as its Field Secretary, 1889-90; founded the Reform Bureau, since named the International Reform Bureau, 1895; chief editor of the *Christian Statesman*, 1901-3; *Twentieth Century Quarterly* since 1896. Author of 33 books: *Through the Eye to the Heart*, 1873; *Wagons for Eye Gate*, *Trophies of Song*, 1874; *Childhood*, *The Text-Book of the Age*, 1875; *The Ideal Sunday-School*, 1876; *Fireside Talks on Genesis*, *Song Victories*, 1877; *The Bible and the Sunday-School*, *The Two Chains*, 1878; *The Coming Man Is the Present Child*, *Illustrations of the International Sunday-School Lessons*, *Symbols and System in Bible Reading*, *Normal Outlines*, 1879; *Rescue of Child-Soul*, 1880; *Normal Half-Hours*, *Plain Uses of the Blackboard*, 1881; *Talks to Boys and Girls About Jesus*, *Teachers' Edition of the Revised Testament*, *Successful Men of To-Day*, 1883; *Must the Old Testament Go? Talks and Stories of Heroes and Holidays*, *The Sabbath for Man*, *Rhetoric Made Racy*, 1884; *The Temperance Century*, 1885; *Reading the Bible with Relish*, 1887; *The Civil Sabbath*, 1890; *Practical Christian Sociology*, 1895; *Social Progress*, 1896; *Before the Lost Arts*, *Protection of Native Races Against Intoxicants and Opium*, 1900; *The March of Christ Down the Centuries*, 1902. *Address*: 206 Pennsylvania Avenue, S. E., Washington, D. C.

As to his preparation to speak on Internationalism, it may be mentioned that since 1895 he has been the chief executive officer of the International Reform Bureau, and as such has had correspondence and extended interviews in Washington and in foreign travel with ambassadors of many European nations, and with such statesmen of Asia as Marquis Ito, Count Okuma, Viscount Hayashi, Viceroy Yuan Shih kai, Sir Chentung Liang cheng, H. E. Tang Shao yi, and other Foreign Secretaries of China. He is himself a sort of unofficial diplomat-at-large, seeking not the advantage of one nation but of all, through the promotion of those moral and social reforms which history proclaims are the real questions of life or death to nations.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

A speech on "World Politics as Related to Morals and Markets," which was well received at a reception breakfast in Westminster Palace Hotel by ten members of the Imperial Parliament and ten representative officers of missionary and reform societies to whom it was first delivered, and has been so received since by numerous British, Japanese, Chinese and American audiences, is herein expanded into a "Primer of the Science of Internationalism, with Special Reference to University Debates." It is the first effort, so far as the author knows, toward formulating in a science all the official relations of nations to each other. It is hoped the little book may lead university men everywhere to increased study of international philanthropy and social ethics as matters of which no educated man has a right to be uninformed.

The author is planning for the translation of the little book into seven languages that will bring it within reach of about all the student body of the world: 1. French, with English on parallel pages; 2. German; 3. Spanish; 4. Arabic; 5. Urdu; 6. High Wenli; 7. Esperanto.

Typewritten copies of the book have been submitted to literary leaders in eastern and western Asia, who favor its publication and circulation in the native tongues if the cost can be provided for. It has also been abridged into an address that has been delivered at various colleges whose faculty and students have asked its publication as a text-book and an arsenal for debates.

This first edition is printed—not published—in order to send it, before final publication, for opinions and suggestions, to a few who are qualified to speak on this subject. The author will be glad to know at what points, within the modest range of a primer, it can be modified to advantage.

WILBUR F. CRAFTS.

206 Pennsylvania Ave., S. E., Washington, D. C.

AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION

Speaking to shipmates of several nations in an entertainment on an Atlantic liner, in October, 1906, I remarked that international travel and international commerce—and I might add, international reading—are developing an increasing group of international men, whose hearts, like the ocean, reach out helpfully to all shores. The title of “International Man” was presumably first given to Richard Cobden, because he advocated legislation that he conceived to be, not in the interest of one nation only, but of all. It has been suggested that such a person is more strictly “a uninational man.” Patriotism has been nobly defined as love for man manifesting itself most strongly to those who are nearest. Does any educated Hindu regret that Buddha was too great for India to keep to herself? Is it not the supreme honor of Confucius that he is the teacher of Korea and Japan as well as of his own vast people? Does any Mohammedan wish that his prophet had confined his message of monotheism and abstinence to his own race? Is there a Greek that does not “rejoice” chiefly that the artists and philosophers of his country were great enough to teach the world? Did Mazzini, who charged workmen to put duties before rights, belong alone to Italy? And Washington is the more “first in the hearts of his countrymen” because the work he wrought for liberty is increasingly recognized as done for all mankind.

QUESTIONS FOR DEBATE.

Is a broad sociality essential to the noblest individuality?

Is the watchword, “My country, right or wrong,” justifiable?

Is foreign travel, on the whole, a benefit?

Has Japan achieved a civilization equal to that of Europe, and without material aid from Christianity?

What significance there is for individual development in the open-mindedness of Japan, whose leaders inaugurated their new era, as Count Okuma has said, by accepting the suggestions of an American missionary, Dr. Verbeck, that they should send out a Commission to search all nations for whatever was better than Japan already possessed, that it might be adapted and adopted. Thus in fifty years Japan harvested much of the fruitage of nineteen Christian centuries. Holding the best of the Orient, Japan added the best of the Occident. So should every student traverse all centuries and all countries to gather for himself and his people the best of past and present, of East and West. What else does "University" mean?

Do material sciences have more than a fair share of attention?

Was not the material universe too large a part of the University's field in the nineteenth century? This was due to the interest aroused by new discoveries in geology, and the reaction from too much metaphysics in previous centuries? Here the Orient, with its instinct for meditation, has a message we may well bring back to a civilization too much absorbed in seeing. Surely the highest sciences are not those of the mineral, vegetable, animal kingdoms, but those of the kingdom of mind and spirit, to which man and God belong. The highest branch of this highest science, is the science of God and of man's relations to God. But next to that is the highest branch of the science of man, which deals with man in his widest relation, the hitherto unclassified science of *internationalism*. This science, save the erudite fraction of it called international law, is not yet in our universities, but should be, and perhaps the debating societies may afford the best introduction.

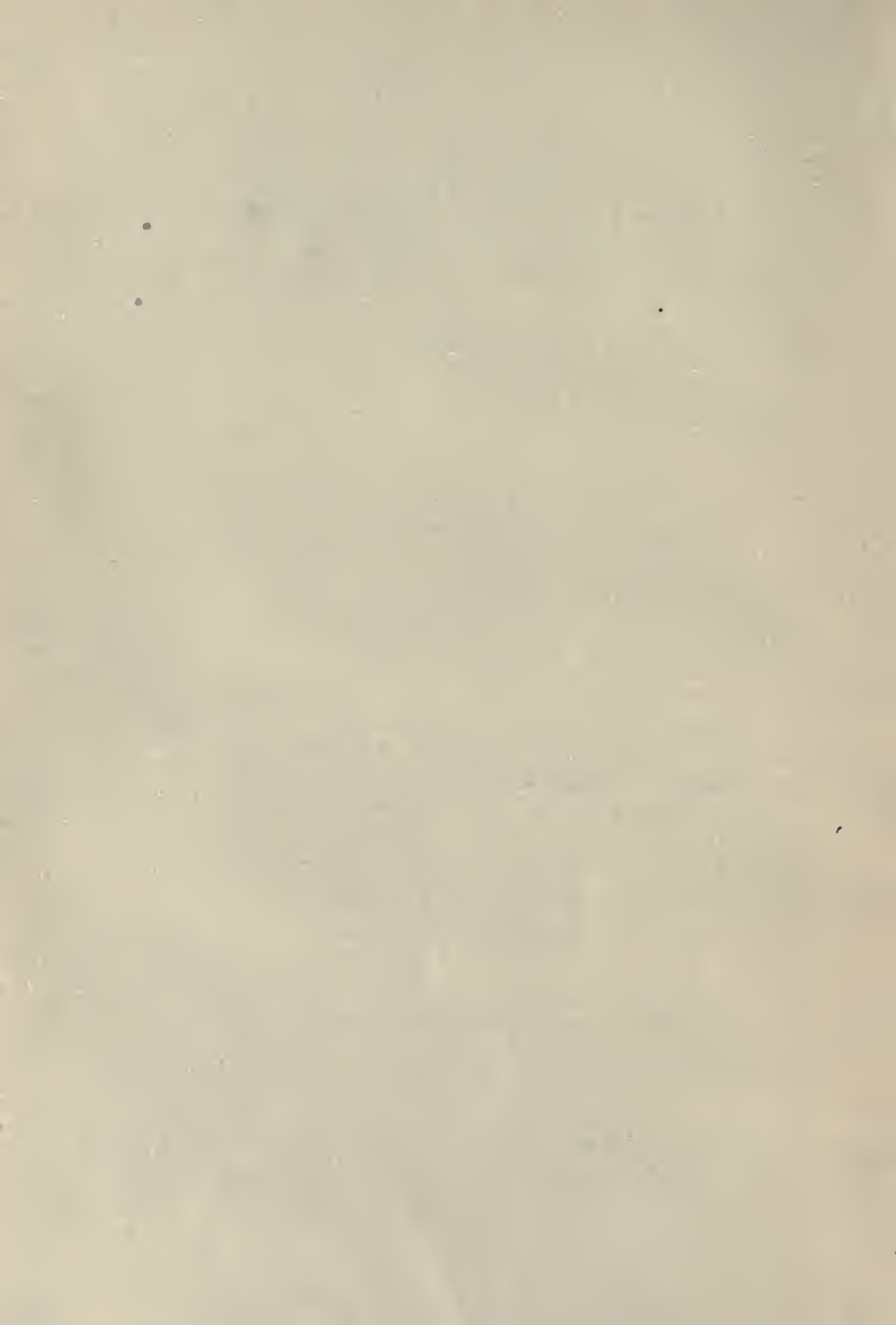
Can there be a real science of Theology?

Is man properly classified as belonging to the animal kingdom?

The writer in this book aims only to blaze a path into the new science where others may make a highway. Internationalism is fitted to be in the twentieth century of largest interest because of greatest novelty and of largest human importance.

WILBUR F. CRAFTS.

Washington, D. C., Jan. 12, 1908.



1.—THE "CONCERT OF EUROPE" IN WAR

The first "Concert of Europe" was the clash of arms known as the "Crusades"—the most unselfish wars in history. It would be interesting for a company of students to hunt in the wilds of history, where nations, strangely proud to call themselves by the names of birds and beasts of prey, have so often stained themselves in each others' blood, for any international war before or since the Crusades that was not, on the part of the aggressor, a mere enlargement of the story of Ahab killing Naboth to annex his vineyard for his own glory and enrichment. The way to give war its true character is to individualize it. Both killing and stealing have often hidden their true character by dazzling multiplication on a large scale. More territory, more markets, personal glory, revenge—these four notes make up the world's martial music, with but one exception since the Crusades.*

The Crusades did not originate with some king ambitious to increase his dominions or his fame as a warrior or his country's glory, but in a hermit-

* In the American war with Spain, in 1908, the dominant motive unquestionably was the desire of a great nation to deliver a weak people from intolerable oppression. When the oppressor was displaced from Cuba and the conqueror refused to take the vacated mastery, the world was compelled to believe in the unselfish motive it had till then refused to credit as something unprecedented in history.

QUESTIONS FOR DEBATE.

Can there be such a thing as a "holy war?"

Were the wars of the Crusades unselfish or beneficial and, for these and other reasons, justifiable?

Are civilized nations suitably symbolized by birds and beasts of prey?

Is the instigator of a war whose real aim is fame or conquest a murderer?

Was the war of the United States with Spain brought on by unselfish motives, and was it for that or other reasons justifiable?

Was the Thirty Years' War of the Reformation period equally with the Crusades maintained and concluded chiefly by religious motives?

Is it possible to find some motive that will appeal to men as strongly as war, which instead of destroying men will destroy the evils that destroy them?

Is sincerity a savior?

Was Richard Cœur-de-Lion more chivalric than his opponent Saladin?

Was the influence of Napoleon in Europe, on the whole, beneficial?

Did the French Revolution delay the evolution of popular Government?

priest solicitous for the recovery of the tomb of Christ from the control of the Moslem. He called the religious sentiment of Europe to battle, shouting, "God wills it." In claiming that the dominant motive of the Crusades was unselfish we do not justify war, not even those exceptional wars. Sincerity is often misdirected. Can anyone conceive of the living Christ leading thousands to premature graves to rescue his own vacant tomb?

Without justifying the Crusades we may claim that beneficial results followed through the Providence that overrules the "wrath" and even the folly of men. British and French and Germans, who had previously met each other face to face in battle, fought side by side as comrades, and so learned to understand and respect each other. And they all discovered that "the Infidel," as they called the Moslem from afar, thinking of him as some strange ghoul, "neither brute nor human," believed half of the Christian creed, and was capable of knightly deeds. Europe even in war learned to co-operate and was led along the battle path to a renewal of intercourse with Asia, that helped both commerce and culture.

Another "Concert of Europe," which originated this term was that of "the Allies" against Napoleon, who fell when he had driven Austria, Russia and Germany into coalition with Britain against him. So long as the "Concert" was less than a quartette his brilliant generalship triumphed. It is remarkable how long he kept one or more of these Powers on his side by the promise of some share in his spoils.

