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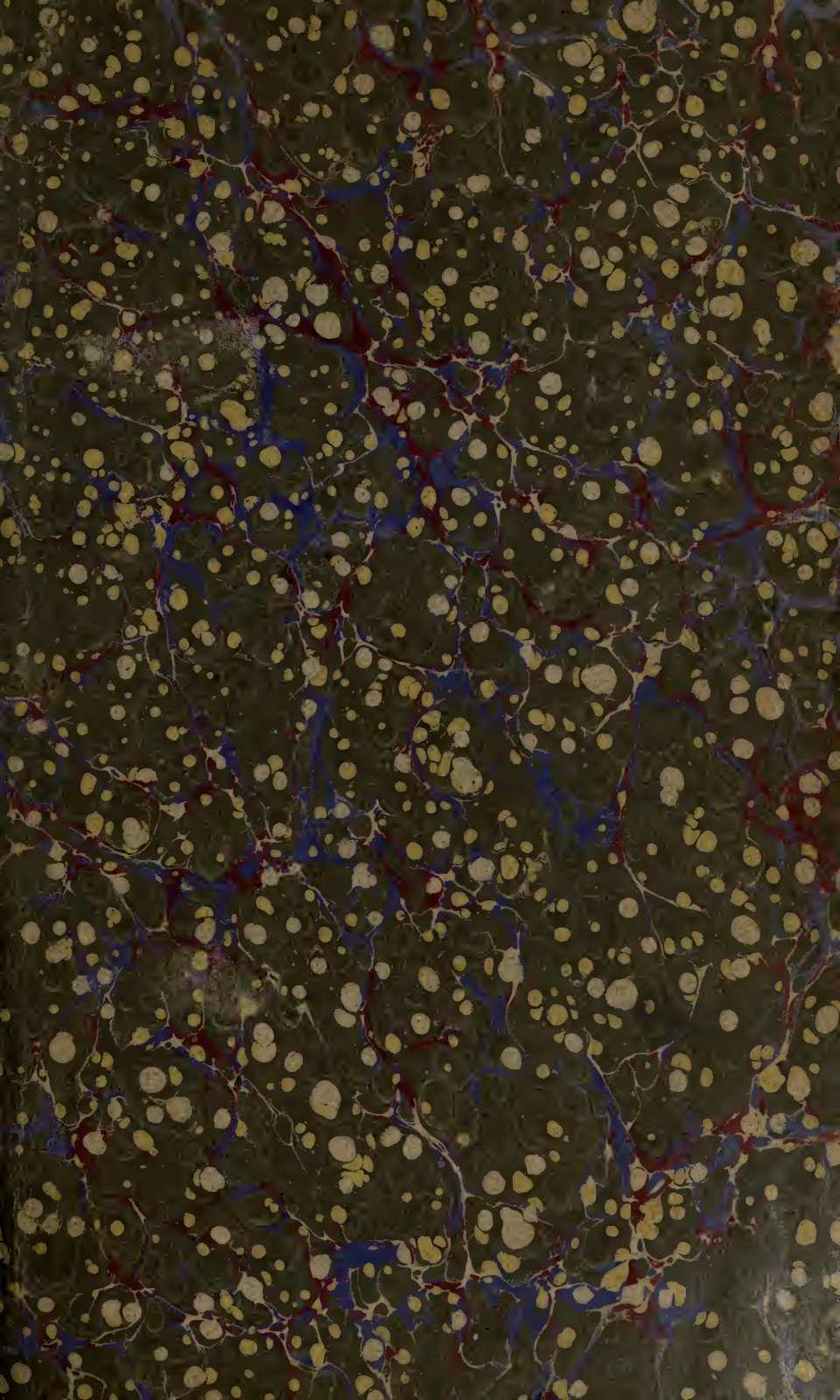



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PROCEEDINGS

OF A

CONVENTION

IN FAVOR OF

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION,

HELD IN

ST. GEORGE'S HALL,

PHILADELPHIA.

NOVEMBER 27, 1883.

PHILADELPHIA :

A. T. ZEISING & Co., PRINTERS, 402-404-406 RACE STREET.

1884.

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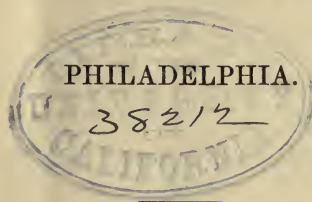
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PREFATORY NOTE.

The Convention described in this pamphlet was got together under some disadvantages. The National Arbitration League had resolved upon holding one in Philadelphia about the time this was convened, but, discouragements arising, postponed the meeting indefinitely. Some Friends in the West, zealous for the cause, revived the project, and coming to Philadelphia, by the aid of a few others, succeeded in awakening an unusual interest. The Convention proved to be one of the most successful and influential on record. Under the circumstances but little money was raised, and no provision was made for printing the proceedings, which are now published in this form by private subscription. We are indebted to Secretary Janney for a draft of the minutes, but, to save space, the formal reports of Committees and incidental business are omitted, and also many of the remarks of different speakers. Some of these also are no doubt omitted through imperfect reporting, no stenographer having been employed by the Convention. Professor Hobbs' paper and the New Zealand essay were in MS. complete. For the fuller report of speeches, we are indebted to a stenographic report made by Rev. Henry S. Clubb, who was present during most of the meeting. In justice to him, it should be added that his report has been very much abridged for want of room. We ask the indulgence of any who are not fully and accurately reported on these accounts. The two MSS. and the resolves of the Convention, which may, perhaps, be considered the most important parts, are accurate.

P. C. G.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Convention assembled in St. George's Hall, Philadelphia, at 10.30 A. M., on the 27th of November, 1883.

Matthew Simpson, Senior Bishop of the Methodist Church, was called to the chair, and afterwards appointed permanent Chairman, and Bernard T. Janney, of Washington, D. C., Vice-President of the National Arbitration League, at whose instance the meeting was held, was appointed Secretary, assisted by Dr. T. A. Bland and R. R. Corson.

Daniel Hill, of Ohio, Editor of *The Messenger of Peace*, read the fifty-first Psalm and offered prayer for the Divine blessing on the proceedings.

A letter was read from Charles Lemonnier, of Geneva, Switzerland.

Philip C. Garrett said he hoped the Convention would draw a line distinctly between peace at any price and arbitration as a means of settling international disputes. He apprehended the time was far distant when the sword would be beaten into a plowshare as the prophet predicted. "But the object for which this convention is called is a practical one. It is not a new question. Two or three centuries ago, in the reign of Henry IV., of France, Sully devised a great scheme by which the nations of Europe should be associated to avoid war. His object was to increase the glory and promote the interests of France. But it is an issue now commonly coming to be accepted by civilized nations, so that we really hope arbitration will be used as a means of settling most difficulties which may arise. But questions occur which will be exceedingly difficult, because all nations do not desire peace. The scheme of William Penn was a practical scheme, based on that of Sully. It was a plan, which can be enlarged upon for the present day, that pointed to a sort of congress or court of nations of Europe, to which should be submitted all questions affecting the peace of the nations. His idea was, that armies should be employed to enforce the court's decisions.

“I take it to be an earnest of the practical intentions of this Convention that I see before me so remarkable a collection of eminent men; that we should have presiding a distinguished Bishop, supported by an Ex-Governor of the State, an Ex-Senator and an Ex-Minister to England from the United States, and that we should have from General Grant an assurance of his interest in this subject by letter. This is pre-eminently a practical question, and I confess it is only on such a basis that I care to enter a movement of this kind.”

Mr. Garrett referred to the two congresses he had had the pleasure of attending in Frankfort-on-Main and London, for the reform and codification of the law of nations, in which there was not a single delegate, except from the United States, but looked upon the peace idea as Utopian; while of the eminent men in those congresses representing the United States, every one regarded it as practical and believed steps could be taken at a very early day to forward it. “The jealousies among the nations of Europe, owing to their close proximity, make it exceedingly difficult to carry out peace among them. On the other hand, we all know the last four Presidents of the United States have urged the expediency of adopting arbitration in all cases before resorting to war. I think the time is ripe for the participation, not only of the clergy and ministers of all denominations, but all prominent men who have humanity at heart. It is incumbent upon us to urge, every one of us, upon the Government of the United States, to promptly take some steps with the other nations of this hemisphere. Those which have adopted a representative form of government are less disposed to war than monarchies. Little Switzerland and our own country are instances of this. The predominance of industrial pursuits, the abandonment of old feudal conquests, all the arts of peace now pursued with so much energy, indicate that the time is ripe. Before this Convention adjourns it will add the weight of its influence (and I see it is very great,) and I trust will send a delegation to Washington to urge this subject still more strongly upon our Government.

“If arbitration can be adopted in this hemisphere, in the amicable state of our relations with England, I think a permanent treaty with her, providing for the reference of every point in dispute to arbitrators, could be easily carried out in the present day. The Government of

France, owing to old friendly relations, would soon come into such an arrangement. I believe Switzerland has already done so; Belgium would, and Italy is very likely to follow. It devolves upon this Government and upon this Convention, assembled in the city of William Penn, to take an initial step."

A letter was read from Ex-Governor Frederick P. Stanton, of Kansas, President of the National Arbitration League, expressing regret at his inability to be present; also one from Hon. E. S. Tobey, President of the American Peace Society, in which he says:

"Personally, I very much regret that my official engagements" (as Postmaster of Boston, Mass.) "will prevent me from attending and participating in the deliberations of the Convention."

A letter from Dr. Wayland informed that a meeting of Baptist clergymen had expressed hearty sympathy with the Convention.

The following was received and read from General Grant:

"NEW YORK CITY, November 24, 1883.

"DEAR SIR: I will not be able to accept your invitation to be present at the opening of the Peace Convention. * * * *

"My views on the subject of peace arbitration in the settlement of international differences instead of the sword have not changed. But my hope of its speedy accomplishment has diminished. It is only by keeping the subject alive, however, that it can be accomplished.

"Very truly yours,

U. S. GRANT.

"Philip C. Garrett, Esq."

Thomas Walter, member of the Common Council of Philadelphia, in the absence of Mayor King, rose to welcome the members of the Arbitration Convention to the city. "It was appropriate that this Arbitration Convention should meet on the banks of the Delaware, within the limits of this city where William Penn made his memorable treaty with the Indians. We not only welcome you to the old city of Penn, but to the State of Penn, and may we revive his intention and lay the foundation of a grand International Arbitration party that will exist to all time." [Applause.]

Further communications were read from the Secretary of the International Arbitration and Peace Association of London, and from the Association of Evangelical Ministers of Des Moines, Iowa, expressing sympathy with the objects of the Convention, and wishes

for its success; also, a cablegram from Appleton, London: "Protest against Franco-Chinese war. Success to the Convention."