This Concert of "Great Powers" was continued, in a measure, for the repression of European revolutionary movements, that were begotten, and blighted also, by the French Revolution. Conservative re-

formers withdrew from the widespread "Revolution," especially in Great Britain, lest a "reign of terror" should displace the reign of tyranny. The crimes perpetrated in France in the name of "liberty"—a word still abused there and elsewhere—became the effective excuse for kings to resist all those struggles for popular government that stirred Christendom for half a century after the American people rang the Liberty Bell of world-wide awakening. Kings could not have checked the movement if the first revolutionists in Europe had been led by such God-fearing Puritans as steadied the initial revolution in America. But France had slain and exiled its Puritans, the Huguenots, and had few left for leaders save Godless Cavaliers. By driving the Revolution too fast in France they slowed it up everywhere else. The monarchs of Russia, Prussia, and Austria with whom the British Government had agreed to act against the French Revolution, would have extended that fourfold "Concert" to forcible suppression of all resistance to government throughout Europe but that Canning, on behalf of Great Britain, condemned the proposal as "a combination of governments against liberty." The monarchs of Russia, Prussia and Austria nevertheless agreed to act together to that end to a limited degree, and began by forcing despotism back on Naples, which had achieved constitutional government.

The tortoise of British evolution has reached safe popular government sooner than the hare of French revolution, which has turned back to monarchy over and over again.

More in the spirit of the Crusades was the united action of the British, French and Russian fleets against the Turks in the Battle of Navarino, that saved Greece from defeat and subjugation.

Would it be wise and right for the nations to unite for suppression of anarchistic speakers who advocate the forcible overthrow of all Government?

Is the present backwardness of Southern Europe due in large measure to the multitudinous executions of progressive men in the days of persecution?

Is the United States Government a better form of popular Government than the British?

Had the Russian Douma a reasonable degree of prerogative for an evolutionary beginning of a limited monarchy in its original charter?

Would the Great Powers of Europe have been justified in interposing in behalf of Armenians at the time of the massacres?

Is a limitation of armaments desirable and practicable?

Is the development of a great Greek Empire, with Constantinople as its capital, and all Greek-speaking nations about the Ægean as its constituents, the best solution of "the Eastern problem?"

Never were so many nations united in a military expedition as when the troops of the European Powers marched with those of the United States and Japan as a *Concert of the World* to rescue the beleaguered legations and missionaries at Peking. After the fighting was over these Powers continued their control in some ports of North China for over a year, during which many permanent reforms were accomplished by this World Government, including the tearing down of the Tientsin city wall. Why do not these same Powers, by mutual agreement, tear down their own armaments, substituting "decisive" arbitrations for less "decisive battles?"

Will there ever be again "a battle of the nations" such as brought the forces of five Great Powers into one battlefield, when Britain, Prussia, Austria, and Russia together defeated Napoleon's French forces at Leipsic? We cannot declare to the contrary with confidence, even in the age of the Hague Court. "The Eastern Problem" will never be settled till it is settled right, and a change of rulers in Austria or Turkey might bring it up anew. And there is another "Eastern problem," in "The Far East." Britain and Japan have an offensive and defensive alliance to fight together if either is attacked by two Powers, and similar agreements are probably in force in connection with other, if not all Great Powers. If continued abuse of Japanese in America should at last drive Japan to seize the Philippines, that might in turn bring an armed protest from some European Power, which would compel Great Britain to defend its ally; and neither Russia nor France would be likely to be inactive while a change of status was occurring in the new storm-centre of the world.

"The war against war" should be intensified before other more serious perils to peace develop in China, which is soon to follow Japan into a place among the Great Powers, that, let us hope, will celebrate in 1915 the centennial of the inauguration of the "Concert of Europe" against Napoleon by a Concert of the World against War.

Yellow
Seal?

} —>

IMPORTANT CONFERENCES OF THREE OR MORE POWERS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

YEAR.	PLACE.	POWERS PARTICIPATING.	LEADING PERSONAGES PRESENT.	OCCASION AND RESULT.	FYFFE.*
1807	Bartenstein.....	Prussia, Russia, Sweden, Britain.	.....	Union against Napoleon agreed to.....	232
1807	Tilsit.....	Russia, France, Prussia.	Czar Alexander, King Frederick William, Napoleon.	Agreed territory conquered by Napoleon mostly to be left under his control. (Secret treaty of France and Russia, in return, to enlarge Russia.) Prussia reduced.....	234
1813	Reichenbach.....	Austria, Prussia, Russia, Britain.	.....	Union of "Four Courts" against Napoleon, which assured his fall. Restoration of some territory conquered demanded....	336
1813	Teplitz.....	Prussia, Russia, Austria.	.....	Independence granted Rhenish States to detach them from Napoleon. Whole armies captured by diplomacy.....	341
1813	Ried.....	Same Powers....	.....	Same to Bavaria for like purpose	344
1814	Chaumont.....	Prussia, Russia, Britain, Austria.	Czar and King, as above.	League agreed on for twenty years to reduce France to pre-Napoleon boundary.....	354
1814	Paris.....	Same Powers and France.	.....	That boundary substantially restored. Steps taken to suppress slave trade gradually.....	360-1

1814...Vienna..... (Secret.)	France, Austria, Britain.	Talleyrand, Metternich, Castlereagh.	Conditional union against Prussia and Russia.....	386
1815...Vienna.....	Russia, Prussia, Austria, France, Britain. ("The Five Courts.")	Emperor Francis, Czar, King, Metternich, Cas- tlereagh, Talleyrand.	Readjustment of jurisdiction out- side of France disturbed by Napoleon.....	380ff
1815...Paris..... ("Holy Alli- ance.")	Russia, Prussia, Austria, etc.	.....	All Rulers, except Pope and Sul- tan, asked to sign this expres- sion of Christian principles drawn by Czar; no practical effect.....	408f
1815...Paris..... (After Water- loo.)	Russia, Prussia, Austria, Britain.	Czar, Emperor, King, Wellington, Metter- nich.	Napoleon exiled; French boun- dary slightly reduced.....	408f
1818...Aix-la-Chapelle.. (Secret.)	Same Powers....	Czar, Emperor, King, Metternich, Harden- berg, Castlereagh.	Canning called it "a combination of Governments against Lib- erty".....	453ff
1818...Aix-la-Chapelle..	Same Powers and France.	Same, and Richelieu...	Evacuation of France; "Con- cert" of Five Great Powers strengthened.....	454
1820...Troppan.....	Austria, Russia, Prussia.	Czar, Emperor, King, Capodistrias, Metter- nich.	Three despotisms united to re- store despotism in Naples and to suppress revolutions by force of arms.....	495f
1827...London.....	Britain, Russia, France.	.....	Agreement to compel Turkey to cease from war on Greece....	582

*The references in the last column are to Fyffe's History of Europe (Cassell), which, more than any other one volume history that the writer has seen, give due record of treaties, equally with battles.

IMPORTANT CONFERENCES OF THREE OR MORE POWERS IN THE 19th CENTURY.—Continued

YEAR.	PLACE.	POWERS PARTICIPATING.	LEADING PERSONAGES PRESENT.	OCCASION AND RESULT.	FYFFE.
1831...	London.....	Britain, France, Austria, Prussia, Russia.	Wellington, Talleyrand.	Establishing Holland and Belgium as separate States.....	623
1834...	London.....	Britain, France, Portugal, Spain.	.....	Against revolutionary disturbances in Spain and Portugal...	651
1840...	London.....	Britain, Turkey, Austria, Prussia.	Palmerston, Metternich.	Against Mahomet Ali in defense of Turkey.....	668f
1853...	Vienna.....	Britain, France, Austria, Prussia.	.....	Attempt to settle difficulty between Russia and Turkey as to Holy Sepulchre.....	835
1854...	Vienna.....	Same Powers....	.....	Notice to Russia that the four Powers named recognized necessity of maintaining Ottoman Empire, invaded by Russia....	842
1855.....	.....	Sweden, Norway, Britain, France.	.....	Assuring the integrity of Sweden and Norway against Russian aggression.....	???
1856...Paris..... (After Crimea.)	.....	Britain, France, Austria, Russia.	.....	Russia held back from Danube, Black Sea neutralized, Turkey guaranteed free hand in internal affairs, including treatment of Christians.....	858f
1858...Paris.....	.....	Same Powers....	.....	Renewed effort to protect Christian subjects in the Ottoman Empire.....	863

1859...Zurich.....	France, Austria, Piedmont.	Emperor Francis, Emperor Napoleon III, King Victor Emmanuel.	Two Emperors agreed on scheme of Italian Federation, but King Victor Emmanuel dissented.... 882
1866...Prague.....	Prussia, Piedmont, Austria, France.	.....	Enlargement of Prussia; Austria deprived of Italian territory... 957-8
1866...(Secret Treaties)	South German States and Prussia.	.....	Offensive and defensive alliance.. 959
1867...London.....	Russia, Prussia, Austria, Britain.	.....	Luxembourg declared neutral territory under collective guarantee of the Powers..... 972f
1872...Berlin.....	Prussia, Austria, Russia.	"League of Three Emperors"—all present.	Informal alliance to secure Prussia against either Emperor aiding France..... 1021
1876...("Andrassy Note")	"The Five Courts"	.....	Demanding reforms in Turkey as to Christians, taxes, and agrarian affairs..... 1022-3
1876...Berlin.....	Russia, Austria, Prussia, France, Italy.	Gortchakoff, Andrassy, Bismarck.	Requiring Sultan to suspend war on Christian subjects and reform. Fleets of the Five Nations sent to Turkish waters to enforce demands..... 1024
1878...Berlin.....	"The Five Courts"	D'Israeli, Salisbary, Bismarck, Gortchakoff.	Political status of six Balkan states adjusted to check Russia 1048
1906...Rio Janeiro.....	American Republics.		

The Chart is purposely left incomplete at several points to give students the pleasure of discovery.

II.—TREATIES OF PEACE MADE BY THE CONCERT OF EUROPE AT THE END OF WARS

Taking a step forward from the Concert of Nations in war, we note the treaties of peace made by three or more Powers at the end of wars, to keep the peace and "the balance of power." These were usually made by three or more of the five strongest European Governments, namely Britain, Prussia, Austria, Russia, France. The four first named are known as "the Four Courts." When France was admitted, after Napoleon's fall, to the Concert of Europe, the term was changed to "the Five Courts." When these nations conferred at some one place by delegated Ambassadors only, their meeting was called a "Conference," but it became a "Congress" when Monarchs and Cabinet Ministers participated. Often a "Congress" included the Czar Alexander, of Russia, and Emperor Francis, of Austria, and King Frederick William, of Prussia, and their Cabinet Ministers, and a British Minister. Sometimes Napoleon I or III was present, and sometimes other lesser monarchs. No British King is recorded as participating. The Ministers of greatest ability and largest influence who took part were: Metternich and Stein of Austria; Gortchakoff, of Russia; Hardenberg and Bismarck, of Prussia; Talleyrand,

QUESTIONS FOR DEBATE.

Would not a Parliament of international experts be a better agency for settling such questions as are frequently dealt with by special international Conferences and Congresses?

Have the efforts of the Concert of Europe to preserve the balance of power proved useful?

Have the territorial acquisitions secured by diplomacy proved more permanent than those of war?

Was Bismarck the most successful of European diplomats?

Is lying essential to successful diplomacy?

Is "Golden Rule" diplomacy practicable?

of France; Castlereagh, Wellington, D'Israeli, and Salisbury, of Britain. The gathering of such giants at a "Congress" of the world was more "decisive" than any battle, and should have put battles out of fashion. But how few graduates of high schools know, as they know Waterloo, these "victories of peace not less renowned than war!"

Among European treaties eight tower pre-eminent. Three of these limited France, two Russia, one limited and one isolated Austria. One rearranged the map of Western Continental Europe; another of Central Europe; another of Eastern Europe.

1. The Treaty of Westphalia was made in 1648 at the close of "The Thirty Years' War," which originated in the conflicts of the Protestant Reformation but involved other than religious considerations, prominent among which was the determination of the smaller German-speaking states to curb the undue predominance of Austria, which the treaty shows to have been in some measure accomplished.

The Austrian Emperor had been ambitious to subdue all Europe and restore the "Holy Roman Empire." Until the middle of the nineteenth century it was assumed that there could be one "Emperor," and the very title carried with it a claim to the submission of Europe. By the terms of the Treaty, Austria consented that any Government might have whatever religion it pleased. That did not mean that any *individual* could have any religion he pleased. Neither side had gotten that far yet. It simply allowed a King to be his own Pope, if he wished, by establishing a State Church independent of the Pope of Rome. They did not write in that Treaty what to many was the most important result of the war, namely, that other Monarchs were no

longer claimed as vassals by the Emperor of Austria. It was the first instance of guarding the European "balance of power" by lesser nations uniting to curb the strongest.

2. The Treaty Utrecht was made by leading European nations in 1713, two years before the death of King Louis XIV of France, and aimed to check the preponderance of that Power by taking away some of the conquests annexed by the "Grand Monarch" in his long and bloody reign.

3. The Treaty of Reichenbach, 1813, was a covenant of Austria, Britain, Russia, and Prussia, "the Four Courts," for the overthrow of Napoleon. This is the turning point of his career. Had he consented to yield in some small matters to Austria he could have held the larger portion of his conquests, with an Austrian alliance to secure him against the other Great Powers. But an insatiate desire for wider conquests, combined with the pride that goes before a fall, led him to scorn Austria's most reasonable proposals, and so drive that mighty ally into the camp of his foes, leaving him to fight all Europe. The result was his complete overthrow at Leipsic in "the Battle of the Nations."

4. The Treaty of Paris, in 1814, was made by a Congress of Monarchs and Ministers of "the Five Courts," France being admitted to the counsels of its conquerors, with Talleyrand, as great in diplomacy as Napoleon in war, as its representative. Napoleon having abdicated, the conquering nations first reduced France to substantially pre-Napoleon dimensions, and then restored the Bourbons to the throne. As often in those years the Czar Alexander, Emperor Francis and King Frederick William were all in attendance and active in the deliberations. This Conference remodeled the map of southern and

western Europe, for the Empire of Napoleon had extended from Turkey to Spain and from Naples to Denmark.

5. The Treaty of Vienna, in 1815, was an adjourned Session of the Paris Congress, and reshaped the map of central Europe, dividing the territory recovered from Napoleon mostly between Austria, Prussia, and Russia. The smaller nations expected nothing, not even restoration of their pre-Napoleon status. Great Britain asked nothing. "The Four Courts" for the time constituted a European Government of territorial authority fully equal to that of the Roman Empire in its palmiest days.

6. The Treaty of London, in 1827, made by Britain, France and Russia against Turkey, led to the independence of Greece, and being made in spite of Austria's opposition diminished that nation's prestige.

7. The Treaty of Paris, in 1856, made at the close of the Crimean War by Britain, France, Prussia, Austria, Russia, "the Five Courts," somewhat checked the growth of Russia southward by closing the Dardanelles to its navy, and neutralizing the Black Sea and the Danube.

8. The Treaty of Berlin, in 1878, at the close of the war between Turkey and Russia, was a diplomatic battle of giants, in which Lord Salisbury and D'Israeli represented Great Britain, on the one side, and Gortchakoff represented Russia, on the other, while Bismarck mediated between these contending antagonists and prevented the failure of the Congress. It resulted in depriving Russia of most of its conquests in the war with Turkey, and strengthening the latter Power by its guarantees of participation in and protection by the Concert of Europe. About all of the map of Europe outside of "the

Have the efforts of the Powers to protect the Christian subjects of the Porte proved a reasonable success?

Four Courts," that had not been remodeled in the Treaties of Paris and Vienna, was made over by the Treaty of Berlin.

It is curious that when the great nations of Europe found that no one of them at the end of a war could do what he would with his conquered foe, but must submit the whole matter to a European Congress, they did not arrange to save themselves the waste of blood and treasure thereafter by holding the Congress before the war instead of after it. These irregular but decisive Congresses need only to be made periodical, and to include just provision for weaker nations, to fulfil Tennyson's dream, which they have proved practicable—

"The parliament of man, the federation of the world."

Surely no parliament of regular sessions and wide range of action could deal with greater matters than did the Berlin Congress in the adjustment of the status of half a dozen nations about the Balkans. And the control of the Ottoman Empire since 1840 by a European Protectorate could hardly have been exercised so badly by any world parliament as by the discordant "Concert of the Powers" whose jealousies have cost the greatest atrocities of history.

When the writer, in 1906, was introduced at a reception breakfast in Westminster Palace Hotel, attended by ten Members of Parliament and ten leaders of Missions and Reform, the Chairman, Dr. V. H. Rutherford, remarked, "Dr. Crafts is one of those idealists who believe in a world parliament." "Indeed I do," I replied on rising, "and there have been three world parliaments in this very month of October, 1906, namely, the international conferences at Brussels, Paris, and Berlin, on liquors, prostitution, and wireless telegraphy,

Would the Great Powers be justified in appointing a joint commission to control any country which has long failed to establish a humane and efficient government?

whose work, done mostly by diplomats who happened to be at these posts, could have been done much better by one parliament of international experts, to whom all such matters should be regularly referred by the Powers, whose separate ratification might take the place of the Upper House in safeguarding each nation's interests."

III.—INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION AND THE HAGUE COURT

We have seen the "Concert" of nations, first, in war, second, in treaties of peace at the end of wars, and now, taking another step forward, we are to consider treaties of arbitration made in times of peace to prevent war, that have culminated in the Hague Court.

The gist of the whole peace and arbitration movement is in the following words of the *Toronto Star*, in an editorial on a visit, in 1907, of Hon Elihu Root, American Secretary of State, to the Canadian Capital:

"In our relations with our own countrymen we agree to differ in politics, in religion, in other matters about which we feel very deeply and hold the strongest convictions. In those relations we have entirely discarded the idea of personal violence as a means of settlement. This is civilization, and we are sanguine enough to believe that civilization will eventually govern the relations between nations."

The absurdity of war at once appeals when we individualize it and imagine civilized men returning to the custom of going about day after day loaded with weapons, instead of continuing the present successful policy of individual "disarmament," with

QUESTIONS FOR DEBATE.

Does readiness for war promote peace?

Should the Hague Court be constituted of judges permanently appointed and resident rather than of special arbiters called together for each case?

Should the cases to be submitted be determined by a general agreement rather than by dual treaties?

Is it wise or necessary to reserve from the Court questions supposed to concern the national honor?

Would it be wise to supplement the Hague Court with a legislative and executive department?

In view of international jealousies, if each of the Great European Powers were represented by one of the Executive Committee, who would be the most suitable Chairman?

Is the military profession a desirable one in times when no national peril threatens?

mutual agreement to settle our personal quarrels in the courts. "The best way to prevent fighting," the advocates of increasing armaments say, "is to be prepared for it." If that be so the States where men go about with bowie-knives in their boots and pistols on their hips should be freest from deadly quarrels. Such States, in fact, are the scenes of frequent murders, that would never have occurred if the combatants had not been always "prepared for war."

It was to Napoleon Schiller made Richelieu say, in a word-picture of war worthy to rank with the paintings of Verestchagin—

"From rank showers of blood
And the red light of blazing roofs
You paint the rainbow, Glory,
And to shuddering conscience cry —
Lo, the bridge to heaven!"

Napoleon himself is reported to have said, "War is the trade of barbarians," and General Sherman spoke from much observation when he said, "War is hell." When such truths are taught in the home and school and church, and gory is no longer mistaken for glory, we shall at last achieve a true civilization that will settle public as well as private disputes by law.

Are the principles of a true civilization inconsistent with the continuance of war?

Let those who think war has at least been materially profitable to the aggressive nations not only consider the destruction and demoralization that war brings, but also contrast the historic gains of peaceful diplomacy and discovery and commerce with the territory lost by war. For example, Great Britain has hardly made up in a century what was lost by the perversity of King George III in driving

the American colonies to war, and her permanent gains of empire are in provinces won more by commerce than by conquest. It is said that Russia has gained all her vast increase of territory by diplomacy and lessened her area by every war. Germany's gains also have been mostly won by diplomacy. After all Napoleon's devastating wars the conquered territory he had thus annexed was taken from France by the Powers, whereas France might probably have held nearly all of them if he had accepted Austria's generous diplomatic proposals shortly before the Battle of Leipsic. And when Talleyrand was restoring France by diplomacy to European leadership, Napoleon's return to Waterloo threw it back again to a position no better than that of the pre-Napoleonic period.

Permanent peace for the world is the goal sought by an increasing number, including the leaders of commerce, which war always injures in these days; and of labor, that always bears the brunt of war, both in service and in taxation; and many in churches and schools, which last are more and more observing the anniversary of the establishment of the Hague Tribunal, May 18th, as "Peace Day." We may therefore hope the school histories will some day cease to give undue prominence to war, and our college graduates will be able to name the "decisive" international arbitrations as readily as the "decisive battles."

There were two hundred such arbitrations within a century from the time the first President of the United States, George Washington, inaugurated this method of settling disputes.* Great Britain

Was it a mistake that America did not propose arbitration of the issues that led to the Spanish-American War of 1898?

* These are concisely described in "Modern Pacific Settlements," by W. Evans Darby, LL. D., published by the Peace Society, 47 New Broad Street, London, E. C.

THE HAGUE CONFERENCE OF 1907

"The calling of the Conference would have been justified if it had done nothing more than demonstrate the possibility of creating a universal parliament."—*Baron D'Estournelles de Constant.*

By the Unanimous Vote of Forty-five Nations

- (1) Established the inviolability of neutral territory, and the right of asylum in it of prisoners of war;
- (2) Prohibited belligerents to establish wireless telegraph stations in neutral territory;
- (3) Forbade belligerent ships to revictual at neutral ports except to complete their normal supplies, or to take fuel except to reach the nearest port of their own country;
- (4) Provided that hostilities should not begin except by declaration of war, or an ultimatum with conditional declaration;
- (5) Directed that a state of war must be notified at once to neutral powers and may be given by wire;
Revived three prohibitions of 1899, which had lapsed five years after, namely:
 - (6) Prohibited the dropping of projectiles from balloons;
 - (7) Prohibited the diffusing of deleterious gases;
 - (8) Prohibited the use of expanding bullets;
 - (9) Required indemnification by any belligerent who violates the laws of war;
- (10) Prohibited the use of mines for restricting commercial navigation;
- (11) Provided a definite period of grace to be allowed merchantmen in an enemy's ports at the outbreak of hostilities;
- (12) Prohibited the use of floating mines except those so constructed as to become innocuous within an hour after they pass from human control;
- (13) Prohibited the use of anchored mines that do not become innocuous after they have broken their moorings;
- (14) Prohibited the bombardment of unfortified places;
- (15) Provided for the inviolability of fishing boats;
- (16) Provided for the inviolability of the postal service;
- (17) Ratified the humanitarian recommendations of the Geneva Red Cross Convention of 1906, and added others;
- (18) Provided for the humane treatment of captured crews;
- (19) ESTABLISHED AN INTERNATIONAL PRIZE COURT, IN WHICH UNLIMITED RIGHT OF APPEAL IS GIVEN WHERE NEUTRALS ARE CONCERNED (THOUGH FAILING TO AGREE ON THE INVIOABILITY OF PRIVATE PROPERTY AT SEA AND ON DEFINITIONS OF "CONTRABAND" AND "EFFECTIVE BLOCADE").
- (20) Prohibited any nation to attempt forcibly to collect a debt claimed by its citizens of the government of another nation unless there has been a previous offer by the creditor country to submit the question of the indebtedness to arbitration;
- (21) Declared in favor of a permanent international court (realization of which is delayed because none of the forty-five nations were willing to be unrepresented by judges);
- (22) Proclaimed its belief in the principle of obligatory arbitration (though not ready to adopt a general arbitration treaty);
- (23) Provided for the reassembling of the conference (but not yet for regularly recurring world parliaments).

(On many other progressive propositions there was a majority vote, but the above were unanimous and so will be incorporated in a treaty that when ratified, as it undoubtedly will be by all the participating Powers, all of which by cable instructed their delegates to sign fourteen articles that are analyzed into the twenty-three above given, will become a valuable addition to the commercial and humanitarian chapter of international law. The above statement of conclusions was submitted to several American delegates to the Second Hague Conference and approved as correct.)

was the other party to that first arbitration, and these two Anglo-Saxon nations should be prouder than of their wars that they participated in half the arbitrations of the first century of this humane and wise reform.

There could hardly be a more interesting or a more profitable subject for debate to prompt historic reading and clear thinking and eloquent speech, than that which is printed in capitals in the margin, namely, "Does the Hague Court need a world police or a world army to enforce its decrees?"

The Mohonk Arbitration Conference in America, at which America's real "Four Hundred," statesmen, jurists, educators, authors, and merchant princes, gather annually to study international arbitration, has put on record its convictions that the Hague Court should (1) be developed into a permanent Court of resident judges, ready to settle the quarrels of nations promptly before the "war fever" reaches a crisis; (2) should also be supplemented by a world parliament meeting regularly to codify and complete international law, subject, of course, to the ratification of the governments concerned, as in the case of the "Conferences" now so frequent.*

As a complete government includes not only the judicial and legislative branches, but also the executive, it is an interesting question whether there should not be an International Executive Commission also at The Hague, charged with putting into force the decrees of the Court and the ratified laws of the Parliament.

And as executives in all other governments have needed armies and police, will not the developing World Government at The Hague also need such

DOES THE HAGUE COURT NEED A WORLD POLICE OR A WORLD ARMY TO ENFORCE ITS DECREES?

Should it be made a part of international law that some explicit ultimatum or declaration of war should always precede the beginning of hostilities? (It was so voted at the Hague Conference of 1907.)

* Send to American Peace Society, Boston, for its Memorial and Arguments in favor of a "World Congress."

Was the relief of Peking and subsequent joint action a successful experiment in world government?

a force? Why not supply this World Government such a picturesque International Army as marched on Peking for the relief of the beleaguered legations? That was in fact the first armed "Concert of the World," Japan and the United States co-operating with "the Five Courts" of Europe. This "Provisional Government" even administered the affairs of the great city of Tientsin for a long period, and made numerous reforms that have permanently improved the city, which thus witnesses to the practicability of a World Government.

But the conclusive proof that the Hague Court needs no other than the power of international public opinion, which is only second to the omnipotence of God, is that this has proved sufficient in every arbitration thus far. Not once has a nation refused to accept even an unjust decision, though in one such case there was a delay and successful appeal for a rehearing, by which justice was secured.*

Is it possible for the Great Powers to use diplomatic pressure unitedly to-day as effectively as they formerly used war?

Is it desirable and practicable that nations believing in arbitration should constrain backward nations to accept this substitute for war?