Rev. Dr. Nevins stated that the Presbyterian Ministerial Association had appointed five delegates to this Convention, of whom he had the honor of being one. "I never attended a meeting in my life with more pleasure than this one. I never felt that I was more in harmony with the mind of God. We have the God of Peace, we have the Prince of Peace with us. We have the cause in our hands which is dear to the Government of the Universe, which is vitally blended with the establishment of the kingdom of Christ. While Christianity has directed its attention to slavery as one of the relics of barbarism with which we have had to contend, it has not turned its attention in the direction in which we are now looking. I am not rabid on this subject. I believe that war must be resorted to at times. It is to be the last and it is to be a lamented resort. But I firmly believe, Sir, as I have no doubt all you who are present also believe, that the system of arbitration which has been tried in this city and State with success so as to become a law of the State, is one of the means by which war may be dispensed with, and if we can bring the inhabitants of the earth in the nineteenth century to do what men are doing in ordinary transactions of life, our great purpose will be accomplished. If we settle down under the belief that men must go forward to fight and destroy one another, so far in my judgment we are ignoring the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and running directly in opposition to its teachings and principles.

"I may here assert with my brethren, as Presbyterian ministers, that we are cordially in favor of this movement. The Presbyterian Church is with this Convention. We love peace. We will say with our late President, and we ought not to wait for the President to say it: 'Let us have peace.' 'Let us have peace?' How can we have it but by submission to the laws of moral and spiritual purity, and removing the great obstacles to a triumphant advance of the cause of Christ?

"Let us make this convention in St. George's Hall successful; for I say this is the cause of causes. It is the cause of God; it is the cause of humanity; the cause of religion, and the cause of everything that is good. It deserves our prayers and every effort for its promotion."

The Convention then adjourned till afternoon.

At 2.30 P. M. the Convention reassembled, Bishop Simpson in the chair.

After prayer the following paper was read by Professor Barnabas C. Hobbs, formerly Superintendent of Public Schools for the State of Indiana:

We are not here to-day to discuss the merits of "Peace at any price" among nations. That is a question of Christian ethics too deep for many who bear the Christian name to accept. We are here as Christian patriots, as Christian philanthropists, as political economists, in a time of *peace*, to prepare the way among nations for perpetual peace.

We come as believers in the truth of prophecy, that many people "Will beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more;" that "the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of His Christ;" that "the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord as the waters cover the sea."

All reforms must have their beginnings. Somebody must step to the front, and, acting the part of the Christian philanthropist, set the facts before the people which show the need of reform. When we glance over Europe we find Christian nations everywhere bleeding at every pore. The pick of young manhood is everywhere taken from all occupations of productive industry and compelled to live for years in comparative idleness to learn scientifically how, by sea and land, to destroy each other's lives most skillfully, and to plunder each other's property. Germany is considered an average nation in her armaments and her drafts upon her citizens. Her population is 40,000,000, and her standing army one million. For each forty men, women and children, one soldier must be supported, and a proportion of material furnished for equipments for army and navy.

The annual expenditure of these armies and navies, given by Henry Richard, M. P., is.....	\$620,000,000
The interest of capital sunk in naval and military establishments is	156,280,000
The loss to society by the withdrawal of 5,000,000 men	1,281,190,000
Amount of these three items is	\$2,057,470,000

It is estimated that England spends annually for these purposes \$150,000,000. In thirty years her military expenses saved would pay her national debt.

When I was in Berlin in 1879, a member of the German Parliament informed me that a resolution was offered instructing the ministry to open a correspondence with other Christian nations relative to reducing their standing armies one-half, as a measure of economy. Many favored it, but Bismarck, who, like Napoleon, thinks God is always on the side of the strongest battalions, earnestly opposed it, saying that neighboring nations would construe such a measure, emanating from Germany, as an evidence of weakness. Other nations measure their armaments by the ratio of Germany, and each for a like reason is imposing a burden on itself, which causes all Europe to groan, from the Rock of Gibraltar to the Ural Mountains; from John O'Groat's house to the Dardanelles. They are all weighed down together under reciprocal fear.

Manufactories, commerce, mines, workshops, railroads, warehouses, enterprises which would conquer the earth, and subordinate it to intelligent industry, and bless millions of homes, all the productive industries of earth, must be subject to an exhaustive draft of \$1,500,000,000 to \$2,000,000,000 annually.

As a desire for military life is encouraged, the peace of the nations is endangered. We have much to fear from this cause in America to-day. We are becoming an immensely wealthy nation. When wealth and a desire for military glory become united, the history of nations teaches us that where Christianity is not a controlling influence, the downfall of empires begins. Our remedy is elevating the moral character of the people; lifting the ignorant into intelligent social life; sending thrift, by labor, to the poor, by Christian restraint and culture.

"In time of peace prepare for war" is an absurd maxim, which has come to us from pagan Rome and is unworthy a Christian nation. If in time of peace we prepare for war, it will be sure to come. Just as truly, if in time of peace we prepare for peace, we shall have peace.

History will yet write it down a stigma upon Christian nations—nations where Bibles are made and sold; nations where Sabbath-schools and common schools are inculcating Bible precepts; who

marshal their armies, made up of professing Christians, for mutual destruction, while ministers of the churches on both sides are praying to heaven for help. After years of exhaustive strife, when the best men of the nations are slain or mutilated for life, and widows and orphans are weeping all over the land, and their treasuries are exhausted, congresses and parliaments are driven to the necessity of appointing representative men to meet on neutral territory to talk matters over calmly and sensibly; and, having found the place where justice, honor, and mutual good faith dwell, they agree upon and write down the terms on which a lasting peace may be maintained, and the sanguinary national strife is ended. How much better it would be if nations—and especially Christian nations—could see fit to submit their aggravated disputes to a court of arbitration instead of appealing to the cruel arbitrament of the sword.

Anyone visiting the coast of England to-day can see within cannon range of each other a cordon of fortifications around the island, constructed with a design to make all parts of the coast impregnable. The works, I am told, originated in the time of the Napoleonic scare, but are now entirely useless except for lighthouses, not being able to resist the destructive ordnance of the present day. Armies and navies are thus incalculably exhaustive of national capital or are expending means for purposes that soon become of no national or commercial value.

As we foster the love of war and make military heroism the standard of political excellence, esteeming it a qualification for every office in the government, what can we expect but that universities, academies and common schools will give military tactics an essential place in their courses of study? The ardor of youth induces a thirst for promotion. How can there be promotions and military honors without war? The pictures of our histories and the praises lavishly given to military and naval heroes constantly induce a thirst for active service, and the bad blood of nations maddens into war. A few years ago France and England united their forces for the destruction of Sevastopol, and with it the humiliation of Russia. Thousands of human lives were destroyed that commanders might become heroes. The fact was clearly demonstrated by John Bright at the time, that the war was unjustifiable. English blood was too hot to listen. The counsels of Earl Russel prevailed. John Bright

resigned his place in the ministry. The war ended, and when the smoke of battle cleared away and the temper of England and France cooled, statesmen, in review of what ought to have been, confessed that John Bright was right.

In the late contest between France and Germany, the only pretext that was discoverable was that after a full discussion and disposition of some national differences, a legate was sent to the Emperor William to reopen some of the questions settled. His majesty refused to give him an audience for that purpose. The Emperor Napoleon construed it as an insult demanding the chastisement of the sword. War was declared. Napoleon lost his crown. The empire became a republic. France lost two of her states, Alsace and Lorraine. And when the smoke of battle cleared away it was discovered that the Empire of France, which had been inaugurated by an aspirant for fame at any price, by a *coup d' état*, was resting on sand, that discontent and revolution were brewing, and the attention of France must be diverted to other purposes. The empire must be strengthened by the glory of conquest. Napoleon III. would restore to France the glory of Bonaparte I. The world writes down a humiliating chapter in her history.

The jealous eye of England is ever upon her Eastern Empire. Her large Indian army needs to be kept in motion. Russia, which has ever been famous for diplomacy, entered into treaty of friendship and peace with Afghanistan; England at once demands equal evidences of good-will towards her. The Afghans assure her that they mean no insult and desire peace and fraternity. War, in the face of all this, is declared. Afghanistan is conquered and a favorite of England is crowned. The best men of England sent to Parliament their remonstrances against this war, as well as the uncalled for invasion of the land of the Zulus and of the Orange Republic. The military spirit was irrepressible, and Cetewayo, who urged friendly and peaceable measures, desiring to enjoy the quiet possession of the fatherland of many generations, was conquered, and his country became a coveted part of the British Empire. The home sentiment of opposition to such arbitrary and unjust measures culminated in a resignation of the ministry. A new election brought the advocates of justice and good-will to all men into power, and the premiership of Earl Beaconsfield was transferred to Gladstone. His

honor is, however, not unstained. The greed of England for power in Egypt hastened a declaration of war by only a majority of a divided ministry. John Bright again resigned his place in the ministry rather than be a party to what he considered an unwarrantable measure. To-day the Christian statesmen of England say he was right.

IN THE WAR OF 1812-15.

Some cases of provocation occurred in regard to desertions from the English navy and seeking protection and service on American vessels, and claims of citizenship under protection of the American flag, and the right of search—all of which were fit matters to be settled by diplomacy and the laws of nations, but were considered a sufficient cause of war. A three years' exhaustive war was the result, entailing on both nations much suffering and increased national indebtedness and ruin of commerce. Tired of the contest, they mutually agreed to submit their matters of dispute to ministers plenipotentiary, who met on neutral territory and organized themselves into an international court to enquire into and determine the merits of the questions in controversy. The historian is amused to-day as he reads their records and discovers that neither party called up the causes of the war, but, forgetting the past, they talked over the future, and formally proposed terms of peace which were approved by peaceful legislation on both sides of the Atlantic.

The subject of search and seizure was left to be settled by arbitration fifty years later, when an English vessel was searched and Mason and Slidell were seized.

What is the remedy for all this ruinous system of war among Christian nations? It is a fit time for Christian patriots to ask the question and find a true answer. The greatest men of earth have in successive ages solved this problem. The renowned court of Areopagus was made a court of arbitration. Cicero, Plutarch and Thucydides recommended it. Grotius pressed the measure in the name and for the sake of our common Christianity. William Penn, George Washington and John Stuart Mill, all have pressed it for the favorable consideration of nations. President Grant has officially recommended it in his messages to Congress, and in the interview sought by Prince Kung, of China, uttered these memorable words :

“An arbitration between two nations may not satisfy either party at the time, but it satisfies the conscience of mankind, and it must commend itself more and more as a means of adjusting disputes.”

General Grant's recommendations have been followed by Presidents Hayes, Garfield and Arthur.

It has been recommended by Emperor Alexander I., of Russia, by Cobden, John Quincy Adams, Noah Worcester, William Ladd, William Ellery Channing, John Bright, Lord John Russel, Lord Clarendon, Earl of Derby and John Jay. Indeed, our list can be swelled to a volume.

LEGISLATIVE BODIES

have pronounced with much emphasis in its favor.