If any nation participating in an arbitration should refuse to accept the verdict, the reserve forces of diplomatic isolation could be brought to bear. A nation from which all ambassadors and consuls were recalled would be like Dr. Edward Everett Hale's "Man Without a Country." Such a nation would be in a state of international siege and could not long hold out. As the Russian people by a general strike compelled the Czar to grant them a Duma, or popular Assembly, so the forty-five nations of the world that in 1907 unanimously joined in further developing the Hague Court may

* After the above was written it was reported that one nation had refused to accept an arbitral award. If this should prove true it would be interesting to see the nations call out the reserves described above.

constrain any recalcitrant nation to accept arbitration by uniting in a general diplomatic boycott.

Why may not the Concert of Powers that has so often settled the result of a war after it was over use a like compulsion for a like settlement in advance, since "prevention is better than cure?" Indeed the Powers have used prevention already in guaranteeing the neutrality or integrity, or both, of several nations, including Belgium, Holland, Sweden, Norway, China—of how many more it will be interesting to discover—thus conferring a double benefit in relieving the Great Powers of temptations to conflict and the small nations of the burdens of defense. The consequent commercial prosperity and social welfare of such nations suggests the desirability of adding Italy and Spain and other nations to their number, and so reducing war areas outside "the Five Courts" to territory that is or has been a part of Turkey in Europe. As the Powers have long pretended to control there, why not really do it by a Hague Executive Commission?

Why should the status of Alsace-Lorraine forever threaten the peace of the world? Russia, Austria, and Britain, when with Germany they adjusted the geography of Europe in the Treaty of Paris after the abdication of conquered Napoleon, refused to give Alsace-Lorraine to Germany in what was intended to be and proved to be the interests of European peace. Much more to-day the interests of International commerce also demand that the Powers should compel Germany to submit that deadly international sore to the arbitration of the Hague Court. If the provinces should be given back to France it would be only what Wellington successfully advised in 1814, only what Bismarck unsuccessfully advised in 1870. Germany might easily save the value of

Is it feasible and desirable for the Great Powers to guarantee the neutrality of all others?

the provinces in reduced armaments when the constant peril of French "revenge" was removed from her borders.

As to the uncivilized and half-civilized portions of the world, there have been three Brussels Conferences of European colonizing Powers as to Africa, and Britain earlier proposed a treaty as to Oceanica. Of these we shall speak in detail later, but it is pertinent to say here that one important function of a Hague Executive Commission might be to insist that everywhere, even in South America, there shall be efficient government in accord with civilized conceptions of human rights. Where this is lacking, and the failure to protect foreign merchants or missionaries might afford a pretext for some nation to make war in its own separate interests, the Executive Commission of The Hague should establish a Protectorate to be continued until an adequate native government could be established and neutralized, or the area thus governed could be annexed to some other Government in the interest, not of that country alone but of the world.

Did the extension of the United States of America to Asia by the acquisition of the Philippines weaken the Monroe Doctrine, and, if so or for other reasons, is the retention of the Philippines desirable?

Is the American proposal, made at the Hague Conference of 1907 in behalf of South American Republics, that debts shall not be collected by force until the amount of the debt and the time allowed for payment have been determined by arbitration, a just and wise proposal? (So voted by Hague Conference, 1907.)

If the United States is to maintain the Monroe Doctrine and bar all European Governments from establishing additional colonies or protectorates on the American continent, even where the property interests of Germans or some other European people are paramount, it would seem necessary that some Concert of American Republics should undertake to provide protection of life and property in countries where disorder is chronic, and should see that debts to Europe are paid, lest they become the occasions not only of naval demonstrations and bombardments, but of actual war, conquest and annexation.

IV.—LAWS OF INTERNATIONAL COMMERCE

Commercial interests, more than all others, prompt joint action of nations in war and peace. The trade relations of New York, London and Paris to-day are more intimate than those of London, Birmingham and Liverpool a century ago. The very numerous agreements made by three or more nations, by conferences or correspondence, with reference to international commerce would form an interesting study, especially for a commercial college or school of diplomacy, but we can only enumerate a few examples by way of explaining and illustrating this branch of Internationalism.

In 1780 there was formed what was called "the Armed Neutrality," succeeded in 1800 by "the Northern Maritime League," in which Russia, Sweden, Denmark and Prussia joined, whose purpose was to resist the seizure of goods not contraband of war, under a neutral flag, even though the goods might belong to the citizens of a nation at war. The issue had been raised by the confiscation by Great Britain during its war with the American Colonies of goods owned by Americans or destined for them. It was not disputed that goods for use in the war might be seized, or a ship entering a blockaded port. Great Britain did not yield to this contention till 1856. (See below.)

The co-operation of nations against piracy is

QUESTIONS FOR
DEBATE.

Are privateering and the division of prizes captured in war at sea kindred to piracy and unworthy of a civilized nation?

Would not an international agreement that private property shall be inviolable at sea as it is on land, as proposed by United States delegates at The Hague, promote war by lessening its deterrents?

Was Britain's proposal at that Conference wise and just—that the use of torpedoes should be limited to recognized war-ships?

Is it practicable and desirable to establish at The Hague an international neutral prize court as a court of appeal in war time in case of the seizure of vessels believed to have contraband of war on board? (So voted at Hague Conference, 1907.)

Should the destruction of captured neutral vessels in advance of condemnation by a prize court be forbidden by international law? (So voted, same.)

Should the bombardment of unfortified places be forbidden? (So voted, same.)

Should the transformation of merchant vessels into war-ships be limited to their home ports?

worthy of study as another important subject of international action in the interest of the world's commerce.

In 1836 was consummated the Zollverein, or Customs Union, in which all German-speaking States except Austria joined.

In 1856 at a Conference of Nations in Paris, the free navigation of the Danube was agreed upon by the Great Powers, and also the abolition of privateering. It was also agreed that the goods of a hostile nation, other than contraband of war, should be safe under a neutral flag.

The experiences of the war between Russia and Japan, when Russia risked provoking Britain and other nations to join the foe by the seizure of goods under neutral flags that it was plain were not contraband of war, showed the need of more specific international law on this subject and sent the matter to the Hague Conference of 1907, where some progress was made by discussion; but a world-wide discussion must precede satisfactory action in some later conference.

In 1865 the Latin Monetary Union was internationally constituted to fix the interchangeable value of francs and related coins, doubtless with reference to ridding Europe of such a shark tribe of money-changers as infests China, promoting dishonesty and disturbing international trade to such an extent as to justify the Powers that co-operated in the march on Peking in insisting upon a stable and uniform coinage.

In 1865 the International Telegraphic Union was also constituted, regulating international telegrams.

In 1866 the European meridian was fixed by a Conference of Nations at Berlin.

In 1868 there was a Meteorological Conference of Nations at Vienna.

In 1874 the Universal Postal Union was established at Berne, by which a uniform rate of postage for foreign mail was fixed for nearly all the civilized world, including the low rate of one cent, or a half-penny, for two ounces of printed matter, by which a world-wide distribution of literature for any international cause is made feasible.

In 1875 the International Bureau of Weights and Measures was constituted by another Conference of Nations.

In 1877 international health regulations were agreed upon at a Brussels Conference of Nations, and in the same year and city international action was taken to regulate exploration in Africa.

In 1883 such a Conference dealt with the protection of patents.

In 1884 yet another provided protection for submarine cables.

In 1886 another dealt with copyrights.

In 1906 in Berlin another Conference dealt with wireless telegraphy. It was reported in 1902 that Russia contemplated calling an International Conference to regulate trusts. Undoubtedly such a conference must some time be held.

Among the subjects upon which further world legislation is probable may be named sanitation, customs regulations, copyrights and trade-marks, currency, travel, scientific co-operation, protection of the lives and persons of leading officials.

The Hague Conference of 1907 sought to add to previous international mitigations of the vast injury done to the world's commerce whenever two great nations attempt to settle a quarrel by force

Is it the best policy or even practicable for a nation to make its fiscal policy with a view to the greatest good of mankind at large?

Is the single gold standard essential to the prosperity of International Commerce, and should its gradual adoption everywhere be insisted on by the Powers?

Is the American protective policy as favorable to National Commerce when domestic and foreign trade are considered, as the British policy of Free Trade?

instead of reason.* Now that in every great port there is property of many nations liable to destruction in the case of bombardment, and on every sea neutral ships liable to delay, if not to destruction, it cannot be that the great commercial forces, which in this age of representative government are able to control cabinets, will much longer allow two combatants to engage in the folly of a fight at the cost of the whole world.

In New Zealand the people have learned that the quarrels of labor and capital are threefold and involve the general public also and most of all, and so compulsory arbitration has been successfully established, and "the Land without Strikes," from being an ideal, has become a reality. Why may not the Concert of Great Powers or another session of the Hague Court establish compulsory arbitration for all nations, and so in the Twentieth Christian Century realize the practicable ideal of A WORLD WITHOUT WAR?

One way in which international peace and international commerce will both be promoted will be by an international agreement of commercial bodies first, then of governments, to make Esperanto the language of international communication. It is not proposed as a substitute for anyone's native tongue, but for a "second language." All who have met kindred spirits speaking other tongues at the increasingly numerous international conventions appreciate the great service such a language would render if adopted as the world convention language, which a delegate could learn while voyaging to the convention. Those who travel much or have much to do with travelers will see at once its value as

* See magazines of 1907, June to December, for discussions of proposals and agreements.

a "travelers' language." The great reduction of expense and increase of efficiency it would bring to commercial establishments having foreign trade will most of all compel its adoption as the language of international commerce. If, instead of hiring some costly translator to read and answer every foreign letter, it were generally agreed, through votes of Chambers of Commerce, that commercial letters going to lands speaking another tongue should be in Esperanto, one or more clerks of each international house would learn this easiest of languages, and not only save the cost but also the delay and inconvenience of using highly educated and so high-priced translators. When commercial bodies so agree they will be able to induce their Governments to provide that in every embassy or consulate some one shall be able to speak and write Esperanto. It will so become the language of diplomacy. Its adoption for international travel and international conventions will speedily follow, and for large groups of international men the work of Babel will be undone. (See Appendix.)

Would the adoption of Esperanto as the language of International Commerce and Conventions and diplomacy and travel be feasible and desirable?

V.—INTERNATIONAL PHILANTHROPY OF NATIONS

The official philanthropy of nations does not yet make much of a chapter, though every earthquake and famine shows increasing “humanity” in all parts of the world, which is sure to find more and more governmental expression.

The brightest paragraph contributed to this chapter by any official conference of nations comes from the Geneva Convention of the Red Cross, an international agreement, now recognized by all civilized countries, to neutralize the hospital and surgeon and nurse amid the horrors of battle. There are a few other rules of war that aim to humanize and civilize to some degree this relic of barbarism. A careful study of the Hague Court of 1907 (see page 32) will show that its work was aimed chiefly not to the accomplishment of peace or even arbitration, but rather toward mitigating the horrors and especially the commercial embarrassments of war.

It would be interesting to trace in the blue books of Great Britain and in older records, the evolution of modern warfare from the time when defeated foes were massacred or enslaved—men, women, and children—and note by what influences more humane rules and customs have been established,

QUESTIONS FOR
DEBATE.

Should international law rule out the use of such high explosives as dynamite?

until a chivalric conqueror returns the sword of a valiant though vanquished foe.

The Great Powers missed a splendid opportunity for philanthropic action when in the conference of monarchs and ministers that met in Paris on the overthrow of Napoleon, the British Minister, impelled by the insistent anti-slavery sentiment of the British people, that in 1807 had abolished the British slave trade, asked the Powers to unite in suppressing the slave trade at sea. European despots, busy in dividing the spoils of empire recovered from Napoleon, were not willing to exert themselves to relieve the sufferings of kidnapped negroes, and so the proposal failed, though a solemn condemnation of the trade as contrary to civilization and human rights was adopted by the Congress in February, 1815. It should be said also that Sweden had prohibited the slave traffic in 1813, and Holland in the following year. It is important to note here as a contribution to the study of World Government, that so great a statesman and diplomat as Castlereagh, on behalf of the British Cabinet proposed that the universal suppression of the slave trade should be committed to a "Council of Ambassadors at London and Paris," and that slave dealing states should be punished by an exclusion of their exports from all the nations co-operating in the movement. Here we see a powerful and constitutional method that might be used by the nations in favor of arbitration to compel others to accept that method for settling their disputes. France alone agreed to unite efforts with Great Britain for a general suppression of the trade. Portugal would only agree to a slight restriction. Spain was eager to get the

Would it be feasible for nations favoring compulsory arbitration among nations to enforce this method of settling disputes by excluding imports of nations refusing to accept such a settlement?

lion's share of the slave trade which Great Britain had given up. But though the effort in Paris seemed to be almost a failure, it was, no doubt, the beginning of the end, for it set at work against this great wrong the irresistible power of international Christian sentiment, and by diplomatic steps that it would be interesting to trace, the slaver was driven with the pirate to the limbo of crimes against civilization.

This book takes no account, except incidentally, of separate or merely dual action of nations, aiming only to present such internationalism as involves past or proposed action of at least three governments, but the emancipation of slaves, which swept the Christian world as a second wave, following that of popular government, in the middle third of the nineteenth century, comes near to being a "Concert" of nations. A tide of sentiment led all Christian nations to take like action about the same time. Men who have felt the swirl of the mighty "sentiment" that swept slavery out of Christendom will hardly speak of "sentiment" as a trifle to be brushed aside by a sneer. When I said to Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, on asking him to get a certain philanthropic and reformatory measure passed as the first act of the United States Senate in the twentieth century, "Perhaps that may seem too much a matter of sentiment," he replied earnestly, as the memory of New England's battle with slavery no doubt came strongly to mind, "SENTIMENT IS THE MIGHTIEST THING IN THE WORLD."