Massachusetts Legislature	in 1835
House of Representatives of the United States	“ 1838
Congress of Brussels	“ 1848
English Parliament	“ 1849
The French National Assembly	“ 1849
Senate of the United States	“ 1851
“ “ “	“ 1853
House of Representatives of the United States	“ 1874
States General of Netherlands	“ 1874
Swedish Diet	“ 1874
The Belgian Chamber of Deputies	“ 1875
The Canadian Parliament	“ 1875
The French Chamber of Deputies	“ 1878

It will be seen as the decades of time succeed, the subject increases in national favor, which is a satisfactory indication that the subject of arbitration is rapidly gaining favor in the minds of statesmen and philanthropists. I will next show that experience has assured the nations that it is practically a safe method to end their disputes on equitable terms, and on terms that insure permanent peace and good-will.

CASES OF ARBITRATION.

1. Between England and United States in reference to the River St. Croix, 1794
2. Between France and United States, 1803
3. “ Spain and United States, 1818
4. “ Great Britain and United States, 1826
5. “ Belgium and Holland, 1834

6.	Between France and England,	. . . . .	1835
7.	“ England and United States,	. . . . .	1838
8.	“ Portugal and United States,	. . . . .	1850
9.	“ England and United States,	. . . . .	1853
10.	“ “ “ “	. . . . .	1855
11.	“ Chili and United States,	. . . . .	1858
12.	“ Paraguay and United States,	. . . . .	1859
13.	“ Great Britain and Brazil,	. . . . .	1863
14.	“ Grenada, Costa Rica and United States,	. . . . .	1860
15.	“ Peru and United States,	. . . . .	1863
16.	“ Great Britain and United States,	. . . . .	1864
17.	“ Ecuador and United States,	. . . . .	1864
18.	“ France and Prussia,	. . . . .	1867
19.	“ Turkey and Greece,	. . . . .	1867
20.	“ England and Spain,	. . . . .	1867
21.	Between Great Britain and United States, known as the treaty of Washington, (478 cases settled by this arbitration),	. . . . .	1871
22.	Between China and Japan,	. . . . .	1874
23.	“ England and Portugal,	. . . . .	1875
24.	“ Switzerland and Italy,	. . . . .	1875
25.	“ Persia and Afghanistan,	. . . . .	1874-5
26.	“ China and Japan,	. . . . .	1878
27.	“ Japan and Peru,	. . . . .	1872
28.	“ Spain and United States,	. . . . .	1879
29.	“ England and United States,	. . . . .	1876
30.	“ France and Nicaragua,	. . . . .	1874
31.	“ France and United States,	. . . . .	1879
32.	“ Turkey and Greece,	. . . . .	1879
33.	“ England and Nicaragua,	. . . . .	1879
From 1790 to 1800 there were International Arbitrations,			1
“	1800 “ 1810	“ “ “	1
“	1810 “ 1820	“ “ “	1
“	1820 “ 1830	“ “ “	1
“	1830 “ 1840	“ “ “	3
“	1840 “ 1850	“ “ “	0
“	1850 “ 1860	“ “ “	5
“	1860 “ 1870	“ “ “	8
“	1870 “ 1880	“ “ “	13

The American statesman may well rejoice to find that our nation has been a party in eighteen out of thirty-three cases of arbitration; showing her willingness to make her appeals to reason and international law for the adjustment of national disagreements, rather than to determine their merits by brute force as an umpire.

England has been a party in	12 cases.
France in	5 "
Spain in	3 "
Portugal in	1 "
Belgium in	1 "
Italy in	1 "
Nicaragua in	2 "
Ecuador in	1 "
Paraguay in	1 "
Chili in	1 "
Peru in	2 "
Turkey in	2 "
China in	2 "
Japan in	2 "
Switzerland in	1 "
Greece in	2 "
Afghanistan in	1 "
Grenada in	1 "
Costa Rica in	1 "
Prussia in	1 "
Persia in	1 "

Twenty-two nations have submitted to arbitration, sixteen of which are reputed Christian nations, and five, Persia, Afghanistan, Japan, China and Turkey, are not Christian. The indications give assurance that we are rapidly approaching a period of universal peace and good-will among the nations. Every Christian man and woman must hail the thought with joy. The end must be the golden age of the Church—the millennium. How can this age of universal peace be inaugurated? When the nations are ready the work can be easily done. Already several nations have inserted a paragraph into their treaties agreeing to submit their disagreements to arbitration. The Republics of the United States of Colombia

(Venezuela, New Grenada, and Ecuador), in South America, and Honduras in North America, have made a specific treaty to this end, and have thus led the way for peaceful diplomacy among the nations. It reads as follows:

“TREATY OF ARBITRATION.

“ARTICLE I.—The REPUBLICS OF HONDURAS and the UNITED STATES OF COLOMBIA hereby enter into a perpetual obligation to submit to ARBITRATION, whenever they cannot be arranged by their ordinary diplomacy, the differences and difficulties of every kind which may henceforth arise between the two nations, in spite of the earnest and constant desire of their respective Governments to obviate such.

“ARTICLE II.—The appointment of an ARBITRATOR, whenever there may be occasion for such, shall be made by a SPECIAL COMMISSION, who shall clearly define the question in dispute and the mode of procedure which the Arbitral Judge will be expected to adopt. In case the disputing parties cannot agree upon such a Commission, or if in any case these parties shall agree to dispense with this formality, the ARBITRATOR, with full power to exercise the functions of a Judge in the matter, shall be THE PRESIDENT, for the time being, of THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

“ARTICLE III.—The Republic of HONDURAS and the Republic of the UNITED STATES OF COLOMBIA will endeavor to take the first suitable opportunity of making Treaties, similar to the present, between themselves and the other AMERICAN NATIONS, so that every dispute between them may be settled by ARBITRATION, and that this mode of settlement may become a principle of GENERAL AMERICAN LAW.

“ARTICLE IV.—The present TREATY shall be ratified by the HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES, according to their respective formalities, and the ratifications shall be exchanged with the shortest delay possible, at TEGUCIGALPA, at BOGOTA, at PANAMA, or in this city (SAN SALVADOR).

“In confirmation of which, these presents have been signed and sealed, in NEW SAN SALVADOR, the 10th day of April, 1882.

“C. ULLOA (for Honduras).

“R. AIZPURU (for the United States of Colombia).”

HOW CAN INTERNATIONAL DIFFERENCES

be settled? A tract issued by the London Peace Society on “The War Systems of Europe,” offers the following rational remedy:

“1. Let there be established a permanently organized system of international arbitration, by which disputes arising between nations may be settled without appealing to arms.

“2. A permanent high court of nations should be constituted as an advisory tribunal for Christendom.

“3. Let the Great Powers come to an agreement for a mutual and simultaneous reduction of armaments.

"These, so far from being the dreams of Utopian and impracticable men, have been approved and recommended by many of the foremost statesmen of the world.

"The force of its decisions would be mainly or wholly that of moral power. It is not to be assumed that this power would absolutely render wars impossible, or succeed in reconciling all cases of international dispute. But it would go very far in that direction. It would be an infinite gain over the existing system of brute force. In 1861 the Federal Government, acting on a sudden impulse, transgressed the law of nations by forcibly taking the two Confederate ambassadors, Messrs. Slidell and Mason, from a British mail steamer—the 'Trent.' Almost immediately and spontaneously the chief courts of Europe communicated to the Washington Government their verdict that this act was contrary to international equity. And this simple, 'collective opinion,' definitely and unitedly expressed, greatly influenced the Federal authorities in arriving at their conclusion to surrender the two captives. In like manner, it may be confidently expected, a systematic utterance of the collective opinion of the family of nations, or of the chief of them, especially when given forth by a representative body of their best jurists or most intelligent men, would largely restrain war."

David Dudley Field has written a book which receives great approval on both continents. It is an outline of an international code, suggesting emendations to the laws of nations which will recognize arbitration as the true and just method of settling disputed questions. A Conference of National Representatives as contemplated by Hon. James G. Blaine and Presidents Garfield and Arthur, remains undisposed of by Congress.

The statesmen and philanthropists of Europe are pressing America to take the initiative in the good work. The editor of the *Herald of Peace*, London, makes the following comment upon the proposed

PHILADELPHIA ARBITRATION CONGRESS.

"THE friends of peace in the United States are to meet in conference, shortly, at Philadelphia, to consider what further efforts they can most advantageously make for the extension of the important principle of international arbitration. Delegates from the principal peace organizations of America will attend this gathering. The Executive Committee of the English Peace Society, also, at their October meeting, appointed Mr. Felix Moscheles, of South Kensington, one of their colleagues, to represent their body on the occasion. Mr. Moscheles is already favorably known to our readers, by his able essay on 'Patriotism as an Incentive to Warfare,' which appeared a few months ago in the *Herald*.

"It is quite possible that there may be some persons on this side of the Atlantic who may be disposed to undervalue the peace labors of American philanthropists, on the ground that their great distance from the stormier fields of European politics precludes them from exercising special influence upon

those countries which are most deeply concerned in armaments, and in diplomacy affecting matters of peace and war.

"But whilst, doubtless, the element of geographical distance does enter into this question in this direction, yet, on the other hand this very circumstance gives a special weight and importance to the pacific labors of our American brethren. Precisely because their great country is divided by thousands of miles of ocean from European lands, it is also thereby separated, in a corresponding degree, from the prejudices and partialities, which, from their mutual neighborhood to one another, the nations on this side of the Atlantic are prone to cherish. Hence, too, the opinion of the American people is more disinterested, and, in so far, more weighty, in relation to matters of European dispute, than that of any of the European peoples themselves. Hence, also, the various Governments on this side of the Atlantic are more likely to lend a favorable ear to pacific suggestions emanating from the Government at Washington, than to similar proposals from their nearer neighbors.

"There have already been afforded most satisfactory and practical proofs of the great value of pacific influences when exerted by the Washington Government, as in connection with the well-known settlement of the 'Alabama' difficulty by means of arbitration, and in the several treaties which have been concluded between the United States and other nations, embodying clauses providing for the reference to arbitration of any difficulties arising out of those treaties.

"The very decided utterances of Presidents Grant, Hayes, Garfield and Arthur, in favor of the principle of arbitration, have drawn much attention to the question amongst European statesmen, who are less disposed to regard the opinions on this subject of their fellow-citizens. Nor must there be forgotten the recent tentative endeavors put forth by the Washington Government to enlist the practical co-operation of the other nations on the American Continent in a scheme for a grand mutual Arbitration League and Alliance. This proposal is, at present, in abeyance; but we hope it will be further pursued on the first practicable opportunity.

"It is understood that very lately the United States Government has been in negotiation with Switzerland for the establishment of a mutual treaty, binding the two countries, for a period of thirty years, to refer any disputes arising between them to arbitration. If this is actually concluded, the still more important and more interesting question will arise, whether it may not be possible to secure a similar treaty between the United States and Great Britain. We feel assured that the great majority of the inhabitants of these two great nations are prepared most cordially and sincerely to support such a treaty.

"But, for various reasons, the initiative must be looked for from the Government at Washington. And herein our American colleagues and friends can render a most important service to humanity if they will perseveringly ply their own central Government with persuasions to open official diplomatic communications with Great Britain, for the formation of a mutual and permanent treaty, definitely committing these two great kindred peoples to the settlement of all their future difficulties by means of peaceful arbitration.

"No more valuable or more practical service can be rendered to the cause of peace by our American brethren than this. No more important point than this can claim their united consideration at the ensuing Conference.

"And it is so much easier in America to bring public opinion to bear upon the central Government for such an object than on this side of the water. Here there are so many powerful vested interests concerned in upholding the military system that every movement which looks towards peace or disarmament is regarded with jealous and hostile eyes by them, as being likely to endanger the personal profits and multifarious advantages of money, rank, power and honor, which the armies and navies of Europe offer to so many of their aristocracies and dependents. America is still, in a great degree, free from this excessive hindrance to peace efforts. Hence it is so much more easy for the people of the United States to obtain a favorable hearing from the Government on this question, and to persuade them to open the necessary preliminary negotiations with the English Cabinet.

"When this step has been achieved, with any degree of successful promise, the friends of peace on this side of the water will most gladly unite their own labors to promote the complete attainment of the desired object.

"Our American friends, and in particular the peace organizations at Philadelphia and Washington, have already rendered good service by their efforts to interest the central authorities at their capital in the arbitration question. If their colleagues of New England and the Western States will follow suit, and support them in still more earnest endeavors of a similar nature, very encouraging results will follow."

Henry Richard, M. P., in a recent address to the working men of England, makes the following review of the war systems of England and Europe:

"Industrial wars were bad enough, and led to a great deal of misery, but international wars were ten times worse. How many human lives did they think had perished in the wars of Christian nations, from the year 1855 to the year 1880? He had made the calculation carefully, and he was sure he was not exaggerating when he said that during that short period 2,180,000 men had perished. Aye, and men in the very prime and vigor of health, for the demon war would not accept any but the picked men of society for his victims.

"If they took the whole adult male population of Scotland, Ireland and Wales, they would be fewer in number, far fewer, than those who had perished in those wars, between those years he had mentioned. What had been the cost? He would give them the figures, but they could form no conception of them. The cost had been £2,653,000,000, which had been extracted from the toiling people of Europe, in order to be spent by the governments of Europe in inducing them to cut each other's throats.

"This was not all. After the wars were over, were nations content to go back to peace and quietness, and live side by side as Christian nations ought to? No. All the time that peace lasted they went on increasing their armaments on the system of rivalry, and at this moment it was estimated by the *Times*, in an article which appeared in its columns two or three weeks ago,

that there were twelve millions of men trained to arms in Europe. He did not mean to say that there were twelve millions actually under arms, but all the male population of France, and Germany, and Russia, were trained to arms. He had been to the Continent recently, and had come back deeply impressed with the enormous suffering which the people of the Continent endured as the result of this armed system. The cost of these armaments was no less than £550,000,000 a year.

"He did not say it as a reproach to the soldiers, but it was a fact that they produced nothing, but helped to consume the productions of other men. Well, now, he said, in the face of these things, as Mr. Dale said in regard to the conflict between the employers and the laborers in the iron trade in the North of England, 'Is there no remedy?' He replied that there was—a perfectly simple remedy, that was that nations should settle their disputes by arbitration instead of having recourse to war. He could produce nearly forty cases, within the present century, in which arbitration had been employed to settle disputes between States, with the most perfect success. He wanted the help of his countrymen—he knew he had their sympathy—and if he could only succeed in accomplishing this work, it would confer a benefit upon mankind second to none that had ever been accomplished in any reform that had taken place in this country or in the world.

"As to local taxation, there was no man more competent to deal with it than Mr. Gladstone, but let him give them these few facts. They were based upon a calculation made by a northern manufacturer. This gentleman said that the actual workers of the kingdom worked every day of the year to pay interest on the national debt, 26 minutes; for the maintenance of armaments, they worked 28 minutes a day; for the cost of collecting the taxation, 5 minutes a day; for the relief of the poor, 9 minutes a day; for local taxes, 9 minutes a day; and for the cost of civil government, 12 minutes a day.

"Adding these figures together, they found that the laborers worked one hour and twenty-nine minutes a day, every day of the year, for the demands of national and local taxes, and very nearly two-thirds of this time was occupied in producing the cost of our war system."

A very enthusiastic and harmonious conference of

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION AND PEACE ASSOCIATIONS

was held last month in Brussels. It was made up of representatives from England, France, Germany, Russia, Italy, Austria, Hungary, Belgium, Holland, Portugal, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, Spain, Turkey, United States, Canada, and Argentine Republic. It was based "on a recognition of mutual respect and justice between nations, and on broad principles of international polity, the general adoption of which will lead to the substitution of arbitration for war."

“The Association is unsectarian and unconnected with party politics, and neither expresses any opinion upon nor seeks to affect an alteration in existing forms of government.”

OBJECTS.

(1) To call forth and direct an enlightened public opinion towards the abolition of war.

(2) To unite the friends of peace everywhere in the advocacy and support of measures of a practical character for the above object.

(3) To secure permanent relief from the crushing burden of national armaments.

(4) To promote ARBITRAL REFERENCE as a substitute for war.

(5) To advocate the establishment of a Code of International Law, and an International Tribunal for the pacific settlement of disputes between nations.

(6) To secure the conclusion of International Treaties for the preceding objects.

(7) To adopt special measures, when causes of irritation arise, for bringing about a good understanding between the nations concerned.

MEANS FOR ATTAINING THE ABOVE OBJECTS.

For the accomplishment of these objects the Council of the Association will take steps to set on foot throughout Europe and the United States of America similar Associations to this, united in an International Federation, each independent of the others, while acting in concert with them, and adopting, as far as possible, a common plan of action.

A Scheme of Procedure has been drawn up, after very careful consideration, and it is hoped that it may be adopted, in substance, by the Associations of the various countries which will be represented in the Federation.

THE SUEZ CANAL.

A great step in the fraternity of nations was taken when the Suez Canal was made a neutral path for commerce whatever national strife might be pending.

THE PANAMA CANAL

is now an object of equal solicitude. Its neutralization was a prominent subject of discussion at the Arbitration and Peace Conference at Brussels.

THE OUTLOOK.

Is not the time propitious for a decided step by the American Government in support of arbitration as a substitute for the sword? The civilized world would be compelled by justice and fraternity to respond favorably to a call for a Congress of delegates from all

nations to meet in the capital of our country—the strongest and most peaceful nation on earth—to determine a basis of universal fraternity and good-will. When that good day shall come, standing armies can be exchanged for domestic happiness and productive industry; Christianity will have shown the glory of its mission on earth, and cohorts of angels can again sing the song of the nativity: “Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace and good-will towards men.”

Rev. Dr. Malin said:

“This paper has been read to a very limited number compared with the number that ought to have heard it. But there are avenues and channels of communication with the entire public into which, as fountain streams, truths may flow to water multitudes of hearts. We have two great associations in this country: the American Tract Society and the American Sunday-school Union. These associations embrace all the evangelical denominations, more or less, and are patronized by multitudes of Christian philanthropists. This very able paper, with a very little alteration, might be given to the American Tract Society and American Sunday-school Union, both of which would publish it without a single dollar. What would be the result? Millions upon millions of their papers go to Sabbath-schools and churches. Then there are other channels. The largest Protestant denomination in the United States is the Methodist Church; the second is the Baptist, and the third is the Presbyterian, all of them having Boards of Publication; and not merely the American Sunday-school Union and Tract Society, but every one of these Boards might publish this paper. If there are pastors here, I have a broader field to suggest. I tell you as a minister, that you never will see compassed the result for which we pray, at which we aim in our endeavors, until we recognize the Prince of Peace as going forth at the head of our forces. There are not only armed forces, there are moral forces which will subdue the world.”
[Cheers.]

Dr. Bland, editor of the *Council Fire and Arbitrator*:

“I believe that the publication of such papers as widely as possible is destined to exert a very great influence in educating our people. We who meet together here are but few, but the few do the thinking and planning, and when thoughts come before the many they are like

seeds sown in the ground; they take root, grow up and produce fruit. I hope this paper will produce great fruits in the hearts and minds of the American people."

Rev. James Crawford, representing the Reformed Church:

"I have faith in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and as this is a Gospel principle that we are seeking to unfold, I have faith to believe that that which is now being agitated will, in the fullness of time, be an embodied fact. It was Archimedes who said: 'Give me a place whereon to stand and I will lift the world.' It seems to me the Church of Christ has got a place whereon this principle can stand; whereby it will not only deliver us from slavery as it has done in the past, but will deliver our nation and all nations of the world from the slavery of war. There are economic political principles contained in the Word of God that must be made to reach the heart of Cæsar, of our presidents, of our kings and emperors, and all the potentates of the earth. It seems to me the pulpits of the land should echo with this principle of arbitration. It would take hold not only of the people, but the sentiment would reach the heart of the President and the wise men in Washington. That conference which was the vision of the great Garfield, and which has been recommended by his successor, would be the more readily brought about as an accomplished fact. Let us then, as ministers and as Christians, make use of all the instrumentalities God has put within our reach, to impress upon the hearts and minds of the people and of rulers, the great principles we are seeking to actualize through this meeting." [Cheers.]

H. Wheeler:

"I do not know of any way of reaching the ears of statesmen better than through the people. I think there are no statesmen either in our Congress or in Europe who will move far in this matter unless they are sustained by the people. If we want to reach the ears of Gladstone or Bismarck, the Emperor of Russia, or any of the great rulers of the world, we can only reach them through the people. Gladstone cannot carry forward war unless supported by Parliament, which is elected by the people. They are watching all the time to see what the sentiments of the people are; and I know of no better way to bring about the reform measures contemplated by this Convention than the wide dissemination of these principles and arguments."

Dr. Henry Hartshorne :

“The power of moral force in the affairs of nations as well as of individuals, was shown in the interesting letter read this morning from Charles Lemonnier on the principles of arbitration and neutralization. The executive force must grow less and less. The quotation has been made :

“‘War is a game, which,
Were their subjects wise,
Kings would not play at.’

People are getting wise in this respect. It is one great purpose of this Convention to influence the rulers, through the people, by action, such as is proposed by this and other like associations; to disseminate facts as well as principles which show the wrongfulness and inexpediency of all wars.”

Mr. Councilman Walter :

“Do not preach to people less, but to rulers more. We in this country want no rulers but the people. We want the people to be the source of power, and education should be and must be through and by them. The political parties will listen to-day to what they would not seven years ago. They will listen to peace; they will listen to an exposition of the extravagance connected with keeping up standing armies; and I do assure you the great work of American independence from war must come down to and up from the common people who do not reach the church. Put it in the political platform whenever you can. Put it into the mouth of every political speaker in the land. It will have a force that will be respected.”

Rev. J. B. Myler :

“What we want is Christian heroism that shall do honor to the land in peace and quietness. It must be declared from the pulpit that war is contrary to humanity. This should come as the result of Gospel teaching. The beautiful millennium will come upon the earth as a result of the Gospel. ‘Holiness to the Lord’ will be written on the car-wheels of progress. We want more pure religion preached from the pulpit. The union of ideas predicated upon Christ as the great leader is what is wanted, and then will all nations, in following Him, cease their strife. I do not believe war is going to continue forever.”