As the might of sentiment makes itself increasingly felt this chapter of international history will

grow. The righting of Congo wrongs should be its next paragraph.

It is clearly recognized that "there exists a moral duty and obligation imposed on all civilized countries to aid in maintaining that international public opinion on which even international law itself rests. Each Government has the privilege of submitting to any other Government respectful petitions and representations which, in terms and language to which no exception can be taken, affirm and apply to some specific case of persecution the claims of humanity and religious freedom to which all countries subscribe, however they may sometimes be set at naught."

In 1872 Andrew Curtin, then American Ambassador to St. Petersburg, was instructed to express to Russia "as a protecting Power" "the sympathy we entertain for the inhumanly persecuted Jews in the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia"—now Roumania—since "the grievance adverted to is so enormous as to impart to it, as it were, a cosmopolitan character, in the redress of which all countries, Governments and creeds are alike interested."

In 1880 Mr. Evarts, American Secretary of State under President Hayes, proclaimed the right of the United States "to make public at the proper time and through legitimate channels its sentiments and the sentiments of its citizens on great wrongs" committed anywhere; while James G. Blaine, American Secretary of State, in 1881 even urged that in protesting against the proscription of the Hebrew creed when held by an American citizen this country had to consider its "moral duty to our own citizens and to the doctrine of religious freedom,"

“even at the risk of criticism of the municipal laws of other States.” Ten years later our legation at St. Petersburg was pointing out that a persecution which drove the pauper and panic-stricken to our shores could not be regarded as limited in its effects to the internal regulation of Russia.

VI.—INTERNATIONAL LEGISLATION FOR MARKETS AND MORALS

International action relating only to commerce belongs in the fourth chapter, and international action on purely moral questions goes into the seventh chapter. Here we discuss only agreements of three or more nations where interests both "moral and material" are involved. Those two words were combined in the first of a series of treatise on the sale of intoxicants to savages, made by seventeen nations, which thus recognized impressively and suggestively the fundamental law of an ethical universe, that only what is morally right can be politically or commercially expedient.

In 1890 the first international action was taken toward withholding the white men's rum from the uncivilized races — an action no doubt prompted more by the interests of markets than of morals and missions, though it helped all these. The Congo country had just been opened to the world by Stanley. Wise traders desired to abolish slavery and to shut out firearms in this new market. The reform and missionary societies of Great Britain, with distinguished support by intelligent commercial leaders, seized the opportunity to introduce the question of the deeper slavery of intoxicants, and

QUESTIONS FOR
DEBATE.

Does moral right
always coincide
with commercial
and political expedi-
ency in the long
run?

by uniting in a Native Races Committee induced the British Government to propose for the treaty drawn in that year by the Brussels Conference a paragraph prohibiting the sale of distilled liquors altogether within boundaries corresponding closely to those of the Congo Free State. It was expressly said in paragraph ninety of the treaty, that this action was taken on account of the "*moral and material consequences to which the abuse of spirituous liquors subjects the native population.*"

Thus seventeen nations enacted the first international prohibitory law, and wrote in the heart of Africa, "Zone de Prohibition," avowedly in the interests of commerce as well as morals. Although many criticisms have been made of the administration of the Congo Free State, it is universally admitted that this first international prohibitory law has been well enforced. It is a strong commercial argument for prohibition that King Leopold has recognized that if the negroes get rum they will bring in less rubber—a principle that is not confined to the Congo country. Everywhere, the more intoxicants, the less industrial efficiency.

Is the liquor traffic everywhere a foe to industrial efficiency and business prosperity?

In the course of two years this Brussels treaty was ratified by seventeen nations, namely, Germany, Belgium, Spain, the Congo Free State, France, Great Britain, Italy, Holland, Portugal, Austria, Sweden, Norway, Turkey, Persia, United States, Zanzibar. Persia and Turkey are prohibitory, because Mohammedan countries.

Is the Christian religion one of the total abstinence religions?

In 1899, another Brussels Conference met, this time to consider only the question of liquors in Africa. It was the most weighty temperance convention in history, for it was made up entirely of delegates appointed by the great governments of the world. This convention attempted to extend

the protection of trade and morals against the white men's rum to nearly the whole of Africa—all except the north African countries, in which the natives were already protected by Mohammedan law, and South Africa, where the sale of intoxicants to natives was generally prohibited by British law, in accordance with the express desire of the better class of traders, who saw that when the gin-seller was admitted to an African village all other trades suffered, for he killed, first the buying power, and then the buyers themselves.

The method adopted at this second Brussels Conference, however, though well-intentioned, was an ineffective one. It was thought to keep the liquor away from the savages by raising the tax, to a point theoretically "prohibitive" — seventy francs per hectoliter. Great Britain desired to make it a hundred francs, but was defeated by the opposition of Portugal, sustained by Germany. The testimony of missionaries shows that the increased tax did not prevent a disastrous increase of the consumption of liquors by African natives; but the action was nevertheless a sign of progress in that the nations recognized the evil influence of the traffic and the duty of governments to deal with it. The treaty was ratified by the nations named above, except Austria, Persia, and Zanzibar. The latter had been absorbed in the British Empire. If Russia, which also ratified this second treaty, be substituted for Austria, the order in which the nations are named above will be that of the ratifications of the second treaty.

In 1900 an active crusade against the sale of the white men's rum and opium in missionary lands was begun in the United States, promoted by the fact that the Governments of the world were seek-

Is it the duty of Christian churches to make the promotion of abstinence and prohibition a prominent part of their regular work?

Is a revenue feature unfavorable to restriction in license laws?

ing, as above stated, to repress liquor-selling in savage districts that were also mission fields, and by the announcement of an Ecumenical Conference of Missions which was to be held in New York early in that year.

Are the white men's rum and opium serious hindrances to missionary work, and should the removal of these evils therefore be made a subject for discussion and effort in all missionary societies?

At that time the United States alone of first-class nations had not ratified the Treaty of 1899, which, though insufficient, was a step in advance and was entitled to ratification in every country invited to adhere to the Convention.

The first steps in the American Crusade, inaugurated by the International Reform Bureau with the active aid of the Misses Mary and Margaret W. Leitch, who had served efficiently as missionaries in Ceylon, was to get the subject of liquors and opium as hindrances, to Missions into the program of the Ecumenical Conference, in whose first draft this subject, strangely enough, did not appear. The National Temperance Society also urged the introduction of this theme. The matter having been thus pressed upon the Program Committee, Dr. Theodore L. Cuyler and afterwards Dr. John G. Paton, of the New Hebrides, were appointed to present the subject in the Conference, and a "Supplementary Meeting" was also held in Calvary Baptist Church, New York, in which the platform participants were Dr. Paton and Miss Margaret W. Leitch, already named; Hon. Samuel B. Capen, President of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; Dr. Arthur T. Pierson, editor of *The Missionary Review*; Principal C. Harford Battersby, Honorary Secretary of the Native Races Committee of Great Britain; Revs. O. H. and T. L. Gulick, American Board Missionaries, and Dr. Wilbur F. Crafts. This meeting gave strong impetus to the new movement, especially by

Is the prohibition or restriction of distilled liquors only, in Africa or elsewhere, consistent with the facts of science and experience as to vinous and malt liquors?

the circulation of the above-named speeches in print, which passed the hundred-thousand mark.

If there be anyone who has never thought of foreign missions as a branch of one of the great sciences about which everyone claiming to be educated should have full and accurate information—not mere rumors of prejudiced critics—surely such a one has need to be reminded that in the fields of discovery, of language, of commerce, of philanthropy, and especially of international relations, the missionary has often done great service in addition in his evangelistic work.* In this chapter the close relation of missions to commerce is illustrated.

The effect of this circulation of literature and of numerous meetings was seen at once on the assembling of the American Congress in that year. On December 3^d President McKinley recommended action by the United States, separately and also in unison with other Governments, to complete the suppression of liquor-selling among uncivilized races. On December 5th, the Senate's Foreign Affairs Committee granted the International Reform Bureau a hearing on the subject, in which Bishop J. C. Hartzell, of Africa, was heard, and the ratification by the United States of the Treaty of 1899 was recommended. This ratification took place on December 14th, a fitting conclusion of the nineteenth century in a Christian nation.

On January 4, 1901, the Senate with equal fitness began the twentieth Christian century by adopting, on motion of Senator Lodge, the following resolution, drawn by the International Reform

Should the American and Canadian policy of prohibiting the sale of all intoxicants to Indians be applied in all countries to similar aboriginal races?

* See two great volumes of Dr. James S. Dennis on "Christian Missions and Social Progress" (Revell). Send also to Y. M. C. A., 3 West Twenty-ninth Street, New York, U. S. A., for report of its work in Asia.

Bureau, which has been the banner and platform of the Crusade since then :

“RESOLVED, THAT IN THE OPINION OF THIS BODY THE TIME HAS COME WHEN THE PRINCIPLE TWICE AFFIRMED IN INTERNATIONAL TREATIES FOR CENTRAL AFRICA, THAT NATIVE RACES SHOULD BE PROTECTED AGAINST THE DESTRUCTIVE TRAFFIC IN INTOXICANTS, SHOULD BE EXTENDED TO ALL CIVILIZED PEOPLES BY THE ENACTMENT OF SUCH LAWS AND MAKING OF SUCH TREATIES AS WILL EFFECTUALLY PROHIBIT THE SALE BY THE SIGNATORY POWERS TO ABORIGINAL TRIBES AND UNCIVILIZED RACES OF OPIUM AND INTOXICATING BEVERAGES.”

It should be mentioned in this connection that on January 1st the century had been fitly initiated in the Philippine Islands, where the sun of the new century first greeted the American flag, by the putting into force of a license law that prohibited the newly opened saloons of white men from selling intoxicants to the native Filipinos, leaving them only their native shops, which they had seldom abused. On the same day ex-President Harrison wrote a strong letter to the International Reform Bureau in support of the Crusade.

In March of the same year, by action of the Navy Department, liquor-selling was suppressed in our new island of Tutuila, one of the Samoan group, where it had been temporarily introduced by the American vice-consul among a native people who were unaccustomed to its use and fully content to live without it. On December 3d of that year President Roosevelt, in his first message, gave strong indorsement to this movement for the protection of native races.

HEARING BEFORE SECRETARY HAY IN BEHALF OF
UNCIVILIZED RACES.

On December 6th there was an impressive hearing before Secretary Hay in behalf of the proposal to submit a treaty to other Powers in accordance with the Senate resolution.

Secretary Hay immediately gave his approval to the proposition, and six days afterwards wrote to the Chairman of the Native Races Deputation, Dr. S. L. Baldwin, that inasmuch as the British Government had previously been the leader in this movement, the President had decided to ask that Government to join with ours in submitting a treaty to other Powers to prohibit the sale of intoxicants and opium to all civilized races. Unfortunately the British Government failed to make a favorable reply at that time to this great proposal, partly because the Boer War had absorbed its energies.

CHINA'S RELEASE FROM OPIUM PROPOSED.

China of course is not to be counted among uncivilized countries, having had an orderly government and literature when Europeans were yet savages; but the battle for the release of China from opium has been prosecuted side by side with the effort to save the uncivilized races from both rum and opium. The matter has become the subject of international action by seven great Powers, as we shall show later, and so the steps leading to that action are a part of the science of internationalism. It should be said that the British anti-opium societies had been seeking for half a century to right Britain's wrong in forcing opium upon China

Was the Boxer uprising justified by the wrongs done to China by European Governments?

by the three anti-opium wars of 1840, 1858 and 1861, and what is here described is the bringing in of international reinforcements.

From this point the two crusades will be seen in frequent juxtaposition.

In 1902 the Boxer uprising in China, which it was foreseen would reopen international questions relating to that country when the war should end, led the Misses Leitch to secure the signatures of the secretaries of thirty-three American missionary societies, representing nearly all the Protestant evangelical churches, to a petition that our Government would use its "good offices" with the British Government to secure release of China from treaty compulsion to tolerate the opium traffic.

Is the sending of missionaries to Japan and China justified by the condition of the people and the results achieved?

AMERICAN TRADERS IN PACIFIC ISLANDS RESTRAINED.

Meantime, on February 15th of that year (1902), the United States, in the exercise of its own powers in a new line of legislation, prohibited American traders to sell liquors in islands of the Pacific having no civilized government—a law drawn by the Reform Bureau, that had long been desired by Dr. John G. Paton for the protection of his own and other mission fields.

OPIUM IN THE PHILIPPINES.

In 1903, on May 31st, a bill establishing an opium monopoly for the Philippines having been approved, in substance, by the American Commissioners in control, which insured its enactment by them, unless overruled, when the bill should reach a final vote that was expected two weeks later on June 14th, the Evangelical Union, composed chiefly of American missionaries, with full knowledge of

the situation, appealed through their energetic President, Dr. Homer C. Stuntz, by a cablegram costing \$150 in gold, paid by the Chinese Board of Trade,* to the International Reform Bureau, to make known swiftly to the American people this peril to the nation's honor and to the moral and physical welfare of the people of the Philippines, and so prompt a popular appeal to President Roosevelt to interpose. The absence of the President from Washington delayed proceedings in the United States until three days before the Monday on which the final vote was anticipated. On that Thursday there was printed on two thousand telegraphic blanks, with a few words of explanation crosswise at the side, the following message:

“To the President, Washington, D. C.—Under-signed urge you to veto Philippine opium monopoly and substitute Japan's effective prohibition.”

These were mailed that day to a picked list of citizens of great influence, for it must be a sharpshooter's fight on such short notice. The receiver in each case, if he approved, had only to sign the telegram and send it to the President at his own cost. Two and three days later these telegraphic votes reached the President, and on Monday morning, when it had been expected the monopoly of

Do the Chinese as merchants compare favorably with the merchant class of white nations?

Is it the citizen's right and duty to urge political action upon officials?

* One of the officials thus overruled, in a public address, impugned the motives of nearly all who opposed his wishes in this matter, especially those who paid for the telegram, assuming that not even a reputable Chinese Board of Trade could sincerely oppose opium, and that, too, after the Chinese had taken a strong part in driving opium from Australia, and after the Chinese Government—that had always prohibited opium till overruled by armed force—had renewed that prohibition at the first opportunity, as is shown later in this chapter.

opium in the Philippines would be sold for five millions of dollars to a Chinese syndicate, that threatening peril was electrocuted by the following cablegram, sent from the War Department "by order of the President":

"Hold Opium Monopoly Bill. Further investigation. Many protests."

AUSTRALIA ENLISTED.

In 1904 Dr. Francis E. Clark, President of the World's Christian Endeavor Union, but acting in the capacity of Chairman of the Native Races Deputation, enlisted King Oscar of Sweden and, through the Australian missionary societies, Premier Deakin of that country in the great crusade against both opium and intoxicants. The last-named official urged the British Government to accept the proposition made by President Roosevelt in 1901.*

Canada through resolutions and public meetings also asked the British Government to stand with the United States in the front span of the movement to protect uncivilized races.

PHILIPPINE OPIUM COMMITTEE REPORT.

Have the Philippines gained materially and morally by the transfer from Spain to the United States?

Are the Chinese and Japanese fully civilized peoples and entitled to all privileges accorded by civilized races to each other?

It was in this year—1904—that the Philippine Opium Commission, appointed when the opium monopoly was defeated, reported its investigation of the opium laws of Asia, declaring that revenue and real restriction were never found together, and that the only effective law was that of Japan, in

* Dr. Clark also secured the indorsement of the Crusade for the protection of native races from the officials of several South American countries.

which there was no revenue, but a total prohibition of the sale of opium except for medical prescriptions.*

JAPANESE GOVERNMENT JOINS THE CRUSADE.

In that same year—1904—the Japanese Government asked for full information from the International Reform Bureau in regard to the Crusade for native races. In addition to supplying written and printed information, the matter was taken up with Baron Komura, of the Japanese Foreign Office, by the statesman-missionary, Dr. J. H. De Forest, with the result that official expressions of favor for the movement were given by the Japanese Foreign Secretary. Further action was interrupted by the breaking out of the war between Japan and Russia, but during the war a syndicate article was sent out to leading papers all over the world suggesting that as the end of the war would bring a reopening of Chinese questions people of all nations should agitate for the emancipation of China from British opium. Numerous copies of "Intoxicants and Opium in All Lands and Times," the text-book of the Crusade, were sent out to leading statesmen and other moral leaders in many lands.

HEARING IN BEHALF OF CHINA BEFORE SECRETARY HAY.

On November 10th there was a second hearing before Secretary Hay, acting for President Roosevelt, this time on petitions that President Roosevelt

* Thousands of copies of this report have been published, and will be sent to those who post a request to the Anti-Opium Society of China, Rev. H. C. Du Bose, D. D., President, Soochow, or to International Reform Bureau, Washington, D. C.

would use his "good offices" with the British Government to have China released from the opium treaty, for which it was anticipated a favorable opportunity would come when the war should close. At this hearing, as at the former one before Secretary Hay, the leading reform and missionary societies acted together as a federation under the name of the Native Races Deputation.*

BOARDS OF TRADE ENLISTED.

Is the injury done to business by the vices such as to make it the right and duty of Boards of Trade to use their direct influence against them?

The hearing above described was seconded by commercial bodies, including the Boards of Trade of Baltimore and Jacksonville, the Chamber of Commerce of Pittsburg, the National Board of Trade, and the Merchants' Association of New York. It was recognized that the impoverishment of more than one hundred millions in the families of Chinese opium sots by the interference of Great Britain with the police regulations of China was a matter that injured "the honest trade of every nation."

Is the United States justified in treating Philippine goods as foreign products in its tariff laws?

OPIUM PROHIBITION IN THE PHILIPPINES.

In 1905 the Philippine tariff was taken up in Congress. The bill, as drawn by the War Depart-

* The concise speeches made at this hearing by Drs. F. D. Gamewell, William Ashmore, Wilbur F. Crafts, Mrs. S. L. Baldwin, and Rev. W. L. Baird, are published in an "Anti-Opium Issue" of the *Twentieth Century Quarterly*, 206 Pennsylvania Avenue, S. E., Washington, D. C. U. S. A., which will be sent on receipt of a two-cent or one-penny stamp or its equivalent in the postage of any country. Holcomb's "China Past and Present," giving the full story of opium in China, can be had for one shilling, postpaid, with full list of other standard books on the subject, from the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, Bridge House, 181 Queen Victoria Street, London, E. C.

ment and reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, left the regulation of opium entirely to the Philippine Government, which had done nothing right in regard to it in the seven preceding years of administration. But through the interposition of reformers Congress was induced to enact a law prohibiting the sale of opium except as a medicine, to take effect in the case of Filipinos at once, and in case of others after three years. The law is as follows:

“After March 1, 1908, it will be unlawful to import into the Philippine Islands opium in whatever form except by the Government and for medical purposes only. At no time shall it be lawful to sell opium to any native of the Philippine Islands except for medical purposes.”

The Philippine Government, having no legal limitation on their control of opium for three years, except that it could not be legally sold to Filipinos, enacted a high license, additional to a high tariff, by which to get the utmost possible revenue out of it during those years of “grace” which had been allowed by Congress for gradually extinguishing the traffic and the habit, in accordance with the recommendation of Bishop Brent and his associates on the impartial Opium Committee, whose work has been applauded in all continents. But when the writer visited the Philippines, June 1, 1907, when but nine months of the three years remained, the revenue officers frankly admitted there had been no reduction. As the traffic had been loaded—first, with a heavy import duty; second, with a high license on the dealer; third, with a license on every smoker—this case is an interesting addition to many other illustrations of the inefficiency of taxation to decrease any popular vice. Although no effort had

Has “high license” either of opium or liquors decreased either the consumption or the consequences?

Is "tapering off" a practical method of breaking with any vice?

been made to use the abundant time allowed for "tapering off," and although the Philippine prison, in which, as usual, opium-using prisoners break right off with no bad results, shows that no time for "tapering" is really needed except such as must be done in very bad cases in hospitals, it was frankly admitted that more "tapering" time beyond March 1, 1908, would be asked. But officials were reminded that one sufficient reason—there were others—why Congress would be unlikely to grant to those who have buried their three talents, yet other talents, was that the threefold action of the United States Government on opium in the Philippines—first, in rejecting the proposed monopoly; second, in the publication of a faithful report; third, in enacting prohibition—had not only brought worldwide praise, in which the Administration rejoiced, but had prompted two other great nations to similar action, which must now be recorded—going back a little in the discussion.

THE WATERLOO OF OPIUM.

Is the British Parliament as efficient an agent of popular government as the United States Congress?

In 1906 the opium question was brought up in the British Parliament by previous agreement. Documents setting forth the action of the United States in the Philippines were in the hands of the men who were to take part in the debate "as a potent weapon," to borrow the phrase used by the anti-opium leader of Great Britain to describe the helpful influence of these American reinforcements, which included also a few effective lectures by Dr. Sidney L. Gulick, of Japan, in leading British cities, and the circulation among members of the British Parliament and among the British people of the resolutions of American missionary and commercial

bodies as expressions of international public sentiment. It was learned afterwards that President Roosevelt also, in response to the petitions previously mentioned, used his "good offices" in behalf of Chinese emancipation, and secured the "good offices" of the Japanese Government also to the same end.

These proved to be the Blücher forces in the Waterloo of opium, bringing the necessary foreign reinforcements to British anti-opium societies that had fought so long and persistently to bring their Government to right the wrong done to China. It was on May 30, 1906, that the British Parliament, on motion of Hon. T. C. Taylor, seconded by Dr. V. H. Rutherford, voted unanimously that "the Indo-Chinese opium trade is morally indefensible, and the Government is instructed to bring it to a speedy close." In the debate the Right Hon. John Morley, Secretary of State for India, declared that if China sincerely desired to be released the Government would interpose no obstacle.

In August a petition, signed by twelve hundred missionaries in China of many denominations and several nationalities, was forwarded by the Anti-Opium Society of China, through the Nanking Viceroy, to the Imperial Government.

ANTI-OPIUM DECREES OF CHINESE GOVERNMENT.

The Dowager Empress of China issued on September 20th of that year (1906), following other progressive decrees, one for the abolition of the opium traffic within ten years. Subsequent regulations published by November 21st were far more drastic than the decree had seemed to promise, for teachers and minor officers were called upon to give

Is the British plan of allowing Cabinet officers to take a direct and leading part in legislation preferable to the American plan?

Have Queens averaged as well as Kings as rulers?

up the opium habit or give up their positions in three months; higher officials in six months, which was the limit named for the closing of opium dens; and it was also required that the cultivation of the poppy and the use of opium, except by those over sixty, should be cut down twenty per cent. a year. These, with the total prohibition of the use of opium for persons who had not reached the condition of opium sots, promised that the major part of the opium traffic and the opium vice would be done away with in half the ten-year period.*

AN INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION TO SUPPRESS OPIUM

Before the time set for closing opium dens in China had been reached, when Viceroy Yuan Shih kai and some other Governors were outrunning the imperial edict in suppressing opium-smoking in their jurisdictions, the international action to which all we have said as to opium is an introduction was taken at the suggestion of Bishop Brent, whose investigations of the opium curse in many lands had led him to see the need of co-operation among the governments whose subjects were most injured by this chief evil of the Orient, and who accordingly asked President Roosevelt to invite Great Britain, France, Italy, Holland, China, and Japan—all the nations having permanent territorial possessions in eastern Asia—to join the United States in appointing a Commission to suppress the vicious uses of opium throughout that region. All have agreed to

Is beer a comparatively harmless drink and a good substitute for distilled liquors?

* Now that China is escaping from the lion of British opium, she is threatened by the eagles of American and German beer; but as these are not forced upon China, the deliverance in this case must come by educational forces, such as the circulation of "Scientific Testimony Against Beer."

do so. The press report says that Great Britain gave "a qualified acceptance." But the end must be the end of British opium, not only in China but also in Hong Kong and India. Probably Japan—whose suppression of the vicious uses of opium in Japan proper, where no revenue from this evil has been attempted, is the supreme masterpiece of prohibition—did not contemplate reforming its too "gradual" suppression in Formosa, where revenue has seemed to vitiate a promising experiment; but this must come. Probably the President was not thinking of the hell-brew of Macao's Portuguese opium factory, that is all shipped to San Francisco to impoverish and destroy the Chinese in America; but prohibition of the importation of opium for vicious uses can and must be accomplished wherever the American flag floats. That will take away the present market of the opium factory of Portuguese Macao, "the Monte Carlo of the East." Persian opium will not be tolerated when other opium has been abolished.

As civilized nations have unitedly suppressed piracy and the slave trade, opium dens everywhere will be forced to close, and this piratical, enslaving trade will be sentenced by mankind to join piracy and slavery* in the limbo of crimes against civilization.

* Just as the cruelties in the Congo seemed to be nearing settlement, in 1907, General F. Joubert Piennaar, of the Transvaal, appealed to international public opinion against alleged fostering of slavery in parts of Portuguese Africa. It would not be strange if the country which has held all Europe back in the efforts to save Africa from enslavement to the white man's rum should be found guilty of seeking gain through other forms of slavery. But there are others whose oppression of native workmen is slavery in fact if not in form, and the whole subject of African slavery calls for international action.

ENCOURAGEMENT FOR THE NATIVE RACES CRUSADE.

The victory over the opium evil in China being assured, there is every reason to expect a like victory in the closely related crusade against the sale of intoxicants to uncivilized races, on which the nations held a third Brussels Conference in October, 1906, at which the tax was raised to 100 francs per hectolitre on liquors imported into Africa, and at which, through a great petition representing nineteen millions of Americans—mostly by the signatures of the officers of great societies and of public meetings—and by personal interviews of the Superintendent of the International Reform Bureau with the Foreign Ministers of European nations, and most of all, by a cablegram of President Roosevelt suggesting prohibition of the sale of intoxicants and opium among uncivilized races, the way was opened for such international prohibition at some later Conference.

The cablegram of the President was thus reported in *L'Etoile Belge* October 18, 1906:

“En experimant les vœux les plus sincères du peuple American, manifestes en diverses circonstances, pour l'adoption de mesures destinées à protéger les races sauvages et non civilisées de toutes les parties du monde contre les boissons spiritueuses et nocives, j'adresse à la conférence qui va se réunir mes souhaits et j'exprime l'espoir et la conviction que ses travaux ouvriront encore davantage les voies à la protection de toutes les tribus et races

non civilisées contre le trafic des spiritueux et de l'opium."*

In 1907 the great petition was presented and officially received in the Foreign Offices of Japan and China, both of which nations should be invited to the next conference on this subject, especially as it should include not Africa alone in its scope, but the Pacific islands also.