Daniel Hill :

"I regard this as the most important Convention I have ever had the pleasure of attending. We are making history. I believe we should avail ourselves of the press, the platform, the college, the primary schools, the Sabbath-schools. There is one thing that encourages me very much. In calling upon a number of ministers in this city, in every single instance we found them in sympathy with this work. We did not have to argue them up to it or on it at all. Someone spoke of the indifference of ministers and church members to this subject, but our experience in Philadelphia is that all you need do is to call their attention to it. Many have never thought about it. While we are a small body here, we are representatives of a large mass of people whose sentiments are right."

Rev. N. G. Moses, Episcopalian :

"I wish to respond to the remarks made by Daniel Hill in regard to ministers and the churches waking up to this cause. I remember great censure being cast upon ministers because they were not awake on the subject of temperance. I claim that the result in Iowa this year shows that the churches have taken the right ground. I do not believe there was a church member in Iowa who did not vote right on that subject, and I think if the question of peace were presented in form, they would vote right on that subject also."

Isom P. Wooton :

"I am from the State of Iowa. In the great contest before the people on temperance, the Chairman of the Committee on Temperance informed me that only one of the evangelical ministers of the State refused to advocate or vote in favor of the abolition of intemperance. I can tell you also, as brother Hill suggests, the Iowa people are measurably awake on this subject also, in the different denominations."

Hon. Richardson L. Wright, Ex-Speaker of the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania :

"One of the great obstacles to the solution of the Indian question is the fact that within the past year 700,000 people crossed the Atlantic and took up their residence on the frontiers. They are the stronger race supplanting the Indian, as did the races that were before them. The stronger race is going to overcome the weaker. I want to call the attention of this Convention emphatically to the

fact that the only way by which a strong man can be induced to let up upon a weaker, is to instruct him in the sentiment of the Christian religion, that men and women must become Christians and learn to do justice to their neighbor."

After some remarks by Joshua L. Baily and Edwin H. Coates, the Convention adjourned until 7.45 P. M.

At 7.45 the Convention met again, pursuant to adjournment, Bishop Simpson in the chair.

Prayer was again offered, after which Rev. George D. Boardman, D. D., drew a strong and beautiful contrast between the law of force and the law of love. He said:

"This movement proposes to appeal to the higher instincts of our nature. It exhibits the slowness of moral intellectual processes. It is very late in the progress of Christianity that we come to the conclusion to substitute the artillery of the brain for the artillery of gunpowder. It does not propose to take an extreme position. It proposes to educate the people to a higher range of instincts; not to abolish our little standing army.

"Our American laureate, if you will allow me the expression, wrote on the occasion of his visit to the arsenal at Springfield:

"Were half the power that fills the world with terror,
Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts,
Given to redeem the human mind from error,
There were no need of arsenals and forts."

"We propose to educate the public conscience early to all that is finest, noblest and purest in man. You tell me this is Utopian. How far is it Utopian? Our esteemed friend from the West, who has made the subject of arbitration an especial study, has shown it to be one of the most practicable and successful methods of settling international difficulties. We never shall advance if we do not make the effort; we shall in fact go backward. The only way to advance is to keep the word 'Excelsior' before us. This Society proposes to take advantage of this beautiful word 'Excelsior.' It will do so in alliance with everything that is genuinely and morally peaceful in the constitution of humanity: therefore it must succeed. I do not desire to coerce men into the adoption of our principles.

I cannot do it if I would. I ought not to do it if I could and would. I wish to accomplish it by inducing a study of the subject, by holding such conventions as this and on a broader scale, or by using the press in awakening the latent instincts of our humanity in this direction. Legislation is not going to do it. We want to appeal to that which makes legislation, to that which is the spirit of legislation. To call out the spirit of the people on this subject is what we want. It is fitting that America should take the lead in this movement. We are free from all 'entangling alliances;' free from those foreign elements underlying the 'balance of power,' which render such a movement difficult in Europe. We are singularly free, therefore, to take the lead in a matter of this kind. Opportunity in itself constitutes duty. It is not that we have to seize or look after an opportunity, but it is an opportunity already before us. Arbitration is already successfully carried on in private cases, as we all know. I think we must recognize this fact: that every nation has its own road to travel; its own specific duty to perform. Each nation has its part to play in the great drama of humanity. We do not propose to extinguish nations, nor to alter national boundaries, but to recognize the absolute equality of nations one with another. I see with the eye of my mind a great, glorious, invisible corporation arise; a corporation that is a great international nation. This corporation, crossing the deep, will take its part in hastening the day which, to the eye of spiritual men, is approaching, in fulfillment of prophecy. This would lead to a national personality, so to speak, filling the whole earth—which is the point we are working at. And at last will be fulfilled the vision of Tennyson:

'For I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see,
Saw the vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be;

'Saw the heavens fill with commerce, argosies of magic sails,
Pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down with costly bales;

'Heard the heavens fill with shoutings, and there rained a ghastly dew
From the nations' airy navies grappling in the central blue;

'Far along the world-wide whisper of the south-wind rushing warm,
With the standards of the peoples plunging through the thunder storm;

'Till the war-drum throbbed no longer, and the battle flags were furled
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world.'

[Applause.]

Dr. Boardman was followed by the Rev. Charles G. Ames, who said:

“We always require a little time to reach *terra firma*, to get down after getting up to that point of vision where Dr. Boardman has so pleasantly carried us. Yet it is only in vision that we can think of the ‘Federation of the world.’ There has hardly been a time since the world was, when so many men were carrying arms as now; hardly a time when the manufacture of implements of war was such a great industry and looked on by millions of men as being so important to the preservation of order and of civilization itself. And yet all the while something else is going on in the face of this fact, something that will change the world in due time and bring about all that has been prophesied by the prophets. I think that happy peace is in all our hearts. We need not disturb ourselves about the comparative success of the small number who speak out straight and plain against it.

“We are called upon here to deliberate, to take counsel together, for the accomplishment of a single step, and not the accomplishment of a long march. I think the accomplishment of that much would be the longest step taken in the civilization of mankind. I think now the nations are coming into a Committee of the Whole on the condition of the world. It is never much use to force a question on a parliamentary deliberative body before the time comes. Everything has to be matured; Providence works that way. We must do a good deal of committee work, in short, before any large movement can be launched on the tide of public discussion, and when it is launched it must be set down as the special order of the day. It may be that it is not yet the special order of the day before the parliament of nations. But there is no reason why it should not be considered in committee and put on the way to maturity. In some time some man or body of men will arise and support it in a way that shall command a hearing. Then the world will say: ‘Let us give this matter a fair consideration;’ and that shall be the opportunity for the peace leadership to entertain so grand a proposition. I think there is no doubt about its being carried by the general voice of mankind.

“We were told that if war ever came to an end it would be because men were impressed with the costliness of war. That that

idea would do more than all the speeches, pamphlets and talk. Why is it that the costliness of war has not been considered by mankind? It has always been costly. It has cost the most precious interests of mankind, yet, at the same time, men have been unrestrained by it. I do not think that even the material interests of nations are likely to be considered by nations when once engaged in war. Victory, then, is all that is sought or thought of. People do not understand that international law is simply an enlarged application of national law, which makes national life possible. I think there is still a blindness, in part, resting on the multitudes and rulers in respect to that fact. By processes which carry centuries of customs, of private warfare and the like, this blindness has to be got rid of. To prevent men from settling private quarrels by fighting it out, took time, as it was at one time sanctioned by law. It used to be systematized by declarations of war made between a man and his neighbor. This private warfare went on as general warfare now goes on. It became necessary to realize a much larger measure of human happiness by its removal. There are processes by which, in the order of God's providence, private wars were possible. How is it with international arbitration? Is not the nation a simple system of government in social life by which public life may become a well-considered system of arbitration? This is not all, but it is a most important part of civil law. It is simply between citizens what the proposed arrangement would be between nations. The word international itself is a word of recent origin. It is not much more than a century since the conceptions were clearly understood by legal scholars, so as to be considered old enough to be christened with a name. Yet this has come through the growth of a common interest and understanding between nations that have had sense enough to begin to live in peace, subject to international law, with provisions against war, looking towards settling disputes without warfare. Many of the wars have been of a dynastic character—a war to settle if this or that royal family, this or that branch of the royal family, were entitled to power. This has been overcome because the people have become recognized as the foundation of power on which monarchies rest. Since our Constitution has been adopted more article-constitutions have been adopted by other nations than existed in all the nations

before. This is one of the indications that it is coming to be in the order of Providence for the government of the world. I think it is also with reluctance that nations interfere with each other's affairs. It has been one of the terms of national life that the stronger nation dictated to the weaker, but there has been of late, and especially since some men present can remember, a reluctance on the part of stronger nations to push their own interests against those of the weaker nations, being restrained by the advance of moral sense, and the respect of peoples for each other.

“Another feature is the introduction of mediation, not in a hostile way but in a friendly way. Among the South American republics it has become customary to do this, and our nation has been called to act as mediator.

“Then again a fourth indication of this progressive development towards the time when disarmament will be practical and safe for the future of the world, under the operation of international law, is the nature of modern treaties which show an advance in good feeling more than in former times. When Great Britain put down the slave trade and piracy, she established extradition treaties with other nations, instead of each country being a refuge for criminals from other nations. In 1826 the nations of Europe entered into a common agreement to abolish privateering; that commerce should be as little meddled with during actual wars as possible; that free ships should make free goods; then that the persons of citizens of the nations at war, and goods not in themselves war material, should be treated with respect on both sides, even though found on ships of the enemy. This was the treaty of Paris which we should remember was sent to America for our approval. These international arrangements are striking instances of improvement in the laws of war throughout Christendom.

“The instances of actual arbitration which have been already referred to, must have prevented some wars which would have been certainly fearfully expensive. That between the United States and Great Britain on the Alabama claims affords the most prominent example.

“Talk of the spread of ideas, enlarging the views of mankind: has not this spirit at length spread until it has taken possession of the minds of the rulers? Has it not qualified their legislation

and administration? There is everything to be hoped for in the later lights of God's truth shining in the understanding. When God's reason becomes incarnate with human reason and when eternal life presides over human affections and passions, then the world will live in love and peace. This will bring about mutual respect among the nations, making a kingdom which shall never be used but for the promotion of eternal righteousness. It has been said 'that one morning the governments of the world will wake up in great surprise to find the wars they wish to bring about have become impossible,' which will show that brother Boardman is a true prophet, and that the true peace of the world will arise and become the healthful life of the people as a result of the universal sense and recognition of the One Father." [Applause.]