In 1884 Great Britain, whose laws forbid the sale of "wines, spirits, and all intoxicating liquors" in many savage islands where British power controls, submitted a treaty—in vain, because of Germany's opposition—to other commercial Powers, by which it was proposed to jointly prohibit the sale of intoxicants in all Pacific islands then unattached to any civilized Government, it being expected that such prohibition would also be provided by separate laws wherever a civilized Power had full jurisdiction.

Have the Pacific Islands been more benefited than injured by commerce with white men?

BRITAIN ASKED TO JOIN AMERICA IN FRAMING
TREATY.

It would amount, in part, to a revival of that Treaty proposal of 1884, if Great Britain should

* English translation of cablegram from the President of the United States:

"To the President of the Brussels Conference for the Revision of the Rules to Control Spirits in Africa:

"Uttering the earnest wishes of the American People, expressed on many occasions, for the adoption of measures to protect the savage and uncivilized races in Africa and all parts of the world against intoxicants and injurious drugs, I extend to the Congress about to convene my good wishes, and express the hope and conviction that its labors will still further open the door for the universal prevention of liquor and opium traffic with all uncivilized tribes and races.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

"October 15, 1906."

Should the State prohibit the sale of intoxicants to minors?

accept the invitation that President Roosevelt submitted through Secretary Hay in 1901, and in 1907 told the writer through Secretary Root he should renew, to join the United States in framing a world treaty providing for universal prohibition for the uncivilized child-races as wards of civilization. This repeated proposal did not receive swift response, and this writing (January, 1908) waits on a stronger expression of approving British sentiment. In scores of meetings in the great cities of the British Empire resolutions approving President Roosevelt's proposals have been voted—always unanimously—in the Capital of Canada, on motion of the Chief Justice, seconded by the Secretary of Militia; but more numerous and more urgent resolutions—letters also—are at this writing urgently needed.

We may fitly conclude this topic with the words with which Secretary Root gave the writer God-speed as he started out, in October, 1906, to spend a year in a round-the-world tour in behalf of the two Crusades described:

“I am with you and this Government is with you on both propositions—as to opium in China and liquors among uncivilized races. They are disgraces of civilization. My part is diplomacy, your part is agitation.”

VII.—INTERNATIONAL MORAL LEGISLATION

The previous chapter was devoted to international action that is or would be partly in the interest of morals, but chiefly in the interests of markets. This chapter deals with international action that is chiefly if not wholly in the interest of morals.

The most unprecedented of the many official conferences of nations was the "Conference of Paris on the White Slave Traffic" in 1904. The title should be The Traffic in Women, for it is not white women alone that are bought and sold. The brown women of Japan, alas, are numerous among these "slaves." This is the supreme fault of an otherwise rapidly progressing nation. To right this fault would help more than gunboats to remove immigration discriminations against this race that in other respects has proved itself worthy of such treatment everywhere as is accorded to "the most favored nation."

It was wonderful indeed that France, a nation that legalizes the domestic vice market, should call other civilized nations to a conference at Paris to devise means to suppress the international branch of the same traffic. It has been discovered that there were regular depots in many lands for gather-

QUESTIONS FOR DEBATE.

Has the State any right to meddle with morals further than to protect life and property?

Can the licensing of vice be justified?

ing, transporting, and selling women into a slavery which is worse than the horrible "middle passage" that slaughtered negroes wholesale long ago, and was suppressed by the protest of mankind. That slavery destroyed the body; this destroys both body and soul, for time and eternity.

The result of the Conference was an INTERNATIONAL PROHIBITION OF INTERNATIONAL TRAFFIC IN WOMEN FOR IMMORAL PURPOSES.

The United States was invited to that Conference, but did not participate, though American ports are deeply involved in this hellish commerce. This failure to participate was probably due to the fact that it has been unusual for the United States to mix in European affairs—an aloofness that is already becoming a thing of the past. However, when a second Conference was called in 1906 to provide for such international co-operation as would insure a better enforcement of the prohibition, the United States was represented in both the official and unofficial lists of delegates, the writer being among the latter.

For the first time, probably, unofficial experts elected by reform societies were permitted to sit as corresponding members in an official International Conference. They paid a fee of twenty francs. They had no vote, but full privileges of debate. The preceding Congress of Paris, made up chiefly of diplomats of various nations in the legations at Paris, who constituted the regular delegates, having no expert knowledge of "rescue work," had found it necessary to take frequent counsel in the "lobby" with the purity experts who were naturally on hand at such a time. For the second conference it was sensibly decided *to take the lobby in on the main floor.*

Is the lobby an evil in itself?

WOMEN IN A WORLD PARLIAMENT.

This brought in a large and strong company of women, who have ever been the best champions and deliverers of their betrayed and fallen sisters. At the very time when, in London, blind leaders of the blind were trying to open a way for women into the British Parliament, not by reason but by force, and were thus furnishing stronger reasons against woman suffrage than any enemy ever devised, Lady Aberdeen and true women of the Continent quietly entered a World Parliament and discussed the most fundamental of all questions of government, with tenderness but no tears, with delicacy but no prudery, with the passion of purity but no hysterics, so furnishing, without any special appeal for suffrage, the best of proof that women can participate effectively in the very highest acts of government—those that are diplomatic and international.

At the first meeting women were called on only at the end, as if by an afterthought, and two only were introduced by the French President, with pretty compliments. But as the debates got down to the real problem the compliments were dropped, and the women rose as often as the men with as firm an appeal to the President for the floor—"Je demandé la parole" (I demand the word). In the weight of argument they furnished more than their share.

It was because of the courage of these women delegates that the question, held back in the previous Conference, was pressed to consideration—though not to conclusion—whether France and Germany and Japan, by legalizing the domestic traffic in vice, did not give the international traffic

Would it be wise to give women as full participation in government as men have?

Has the course of London "suffragettes" in seeking to compel action in their favor by violent demonstrations been wise or justifiable?

Should women be now equal sharers with men in directorships of churches and of philanthropic and reform societies?

Is not the legalizing of vice locally the strongest incentive to international traffic?

its strongest incentive by furnishing a secure market for these imports of tarnished souls.

The main effort of this second Conference was to establish bureaus of information by which every signatory nation would agree to give such information to other countries as would result in the detection of the infamous procurers and aid in the rescue of their victims, whether they were wise enough to wish deliverance or not.

Is "the double standard" justifiable?

The chapter is not ended. Internationally, nationally, and locally, our duty is not done when the traffic in girls is outlawed. No other class of laws is so inadequately enforced, which is the case partly because so many are more afraid to have mud than blood on their hands. It is shallow to say the evil cannot be wholly suppressed, as an excuse for letting it go unchecked. There is no other subject to which Gladstone's most practical word is more appropriate: "It is the purpose of law to make it as hard as possible to do wrong, and as easy as possible to do right." That means an unceasing war against all participants in this slave traffic, including the landlords and the male prostitutes, as well as their victims.

But the positive side of this reform should have chief attention:

"My strength is as the strength of ten,
Because my heart is pure."

VIII.—INTERNATIONAL ACTION ON GAMBLING NEEDED

Another evil which, because of "material and moral injury" wrought through it by one nation upon another, should become the subject of an international Conference is gambling, especially the use of the mails by nations morally backward on this reform—such as Mexico and Germany—to sell tickets of national or other lotteries in nations where all lotteries have long been suppressed as devices of knaves to swindle fools. This should be done by amending the privileges of the Universal Postal Union so that foreign mail addressed to a lottery agent could be returned to the sender on fraud orders being issued by the authorities, and any person mailing a solicitation to the purchase of a lottery ticket or such a ticket should also be effectually punished by his own country, on evidence being furnished that he had done so. In answer to an inquiry from the International Reform Bureau, Hon. R. P. Goodwin, Assistant Attorney-General for the Post Office Department of the United States, wrote on October 24, 1905:

"The Post Office Department has no intimation of any action which has been taken by this Government in the past in the direction of securing the

QUESTIONS FOR DEBATE.

Is not all gambling a misappropriation of trust funds?

Is a bet a fool's argument, and a lottery a knave's bargain?

Does the devoting of gambling profits to charity mitigate the crime?

Does the legalizing of gambling lessen its evils?

Is gambling a legitimate source of revenue in a civilized State?

co-operation of the German Government in the suppression of lottery enterprises carried on by its citizens and promoted through the United States mails."

Surely the honest citizens of both Governments will urge that both Governments shall give attention to this international wrong, in the name of conscience and of commerce. And as other nations are also wronged by German and other lotteries, an International Conference should deal with it. If the place for such a Conference is in the nation that has most completely forbidden all forms of gambling among its own people, it would be Japan, albeit in Formosa Japan carried on a national lottery at the cost of its foreign subjects until it was laughed out of court on an effort being made to enforce a provision that these official lottery tickets should not be sold in Japan itself. It was a case of Japan imitating one too many of the European customs, of which a prominent one has been permission to "do" foreigners with frauds that are not allowed among citizens.* When an International Conference takes up international gambling, of course Monte Carlo and its Asiatic mimic, Macao, whose main industry in both cases is international robbery by licensed gambling, will be suppressed, as other forms of piracy have been previously suppressed, by international action. An International Conference might well declare that gambling is

Is not it unbecoming for honest men even to visit such a robber den as Monte Carlo?

* It is illegal, according to British regulations, to sell to natives of the United Kingdom anything purporting to be whiskey which is not the genuine article. But when it comes to selling for export, where it is to be drunk in the United States, there is nothing to prevent the distiller from practising any sort of imposition he chooses. This is the gist of the report that has been made by Dr. Wiley, of the American Department of Agriculture to Secretary Wilson.

neither a civilized business nor a civilized sport, and cannot therefore be recognized as having any international rights. As a business it violates the fundamental law that only "A fair exchange is no robbery," and as a sport it violates the rule that one must not drag "shop"—that is, the idea of material gain—into the social hour. It is under that rule as ill-mannered to "play" cards or to play "the sport of kings" for money as to solicit insurance on the golf field.

Honest business the world over suffers from peculations and embezzlements that are directly prompted by organized inducements to gambling, and chambers of commerce everywhere, equally with churches, should therefore urge governmental action—international, national, and local—to suppress it.

All educated men the world around should know the great decision of the United States Supreme Court in confirming the outlawing of the Louisiana Lottery, which applies to other licensed evils also, that THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES CANNOT LEGALIZE WHAT IS AGAINST PUBLIC HEALTH OR PUBLIC MORALS OR PUBLIC SAFETY, MUCH LESS THEIR RULERS.

Should students themselves in their own code of honor put gambling under the ban as a greedy vice unworthy of educated men?

Should the courts in all lands declare all laws legalizing gambling invalid as contrary to fundamental rights?

IX.—INTERNATIONAL REGULATION OF IMMIGRATION

The Paris conferences of nations on the international traffic in girls have initiated international restriction of immigration, which cannot logically stop with the prohibition of the emigration and immigration of prostitutes. Why should not the nations agree that they will co-operate to protect each other against the migration of murderers and thieves and paupers and drunkards? Extradition laws, which are doing something towards this in a retail way, afford another precedent for wholesale action.

It would be a fitting subject for a college "congress" or a literary or political club to discuss, apropos of the critical problems raised by the legislative exclusion of the Chinese and the diplomatic exclusion of Japanese from the United States, and the immigration restrictions put on both these races and the Hindus in British colonies, whether an International Conference on the whole subject of emigration and immigration should be called, and, if so, what should be its action. It is said that the best prophecy of the future is the unforced opinions of young men. In almost any nation political

QUESTIONS FOR DEBATE.

Is a conference of nations on emigration and immigration practicable?

Should the extradition of criminals be provided for by a general Concert of nations?

Is it desirable that university men discuss current questions of practical politics?

In immigration laws should defectives, delinquents, dependents and illiterates be all put in the excluded classes?

Should bigamy be made an extraditable offense?

Should "political offenders" be specified as among admissible immigrants?

Should extradition include anarchists who advocate the violent overthrow of all governments?

action might be influenced by one university discussing such a problem thoroughly and inducing one hundred other collegiate institutions to do the same and report the results to the Government.

First, should not all physical and mental defectives be debarred from emigration and immigration by international action? "Blood is thicker than water," but it gets too thick when mixed with mud. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," is a double command and includes a wise self-love, both in the individual and in the nation. We shall do the most for the world in the end if we guard our national health and strength against contamination through imported weaklings. Second, should not all dependents be debarred except members of families already admitted and capable of supporting them? Third, should not delinquents also be excluded so far as they can be shown to have been convicted or guilty of murder, theft, or habitual drunkenness? We can hardly expect that polygamous countries will agree to extradite bigamists. And even the more fully civilized nations that forbid polygamy might find difficulty in formulating an international definition of a bigamist, on account of the scandalous divorce laws that prevail in some parts of the United States and elsewhere.

Fourth, shall the exception for political convicts, many of them arrested only because they were loyal to liberty, whom Great Britain and France and the United States would insist should not be barred by any immigration legislation, include any who advocate the overthrow of all government? Some would permit "the philosophical anarchist" to move about the world, while willing that an international agreement should be made to brand as a universal outlaw, subject to universal extradition, any anar-

chist who advocated or practised the theory that all governments should be overthrown by force?