Rev. Dr. Wayland:

"Mr. Chairman, I am afraid I am not one of the 'peace at any price,' men, and I have never seen the way for non-resistance. While I look upon war as a great evil, I cannot say it is the worst evil. It seems to me there are occasions when we cannot avoid war. In 1861, the conditions being such as they were, I do not see how we could have done otherwise than as we did. If the thing was to be done over again, I should do exactly as I did before. That is one reason why I am deeply impressed with the horrors of war, perhaps more so than many of my esteemed friends who abhorred it from afar. When one sees his brother's boys, nurtured at home, every one of whom was a beloved son, torn into pieces by shells, wasting with fever in the swamps, or dying by the roadside with scarcely any comforts during their dying hours, a person gets an impression of war he does not get in any other way. When a person reads at home of five, ten, fifty or seventy-five thousand being killed, it makes very little impression upon him; but if he were to follow each individual killed, entering into all the details of suffering in each case, he would get a glimpse at the evils of war.

"Then look at the moral influences of it. There is not a single bad passion, I do not know that there is a vice, that is not aggravated by war. War is at enmity with humanity. I do not say it is not promotive of some of the coarser virtues; but bravery is a virtue that we have in common with the beasts. It is not for me in this presence to speak of the horrors of war. What seems to me

the great difficulty is to know how to deal with them. I was impressed this morning with the letter read from the Society in Switzerland and our friend's allusion to the question of boundaries and neutralizing certain countries and water-courses. The humane Society of the Red Cross, for the relief of the wounded during the war of 1870, was protected as neutral. Let this same protection extend to all non-combatants in the army. Let the lives of neutrals on land and sea, and such as reside in certain neutralized territory—such, for instance, as the territory of the Suez canal—be protected. Here would be a very great gain. It is a practical plan to gain all we can; only an immediate gain, but as we cultivate a spirit of humanity, as we secure the sacredness of one class and another class, we are developing a spirit of humanity that will, in time, do away with all war."

Rev. Matthew Simpson, D. D., Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church:

"I have not many words to say, but rather to make a free confession of faith. I have believed for many years, and have, in an humble way, endeavored to teach the doctrine of the duty of nations to settle all difficulties by means of arbitration. I have never identified myself with what are usually termed Peace Societies, for the simple reason that, as I see the world yet, I am not sure that all kinds of wars can be prevented. I long for the day when it will be so, but, whether right or wrong, that has been my position. I have not supposed that all war could be prevented. I have longed for the settlement of all difficulties by arbitration; always longed for the time to come when there should be no more war upon the earth. I believe in the success of an effort such as this Convention is making. It may possibly require a number of years. We must wait for the progress of ideas and the Spirit of Truth. Few minds see what is true and they have to lead. But there is to some light, and to some truth.

"As I look over the nations of the earth as they now stand, I confess the appearance is not the most cheering for peace. I have a little of the same feeling that General Grant expressed in his letter. His hope is not so strong as it once was. It does seem to me that the Eastern question would very likely have to be settled by war and not by arbitration. I believe Mohammedan power will

leave Europe. I am not sure but that it is God's plan that as Mohammedanism came into Europe by the sword, it will go out in the same way. If there be war in Turkey, Constantinople and the Bosphorus, it will be a very bloody war. I am not sure the difficulty could be settled by arbitration. Yet I do not know. Some men may become so wise as to point out a way and means of settling these difficulties that truth and righteousness may arise among all nations, but whether a little while or a long time shall elapse, I cannot determine. *I have full faith in the ultimate triumph of this cause.*

"I remember during the civil war, I had been on the Pacific coast, traveling through California and Oregon. We had not then any railroads there and I was out of the reach of news at the time the long conflict was going on around Richmond. When I returned and learned how things were, I felt rather gloomy. The nation did not seem to be gaining its authority. I called on Secretary Stanton whom I considered the strongest man God had given us, and I said to him: 'Mr. Stanton, how is the outlook? What reason have you found for believing in our success? What general yet do you rely on?' 'I have no faith in generals,' he said in reply. I looked at him in surprise. 'I have no faith in Congress, but I have faith in God. Our cause is right and it must triumph.' Now that is the faith I have. The cause is right and it will triumph.

"My faith is founded on the fact that, being a firm believer in the declarations of the Bible, to me the prophecies point to but one conclusion. That beautiful prophecy in Isaiah about the coming of Christ, when he says: 'His name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace. Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end,' —[IX: 6-7.] I see in it a gradation from step to step towards a beautiful result. I see as in Christ, so in Christianity: His life was typical of the coming church; the miracles at the beginning gave good reason to call Him 'Wonderful.' The name of 'Counsellor,' indicated the establishment of schools; the 'Mighty God,' the accumulation of power; the 'Everlasting Father' indicates the yearning of the heart of man. There is no trouble with the everlasting mother. If a boy does badly his father drives him off, but the influence of the mother will continue if that of the father will

not. Christ, however, is the Everlasting Father, boundless in benevolence to His loved ones. Then is added the 'Prince of Peace.' When I look at society and church development, the founding of schools and colleges, the increase of power and wealth to which, by some means, Christian countries attain, power, as the world gets age, is turned to benevolence; colleges, hospitals, homes, schools for the poor imbecile; everything possible to bless humanity. I think we are living in the period designated by 'Everlasting Father.' I find men pouring out many millions for benevolent purposes and women taking care of institutions for the relief of suffering; to-day the women are in council for the purpose of taking care of the Indians.* Benevolence in every form is manifested, and my opinion is we are living in the age or period designated by the 'Everlasting Father.' The next period must therefore be the coming of Jesus Christ to reign as the 'Prince of Peace;' and when that period comes, 'of the increase and dominion of peace there shall be no end.'

"Then again, when I look at the possibility of this, taking the same train of thought my esteemed friend led us so beautifully through, when I look into the nature of this thought of ruling, how the desire for control is born into us, I think God put it into the heart wisely. Great men have dominion over those things that pertain to earthly governments. My faith is that there is not an element in earth's atmosphere that man ought not to control. The day is coming when men will control this atmosphere; these cyclones and tempests will then be known no more. Man was given dominion. It is the instinct of the child to cling to dominion in everything. A child seeks to lay hands on everything. He is a being formed for dominion. He must have that tendency as every mother knows. In the family there is always strife among the children. The strongest are always for asserting their rights. There is a system of arbitration adopted. The mother settles the disputes between the children and so they are taught to submit to arbitration. While they have this grasping sense, the power in them making them ruling men is controlled in their nursery, and they are taught that they must submit

*The Ladies' Indian Association was holding a meeting at Association Hall the same day as the Convention.

in certain things to the will of others. Now, as it is with children, so, if properly brought up, it is with these children become men; they retain the sense of control, and the sense of controlling one another.

“There is a very beautiful picture of the beasts of the earth. The nations are typified by beasts. There is that beautiful figure of the lion, the bear, the cow, the calf, and the lamb all lying down together, and when they do so it is a little child that leads them. Now, in the growth of society is it not a very marked fact that society has but lately, comparatively, turned its attention to children? The lessons taught children are shaping their character. There is the international series of lessons, by which the same portion of Scripture is read in Europe, Asia and Africa as is read in the United States. The thought forms character; forms the man, it seems to me; and if this course can be proceeded with, the thoughts of the children will flow together; that as they grow, young Bismarcks, Disraelis and Gladstones will, by and by, see that they are of one race, one kindred, and will learn to love each other in the general interests of humanity. So, I think, in this process, the little child is leading us.

“I think no class of men perceive the evils of war more than warriors themselves, who are the most anxious men we have for peace. They have once assumed the military character and they feel bound to go forward when the emergency occurs; but I believe generals who have been successful in war are very reluctant to enter war again. The people rising up *en masse* may desire it, but it seems to me that the nations of the earth will, ere long, agree to submit national questions to courts of arbitration.

“Now, will you allow me to say another thing? I like this movement for what I think will be its reactive effects. If you can teach the world that nations ought not to go to war, that there is no national dignity and not a true sense of national honor in war, I think the reaction will be individually felt, that it would lead people to see that dueling and all personal quarreling are wrong, and in this sense, personal dignity will be elevated everywhere by the change. Now we can reason up much easier than we can reason down. There ought to be no war; there ought to be no strife; there ought to be

no contest. There will be few contests among men and much fewer difficulties than now. The less takes its thoughts from the greater. What is seen to be right on a large scale, a man cannot see why he cannot try himself in individual cases. I see no immediate great success, but whether arbitration succeeds in my day or not, whether it succeeds in your day or not, it is the part of wise, Christian men to do all we can for the right while we are living, and when we lie down to die, it will be with the assurance that when we are gone to another world the right will triumph."

Col. Curtis:

"Although at a very early stage in the history of human beings of every race wars may have been necessary; although it is certain wars were useful in planting civilization and in establishing Christianity; although war at that time may have been justifiable, may have been necessary; now that civilization is generally considered as having a foothold among all civilized nations, war, which destroys life and property, cannot be longer necessary to human beings. Just so far as they resort to violence, just so far they resemble and are like the brutes whose only means of settling contests is by violence and destruction. Then the expensiveness of wars is incalculable. In educating men for commanders, in equipping them, in equipping and training soldiers, all this expense, without considering the loss of life and destruction of property and interruption of industries, simply the education, preparing and equipping men for naval and military wars is monstrous and incalculable. Then there is the destruction of life. These are the three points I wish to bring before this Convention. Wars may have been beneficial in barbarous ages to subdue barbarism, but are *no longer* necessary. *War costs* infinitely more than would qualify suitable men as arbitrators and settle these matters of international difficulty, besides the *destruction of life* and property. There is infinitely more honor in a conquest of reason and moral suasion, intellectual power and humanity, than in one brought about simply by brute force."

A discussion ensued on the subject of text-books on history free from glorification of war, and the Convention then adjourned to 10 A. M.

The Convention assembled again at 10 o'clock, Bishop Simpson resigning the chair to Hon. John Welsh, Ex-Minister to England.

Prayer was offered by Prof. Hobbs.

Philip C. Garrett then said that a prize of two hundred and fifty dollars was offered for the best essay on arbitration, in 1878, by the Alumni Association of Haverford College. The one he was about to read was one of the unsuccessful essays. The successful one was an essay in French. None of them have as yet seen the light. This one has been in my hands ever since. Three or four are quite worthy of publication. I shall now ask some indulgence while I read it. The author is a barrister-at-law of the Inner Temple, London.

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION.

"Cedant arma togæ."

DESIRABILITY.

Few will be disposed to question the desirability of effecting so praiseworthy an object, and opponents to such a scheme can scarcely be said to exist. There are, nevertheless, many who deem the proposal Utopian, and basing their objections upon a mere denial of its practicability, assail with ridicule—most illogical of arguments—all who attempt a solution of the problem. Of this class, such as are worth convincing can only be persuaded by the exposition of a scheme which shall *prima facie* appear practicable. We shall deal later on with the feasibility of the end aimed at, but it will first be necessary to anticipate a somewhat paradoxical objection.

It has been argued that "things which are universally desired are but seldom accomplished—for this reason—that the wires are in the hands of the few, who so pull them as to advance their own interests and not those of the many; that a settlement of international disputes by an international tribunal is a thing which is universally desired, and is therefore extremely unlikely to be accomplished." Admitting for a moment the truth of this dictum, the reason appended at once disposes of the argument; since if wire-pullers exist whose interest it is to oppose a given measure, then from their very existence the measure cannot be universally desired, and should therefore not be impossible of accomplishment. Despotic monarchs naturally dislike a scheme the realization of which would inevitably

prove an impassable barrier against personal ambition and aggrandizement. But the temper of the people in the few nations remaining under despotic rule, will ere long compel such monarchs, however much against their inclinations, to bow to the popular will. In short, opponents exist, but their power is rapidly declining and will soon have ceased to be. And this is tantamount to saying, as we did at the outset, that opponents to such a scheme on the plea of undesirability, can scarcely be said to exist. The *voces populorum* once unanimous, the rest must speedily follow. It is true that some are still to be found who cling to the oft-exposed fallacy that war benefits trade; blind to the fact that the energy expended upon the manufacture of war material is so much wasted. When a shell costing, say five hundred dollars has exploded, five hundred dollars have literally vanished, and even if never used, or until it is used, five hundred dollars remain quite unproductive. It may be said—"not so, because the workmen have the money," but to this we reply that, had a two-horse-power steam engine been made instead of a shell, both engine would exist, performing reproductive work so long as it lasted, and workmen would still have their money. Trade benefits by war even less than a gold mining company would profit by crushing quartz for a return which would not pay wages. Since if, as we have shown, by war so much money is absolutely thrown into the sea, money which of course must come out of the tax payers' pockets, the country is poorer by so much and the tax payers have so much the less to spend upon their wants and luxuries, and to an exactly equivalent extent will trade suffer. With the abolition of war, special trades will partially cease to exist. The Krupps, Armstrongs and Pallisers, will find their establishments largely in excess of the demands made upon them, but the money which would otherwise have been spent in war material will remain to be earned, and will open out fresh fields for enterprise, and create new employments for genius, capital and skill. The same thing will happen in the case of those who now follow the military and naval professions. An enormous wealth of capital hitherto unproductive, and an equally vast amount of brain and labor will become at once available for reproductive employment, the effect of which upon the world's progress is almost beyond conception. We have implied that the manufacture of war material would not entirely cease upon the constitution

of an international arbitration court according to the scheme attempted to be sketched out in this essay ; and it may be as well to explain at once that the conclusion arrived at, after grave deliberation, is that the maintenance of an international police force is at the present time absolutely essential to the successful working of any scheme for international arbitration. Paradoxical though it may seem, the very existence of such a force will be the greatest security against the necessity of making any violent use of it against any member of the league ; since a recalcitrant nation would be at once overawed by the mere threat of the intervention of the combined armed police of the rest.

Moreover, it will be indispensable to maintain some force with which to oppose any attempted breach of the international peace which might be made by nations not members of the league. A sufficient force must therefore be still maintained by each nation, and these contingents when combined, must be sufficiently strong to afford protection against the attacks of a combination of all non-members of the league, should such a combination ever be effected.

It will readily be seen that enormous reductions in the standing forces of all nations joining the league will at once become practicable. A proportion must, however, still be preserved in each nation, and as a matter of consequence, the means of furnishing equipments to these—in vastly reduced quantities of course—must still be a necessity. Hence, manufactories of war material will be largely reduced but not entirely abolished.

It has been argued that wars are necessary to check the increase of population and to prevent the overcrowding of the earth. To this argument we have at least three replies, each in itself of sufficient weight to dispose of such an objection. In the first place we have only to point to the enormous area of virgin soil remaining to be utilized. An area which at the present rate of increase in the world's population, centuries would not people. Next, wars as a check upon population are as nothing compared with the disastrous famines which have lately swept away millions in India and China. Five millions perished in China, whilst in the Russo-Turkish war the losses on both sides did not exceed two hundred thousand. And thirdly, granting that wars do act as a check, surely they should be

allowed so to operate, not upon the superior and civilized races whose increase is a positive benefit to the world, but upon the inferior and barbarous hordes, whose losses, however much humanity may deplore them, will not injuriously affect the world's progress. Moreover, the time may come when all the strength of a confederation of civilized nations will be needed to resist invasion by the combined millions of semi-civilized Asia. Then the league, not weakened by international wars, and with the police contingents as a nucleus in each member, could speedily pour into the field an irresistible multitude of troops, trained by a system of short service in the police force, of a large proportion of the able-bodied males in each nation. That such a contingency is by no means a remote possibility, indications are not wanting to show. Coming events cast their shadows before, and the hitherto peaceful invasion by Celestials of America and the British colonies in Australasia, if too sternly repressed, would not improbably suggest to the mind of an overcrowded nation the idea of attempting to open an outlet for its swarming millions by force of arms. The extent to which the Chinese have recently adopted the improvements in modern warlike appliances, and their singular aptitude for copying with exact faithfulness anything of which they have obtained the pattern, is notorious. An invading force of countless millions—barbarians though they be—armed with the breech-loader and equipped with modern artillery, is not a mere dream to be contemplated with either incredulity or disdain, and in the face of such a contingency, it would be madness to propose any scheme which would involve the complete voluntary disarmament of civilized nations joining in a peace league, even if, apart from this, reasons enough did not exist for the maintenance of such a force as we have indicated under the name of the international police. During the sitting of the late congress, Count Schouvaloff spoke strongly upon the danger of suffering Asiatic hordes to become armed with the appliances and to acquire a practical knowledge of the art of modern warfare; and though Lord Beaconsfield is said to have made rather a light reply to this appeal, Prince Bismarck and M. Waddington were strongly impressed by Count Schouvaloff's remarks, and subsequently in a private conversation, suggested that the subject was worthy of consideration *by a congress called expressly for that purpose.*

Before leaving this question, we would draw attention to a fact which, viewed in the light of what has already been said, seems pregnant with meaning. The Chinese authorities, not content with being diplomatically represented at the courts of most of the leading powers, have recently applied to Great Britain for leave to nominate consuls at her colonial ports, with the evident purpose of obtaining sanction to the continuance of the stream of immigration, and of establishing commercial relations which they themselves deny, save in a limited degree, to foreigners who desire similar privileges in China. Sir Michael Hicks Beach, in his reply, very pertinently points out that the relations of China with other nations are not those of amity, but are merely the results of concessions by treaties, wrung, after wars, from the unwilling Chinese and accorded by them in a most grudging spirit; hence, they cannot expect to be placed on an equal footing with nations who deal with each other on a liberal principle of reciprocity.

FEASIBILITY.

By feasibility, either of two things may be meant. (1.) The obtaining the consent of a sufficient number of nations to join in an arbitration league, or (2), the possibility of such a league, if formed, working successfully, especially with respect to the acquiescence in its decisions of any and all of the members constituting it. The best method of testing the feasibility in the first sense is the main object of our investigations, and to this point we shall now address ourselves.

The course of procedure we should suggest would commence by the submission of a carefully prepared draft treaty, showing the mode in which it is proposed to deal with all international disputes by arbitration, to the governing power in each nation, and requesting the appointment of a representative to take part in a conference convened to deliberate upon the matter. In the parliament of every nation blessed with a representative assembly, members will assuredly be found willing to urge compliance with the request for the nomination of a representative of such nation at the proposed conference. Eminent members of the legal profession in each nation, would *prima facie* be the most desirable representatives, since their duties would be, not to bind their principals in any way but to draw up, on

the basis of the submitted draft treaty, a more elaborate and comprehensive one, embodying and expanding, and, if necessary, modifying and altering the principles contained in the draft. Copies of this amended draft would then be sent to each nation, and the next step would be the appointment of plenipotentiary members to a congress of the negotiating nations. The functions of this congress would be not only to revise clause by clause the whole treaty, but more especially to settle questions of a diplomatic rather than a legal nature, as, for example, the appointment of the number of judges to each nation and the proportion of its contribution to the international police force. Finally the draft being settled and approved, would be engrossed and executed by the plenipotentiaries. It does not seem unreasonable to suppose, granting that the draft treaty submitted in the first instance contained the outline of a moderate and consistent scheme, that a majority, at least of those nations endowed with representative constitutions, would consent to take part in the first or legal conference.

Public opinion, though occasionally excited to the pitch of insisting upon a particular war, is never favorable to war as a general principle. Once let the question of the desirability of taking part in such a conference be referred to the constituencies, and it is our firm belief that an overwhelming answer, in the shape of members pledged to support an arbitration conference, will be returned. It would be well, therefore, if the friends of the cause of humanity in each nation were to circulate a popular exposition of the scheme amongst the people, or at least, which would perhaps suffice, obtain its publication in all or as many of the national journals as possible, at the same time inviting criticism and correspondence on the subject.

With regard to parliamentary elections, every candidate should be questioned as to his views upon international arbitration, and the votes and influence of those who are working in the cause in each electoral district should be accorded to the candidate returning the most satisfactory answer. Every legitimate means, both through the agency of the public press and by the delivery of lectures upon the subject, should be resorted to, to arouse the attention of the electors and increase their knowledge of the question.

All possible influence should be brought to bear upon sitting members in every parliament, to obtain their support or to initiate action in their several legislative and deliberative assemblies. For the better advancement of these objects, a society should be formed, consolidating existing ones and having branches in each nation, and voluntary contributions should be solicited to defray the expenses of the work, and to establish and maintain an organ—periodical or daily—in each nation, solely devoted to the advocacy of the cause.

The International Peace Congress, which has just concluded its session by passing resolutions recommending the settlement of disputes between nations by arbitration, sent delegates to the Berlin Congress, urging the expediency of the question of international arbitration being considered by the Congress. The reply to this appeal was to the effect that the Congress had been summoned for a special purpose, *i. e.*, the reviewing of the treaty of San Stefano, and could not consider matters outside that question. Whatever views we may entertain as to the soundness of this plea, the reply is a most encouraging one, seeing that it implies an admission of the possibility of a congress being specially convoked to deal with the whole question of international arbitration. When we add to this the result of Count Schouvaloff's remarks upon the arming of Asiatics, to which we have already alluded, the friends of peace will be justified in hoping that such a congress may before long be actually sitting; for, should the course we have suggested prove successful in obtaining the constitution of the preliminary or legal conference, the same means would doubtless insure the meeting of the second or diplomatic congress.