Fifth—and this is the most critical international problem—should there not be some international agreement as to Asiatic migration to white countries, lest the justly offended pride of awakened Japan and awakening China shall create a “yellow peril” indeed in reprisals of commerce or of war? In any such conflict the United States and the British Empire will have the disadvantage of Russia in the recent war, in knowing that Justice, the champion warrior, is on the Asiatic side. No doubt Japan and China would readily agree to exclusion by any educational or physical or moral test that applied impartially to all races, or to any impartial numerical limitation that admitted of any nationality not more than twenty-five thousand, for example, in any one year. That would bring more British and Scandinavian immigrants to the United States by lessening their competition with the cheap labor and low standard of living in Italy, Hungary, Poland, and Russia.

It cannot be expected that two such mighty nations, as Japan and China* are to be when the high-spirited students now in their universities come into leadership there, will tamely stand by and see the wilful violation of the solemn promise in their treaties that they are to have treatment in

Can the cry “A white Australia!” be justified in its implication that all colored races should be excluded?

Are the Japanese laborers less desirable immigrants than those of southern and eastern Europe?

Are the Chinese farmers and laborers desirable immigrants?

Is China a “dying nation?”

* An interesting paragraph of Internationalism might be developed in regard to the agreements of various nations with China and Japan, in 1905 and 1906 and thereafter, which together amount to such a guaranteed neutrality for China as Belgium has long enjoyed to its great commercial advantage. China has therefore an unprecedented opportunity to develop the new life that is stirring her provinces, which promises to make that country ere long too strong to be trifled with.

Does politics owe allegiance to the Decalogue and the Golden Rule?

the British Empire and the United States equal to that of "the most favored nation." They are, in fact, treated as the most despised nations because of the subserviency of politicians to a small minority of selfish workmen who thus bar out honest rivals in toil; but the consenting majority have the ability, and so the responsibility, to see that justice is done, and will suffer the consequences if they do not.

X.—INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITIONS OF SUNDAY

That some future conference of nations may and should provide for diplomatic uniformity in the official observance of Sunday is suggested by the fact that both Japan and China, though non-Christian nations, have ordered the closing of all public offices and public schools on Sunday, doubtless in courteous deference to the customs of other civilized nations with which they wish to associate intimately in the capitals of the world and in modern education. This act of delicate Oriental politeness is a rebuke to those boorish diplomats who so often forget that, whatever their own feeling about Sunday, they should on that day, if only in the name of good breeding, act in accord with the Christian standards of the nation they represent, and pay courteous deference also to the nation to which they are sent. Especially when sent to such a government as that of the United States or Great Britain, where the national convictions call for abstention on Sunday from both work and social functions, they should see that international courtesy forbids them to wound such cherished ideals by giving dinner parties or other public functions on Sunday and, most of all, by inviting other diplomats to share in such offensive acts.

QUESTIONS FOR DEBATE.

Does international courtesy require a quiet Sunday in diplomatic legations?

Is the use of Sunday for the study of school and college lessons wrong?

Are laws forbidding Sunday work, business, and public amusements, justifiable on hygienic and economic grounds?

Does courtesy forbid public games on Sunday?

Is the suspension of labor and business on Sunday a financial loss?

Is it justifiable for advocates of the Saturday Sabbath to attack Sunday under the disguise of a "Religious Liberty Association?"

There is a suggestion of yet further co-operative action of nations as to Sunday toil and traffic in the fact that, in all the great ports of the world and in less measure in nearly all large cities, all nations now mingle. Such alert merchants and manufacturers as the Japanese will presently catch the significance of the fact that in Yokohama, for example, it is the most prosperous concerns of the richest nations that close on Sunday, while their petty shops spread out their week's work, without advantage, over seven days in an endless grind. There will be no international action in support of the religious Sabbath, a purely voluntary matter between each individual and God; but the civil Sabbath* will become the weekly Rest Day of the world because the law of it is written in the constitution of man. It is recognized in the Constitution of the United States, which guards the President's right to Sunday rest, and every nation's law, if not the law of nations, should also protect this God-given right for every man.

* See full discussion in my book, "Civil Sabbath," International Reform Bureau, Washington, D. C., U. S. A., 15 cents (7½ pence).

APPENDIX

ESPERANTO DESCRIBED.

Twenty years ago an unknown Polish physician living in Bialystok, in West Russia, published a pamphlet entitled "Lingvo Internacia," by Dr. Esperanto. It was an attempt to solve the problem of an artificial international means of communication. To-day Dr. Louis Zamenhof is known all over the civilized world as the inventor of a really practical international auxiliary language called Esperanto.

The inhabitants of Zamenhof's birthplace (Bialystok) were made up of Russians, Poles, Germans, and Jews, each speaking different languages, and always on bad terms with each other. As a boy young Zamenhof got the idea that if they could understand one another they would live peacefully together, and in the boy's mind there sprang up the idea of an international language. He learnt French and German in his boyhood, and later, at college, the classics and English. During all his schooldays he was working out his new tongue, with the result that towards the end of his school career he and his friends celebrated by a banquet the birth of a new language. The school authorities ridiculed it, and Zamenhof's friends fell away. He did not despair, but hid his future work from every one. His university days, he tells us, were his saddest. For six years he lived an almost solitary life, but by the time he was graduated his language was complete. He commenced to practise his profession, and for two years sought in vain for a publisher. At last, in 1887, he succeeded in publishing his first book, and Esperanto was given to the world.

Esperanto is so simple that after a few hours' study it can be read by the aid of a dictionary alone. Tolstoy a few years ago wrote: "It is so easy to understand that when I received, some six years since,

a grammar, a dictionary, and some articles in this language, I was able in two short hours, if not to write, at any rate to read it fluently." A glance at the formation of the language will enable one to understand the means by which the inventor rendered his language so easy of acquisition.

The Esperanto grammar is a marvel of simplicity and completeness, and may be summarized in a few lines. All nouns end in "o," all adjectives in "a," all derived adverbs in "e." Nouns have no case endings, except that "n" is used as the sign of the direct object. The most noticeable feature is the verb—that crux of all foreign languages—but the whole of the moods, tenses, and participles of the Esperanto verb are contained in twelve terminations, and with these twelve terminations the finest shades of meaning can be expressed with absolute precision. The infinitive ends in "i," present tense in "as," past in "is," future in "os." The conditional mood ends in "us," and the imperative in "u." No change takes place for the different persons. Of the three active participles the present ends in "anta," the past in "inta," the future in "onta," while the three passive participle endings are—present "ata," past "ita," future "ota." There are absolutely no irregularities, not even in "esti" (to be), which is the only auxiliary.

Dr. Zamenhof's greatest triumph, however, lies in the Esperanto vocabulary. His aim being to make a language for the use of all nations, he strove to attain the maximum degree of internationality in his vocabulary, and therefore to select words already known to the majority of persons of ordinary education. So well has this principle been carried out that in an Esperanto test an Englishman would recognize 70 per cent. of the words, an Italian 60 per cent., a Spaniard 42 per cent., a German 40 per cent., and a Frenchman 80 per cent. But the vocabulary is still further simplified by the fact that the learner is enabled to form his own words by adding certain well-defined prefixes and suffixes to the fundamental root words, which number about three hundred. For example, no separate words denoting females need be learned. The suffix "in" denotes the female sex; thus, "onklo" (uncle) becomes "onklino" (aunt), "patro" (father) becomes "patrino" (mother), "bovo" (a bull) becomes "bovino" (a

cow), and so on. Esperanto provides no words for small, slow, and poor. They may be formed from the root words for large, quick, and rich, by prefixing "mal," which denotes contraries; thus, "malgranda" (small), "malrapida" (slow), "malriĉa" (poor). There are about thirty such affixes, and since many may be combined in the same word it is clear that though the Esperanto vocabulary is so simple for the memory it nevertheless provides for an almost illimitable number of words.

The alphabet used is the Roman, omitting "q," "w," "x," and "z," with the addition of six accented letters. The pronunciation offers no difficulties, as Esperanto is purely phonetic, and experience has shown that people of different nationalities, meeting for the first time, understand each other without difficulty.

The progress of this new language has been marvelous. It first spread in Russia, then to the north into Norway and Sweden. In 1892 the first French edition of an Esperanto text-book was published by M. de Beaufront, who at that time had ready for publication an international language to which he had devoted some twelve years of his life. Concluding that Dr. Zamenhof's system was superior to his own, M. de Beaufront abandoned his own creation and advocated Esperanto. France is now one of the foremost Esperanto countries; there are about ninety French Esperanto societies; the language is taught in many universities and colleges; the War Minister is encouraging its teaching in the military schools, and this year an attempt will be made in the French Chamber to enact that Esperanto shall be taught in the State schools of that country.

In Great Britain also since its introduction, in 1902, Esperanto is making great headway—so great, indeed, that the London Chamber of Commerce has placed it on the same footing as foreign tongues and has made it one of the subjects for its examinations. In the London county schools and in many board schools Esperanto courses are given to the pupils, while some eighty societies are actively engaged in spreading a knowledge of it.

Last year witnessed the growth of a strong interest in the language in the United States. At Harvard, Princeton, the Ohio State, and the Western Reserve universities several of the professors are advocating

Esperanto, and societies for its diffusion are being organized throughout the States.

In 1905 the first Universal Esperanto Congress was held at Boulogne, and in 1906 the second was held at Geneva. Both these Congresses were attended by delegates from all parts of the world, and at each of them the whole of the discussions were carried on, and all the business transacted, in Esperanto. Delegates and visitors, knowing nothing of each other's language, were able to speak and understand one another in the new tongue. These conferences provided crucial tests of the practicability of the new language, and Esperanto came through them triumphantly.

There are nearly four hundred Esperantist societies in Europe, America, and Asia—the latest-formed one being in Japan—and thirty Esperanto journals are published every month, one of them being devoted solely to general science and another to medicine.

Thousands of circles were developed in 1908 by the introduction of Esperanto lessons, taught by Mrs. Wilbur F. Crafts, in the New York *Christian Herald*, which has about a million readers in many lands. It is expected that courses in Esperanto will also be introduced in American Chautauquas as a combination of recreation and education.

THE INTERNATIONAL REFORM BUREAU

Headquarters: 206 Pennsylvania Ave., s. e., Washington, D. C.
REV. WILBUR F. CRAFTS, PH.D., SUPERINTENDENT AND TREASURER.

IS BASED ON FOUR GREAT PRINCIPLES, ATTACKS FOUR GREAT EVILS, BY FOUR METHODS, IN FOUR FIELDS AND BY FOUR FORCES

The Four Great Principles are:

1. The command to love man as well as God, requires the Church and all Christians to make specific and regular efforts to right not only the personal relations of men to God but also social relations among men.
2. As the individual is saved by the cross of Christ, the community must be saved by his crown, that is, by making the laws of Christ, little by little, the laws of business and politics and pleasure.
2. Environment affects conversion before and after, and the church should therefore unite to create a favorable moral environment, especially for children and child races.
4. As all vices co-operate, and all virtues are related, Christian churches and citizens should promote all true reforms—not one alone.

The Big Four Evils the Bureau fights most of all are:

(1) Intemperance, (2) Impurity, (3) Sabbath-breaking, and (4) Gambling, which are four sides of one frowning fortress, that all good citizens should attack on all sides.

We attack these by four methods, namely:

- (1) By legislation, (2) by letters, (3) by lectures, and (4) by literature.

The Four Fields are:

(1) Local, (2) State, (3) National, and (4) International. Congress has enacted twelve important laws, relating to impurity, divorce, the Sabbath, and intoxicants, that were drawn by the Bureau, which also defeated a bad law to legalize race gambling in the District of Columbia, and another of like purpose in the Pennsylvania legislature. The Bureau's Pacific Coast District Secretary drew and carried to victory the new Sunday law of Idaho, which is working well. In all state legislatures good laws will be promoted by our secretaries, and bad laws defeated. Locally law enforcement will be aided wherever they go as lecturers. Much can be done by interviews of such experts with public officials. The Bureau's very extensive files of information are made widely useful by correspondence. Best of all, we can reach moral leaders in all lands with two ounces of stirring literature at a cost of three cents each, \$30 per 1,000.

Our International specialty is to inform and arouse and express public sentiment in favor of a treaty of all civilized governments to prohibit the sale of intoxicants and opium to uncivilized and newly civilized races.

The emancipation of China from opium having been assured by the action of the British and Chinese governments, and victory over opium in the Philippines, having been doubly decreed for March 1, 1908, to all of which the International Reform Bureau materially contributed, the way is open to drive the white man's rum also from the mission fields, in the name of conscience and of commerce.

The Four Forces united in our international crusade, as in no other project are:

- (1) The reform organizations, (2) the missionary societies, (3) the chambers of commerce, (4) the governments.

The Bureau has twelve lecturers constantly at work, one in Australia, one in Canada, soon to go to Eastern Asia, ten in the United States. Other lecturing secretaries should be added at London, Berlin and Calcutta, and at least nine more in the United States and Canada.

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To All Civilized Governments:

INASMUCH as the Senate of the United States has invited all civilized governments to unite in making laws and treaties to prohibit the sale of intoxicants and opium to uncivilized races, which proposal President Roosevelt set squarely before the world by cabling it to the Brussels Conference of 1906; therefore

Resolved, That we earnestly petition our own Government to make a favorable response to this great proposal, and to act to that end, so far as possible, among our own subjects, without waiting for other Governments; and

Resolved, That one copy of this action, certified by signature of President of this meeting, be sent to our Government, and another to the International Reform Bureau, Washington, D. C., U. S. A., that it may be added to the great petition "To all Civilized Governments" for such laws and treaties.

Adopted by..... of..... on..... and undersigned authorized to so attest.

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