We now come to the second sense in which the question of feasibility may be interpreted, *i. e.*, the possibility of successfully carrying out the work of an arbitration league, when formed. The constitution of the proposed court will be found sketched out in the appendix and will, it is hoped, be at once pronounced—apart from the enforcement of its decisions—to be immediately practicable. Even if we should be compelled for the present to rest content with the creation of such a tribunal, and the agreement of the powers joining in constituting it, to refer all their disputes to its decision, this would clearly be a substantial gain, since the refusal of any member to abide by its decisions, if such refusal—an extremely

unlikely event, owing to the influence the corporate pressure of the contracting powers would exert—should occur, would be followed by the immediate expulsion from the league of the recalcitrant member. But the benefits arriving from the adoption of this part only of the scheme would be infinitesimal when compared with those which the entire project in its integrity would yield, not to mention that the league would incur a risk, though perhaps a remote one, of dissolution from repeated expulsions, if their necessity should unhappily be forced upon the league. The benefits especially pointed at are those which the enormous reductions in standing forces, previously shown possible by the establishment of an international police, would render to the contracting powers. It is to be hoped that the more comprehensive scheme will be found to be immediately practicable, but should circumstances compel the adoption at first of the more limited plan, the employment of the latter must ultimately entail the former being substituted for it. For the peaceful settlement of a succession of international disputes, by the arbitration of a court solemnly constituted by the mutual agreement of a sufficient number of nations, provided that—as for reasons before stated, would almost certainly happen—the decisions of such court had been respected and acquiesced in, would inevitably lead to a conviction amongst those powers of the desirability and possibility of dispensing with a large portion of the cumbrous and expensive war machinery, according to a mutually proportionate scale. But even as physicians do not now use the lancet for every trifling ailment, yet conscious that emergencies may arise which would necessitate its use, they do not entirely discard the instrument but still retain it, generally, however, in its case, since happily other safer and milder remedies have in most cases proved effectual, so the retaining of a force sufficient to preserve order in each nation, would be seen to be a necessity, and the result would be the organization of a police force such as we have already described.

But what would happen should the contingency which we have admitted to be possible, though extremely improbable—that of the dissolution of the league owing to repeated expulsions of recalcitrant members—unfortunately come to pass? It would be seen that the flaw in the machinery was the want of the means of enforcing the decisions of the court, whilst sufficient evidence of the beneficial

effects of the league would have been afforded during its existence, to convince all, of the desirability of attempting its renewal in an amended form, seeing that the nations earliest expelled would undoubtedly soon perceive the folly and short-sightedness of their obstinacy, by contrasting the bitter experience of renewed wars amongst themselves, with the blessings of peace enjoyed by the powers faithfully observing the treaty. The consequence would be that sooner or later fresh negotiations would lead to the adoption of the only effectual remedy against future collapse—partial disarmament of the contracting powers, operating in conjunction with the institution and maintenance of a police force as a complete check upon the mutinous spirit of any recalcitrant power.

Hence, whether mediately or immediately, partial disarmament must be the effect of the establishment of an arbitration league.

Briefly, to sum up what we have said upon the question of feasibility in the two senses of the term, we have indicated (1) the means by which the consent of a sufficient number of nations to the constitution of an arbitration court and the reference of international disputes thereto may, in our opinion, best be gained, and (2) the working of such a court, (*a*) without partial disarmament and an international police, and (*b*) with those conditions existing, and further, that the constitution of *a* would lead eventually to the realization of *b*.

OPPORTUNENESS.

Those who venture to maintain that the time is fast approaching when wars between civilized nations shall cease, are frequently met with the reply, "yes, when the millennium arrives," the manner and tone of the speaker seeming to imply, that he might as well have said at the "*Greek Kalends*." Exception might justly be taken to the levity, not to say irreverence of remarks of this kind, but it would be out of place to import views partaking of the nature of religion into this article. However, the idea, divested of all allusion to anything sacred, would appear to be that the time when wars shall cease, if they ever do cease, is so far distant that it is ridiculously premature to discuss even the possibility of such a state of things existing at some future period. We shall therefore now address ourselves to the task of showing—compressing as much as possible where volumes might be written—how the signs of the

times point all in one direction, indicating that the civilized world is even now ripe for at least a partial accomplishment of the desired end, and that the hour is at hand when that end shall be realized in the full and complete perfection of all its blessedness.

Ours may well be called in a literal sense an iron age. The present century has seen the application of iron and steel to every conceivable use, until its development would almost seem to have reached that highest point whence begins the declining. But science, which abhors everything that is clumsy, is already busily at work, and must eventually triumph. Humanity marches on hand in hand with science, and the golden age of both is approaching. Even as the world's work shall yet be done by implements more delicate in design and more efficient in operation, so shall the world's differences be adjusted by the calm deliberation of a judicial body, in place of the coarse and inartistic appeals to the arbitrament of mere brute force. An increasing readiness on the part of neutral powers to mediate between contending nations is already apparent. The non-molestation of non-combatants is a principle which has been more liberally interpreted and more strictly observed in each succeeding war waged between nations really civilized, while privateering has been virtually abolished.

If there can exist between nations a rarely broken "*lex non scripta*," proscribing the use of explosive bullets in warfare, originating no doubt in the horror with which humanity contemplates the fearful effects upon the individual struck by a missile so terrible—if the use of petroleum tubes and asphyxiated shells can be tacitly discountenanced as too murderously wholesale in their frightful destructiveness—surely the next step, the abandoning of all death-dealing implements soever, would be but a natural sequence, as the sensibility of humanity hourly grows in intensity of tenderness. Why should any distinction be made between explosive missiles of a certain size and those less than that size? Does it not seem an anomaly to permit the use of shells and torpedos and yet draw an arbitrary line at explosive bullets? But in any case, the force of circumstances and the irresistible law of progress will not suffer matters to remain as they are, and the change can only operate in one of two directions, either as we have already pointed out, one terrible weapon after another will, by mutual consent, be discarded

from the armory of nations, until the absurdity of so retrograde a movement is perceived and war entirely abandoned, or the potency for slaughter of successive inventions will be found to have increased to such an extent as to render the strain unbearable, and to cause humanity to refuse to tolerate their employment. Hence, either alternative must inevitably lead to the absolute discontinuance of war in every shape between civilized nations. But which of these alternatives is the more likely to come to pass? The reply to this inquiry is, most probably the second; since the transition in the case of the first, though gradual, must necessarily be progressive, whilst we have only to look around us to see that the process has hitherto only operated negatively—by excluding explosive bullets, petroleum, etc., before they actually came into use—but has not positively effected the banishment of any weapon or munition of war, already recognized as legitimate. “Then,” an opponent may urge, “you have disposed of your argument, for if the use of newly invented engines of war be restricted, how can the point at which the strain upon humanity’s endurance is to become intolerable be ever reached?” To this objection we might reply, “you cannot guarantee that this will always be so,” but we can afford to let that pass, whilst we entrench ourselves in another and a stronger position. Our answer then to such an objector would be this: “The limit is already reached, and the strongest proof that it is so, is the forbidding the use of these fresh inventions. Humanity and ferocity have joined issue upon the pleadings, in the supreme court of universal justice. The case is even now proceeding before the jury of public opinion. The great soul of the nations is just, and but one verdict is possible.”

That an arbitration league between England and the United States is already practically in existence, is evidenced by the fact that three important questions upon which those powers differed, have within a few years been referred to and settled by arbitration. The decisions, as was to be expected, have in each case caused some dissatisfaction on one side or the other, but it is remarkable as showing a tendency towards a balance of averages, that while in the Alabama case, Great Britain grumbled at the award, and in that of the Canadian Fisheries the United States was dissatisfied, the decision in the case of Vancouver Straits appeared to content neither party. Habits are formed by the frequent repetition of the same actions,

and the reference to arbitration of these three important questions has rendered a war between Great Britain and the United States an extremely improbable event, not because of kinship in race and language, since unhappily the bitterest feuds proverbially arise between relations, but from the fact that the custom of referring all disputes to a judicial settlement, is by frequent exercise rapidly growing into a fixed habit. It must not be forgotten that the treaty of Paris contains a clause most favorable to the principle of arbitration, though in its present defective form, limited as it is to the case of a misunderstanding between Turkey and any of the other signatories, and even then being to a great extent discretionary, it is practically almost useless. Nevertheless, since it binds the powers at variance, before having recourse to arms, to afford to the other signatories an opportunity of striving to avert war by their mediation, it is a significant indication of the direction in which opinions were tending at the time that treaty was made.

Much has happened in the intervening years to widen the scope of those opinions, and the problem can now be attempted under conditions which render the chance of a speedy and satisfactory solution more than hopeful; indeed, if skillfully approached, almost a certainty.

It will be seen that we have already as a nucleus for an arbitration league, two powerful nations, which have *inter se* adopted the principle and practiced it so far. Is there any other nation likely to co-operate? There is—regenerated France. And what has been the process of her regeneration? A military despotism—a comparatively mild one it is true, but none the less a military despotism—begot Communism; Communism drove that despotism to war to save its dynasty. Defeat resulted, the dynasty was overthrown and with it fell Communism, or at least its most dangerous features were removed. The people governs itself, and not even the desire to recover lost territory or to revive tarnished military laurels impels the nation to a second war. France has generously extended the right hand of fellowship to her conquerors, by inviting Germany to participate in the great exhibition at Paris, and Germany has not unwillingly responded. One at least of the annexed provinces is admittedly French, heart and soul. An international tribunal might as a just compromise, decree the retrocession to France of that

province, Germany still retaining the more German one, thereby strengthening both nations, since the incorporation of an incongruous and unwilling population can never be a source of strength to the nation forcibly annexing it. The same process which, while it entailed upon her the humiliation and sufferings of a hostile invasion, had so fortunate a termination for France, is even now in operation in Russia. One of the most potent causes which induced the Czar to undertake the recent war against Turkey, was undoubtedly the growth and spread of Nihilism in his dominions. The hope that a war would divert the minds of the malcontents from home affairs, as in the case of Louis Napoleon, tempted Alexander to declare war against and invade the territory of a neighboring power. His cause, however, had at least a semblance of greater justice, and he was permitted to be victorious, but what is the result? In conquered France, Communism is dying out, while Nihilism flourishes and increases in victorious Russia, and even while we write seems to be driving the Czar to seek a fresh quarrel and enter upon a second war. Again in the case of Germany, the iron hand of a military despotism has been the parent of Socialism, and has caused it to assume the most dangerous attitude, culminating in the recent deplorable attempts upon the life of a personally most estimable sovereign; the blows which, through misguided and criminal zeal, have been struck at the individual, being in reality aimed at the system. To what then do these indications point? To this, that the hour has arrived when the popular masses of the nations insist upon having a voice in the determination of their destinies. The form of government is immaterial. We see by the example of Great Britain that monarchy is consistent with the most complete liberty of the subject, and his virtual self-government.

It is not necessary that convulsions and revolutions should usher in the new order of things, even in the most despotically ruled nations. Judicious relaxation of the military yoke, and the permitting the unfettered exercise of the privileges of representative government, would probably, by removing the immediate cause, speedily put an end to Socialism, Nihilism, and kindred agitations, and it is to be hoped that autocratic monarchs will wisely adopt this course ere it be too late. However that may be, it is quite evident that, in the not distant future, no government will have it in its power to

arbitrarily plunge a nation into war unless the voice of that nation shall have declared itself in favor of an appeal to arms. It has before been shown that the people in a nation rarely desire war, and the consequence must inevitably be that other means of settling international disputes will be sought and these will be found in an international tribunal, and such a tribunal once established, in place of war excitement in the nation which conceived itself wronged, an agitation would arise loudly demanding the institution of a suit against the offender according to international law.

It is then obviously to the interest of the sovereigns, as well as the people of the German and Russian nations to join in an arbitration league, and thereby remove by a stroke of the pen two of the most galling causes of discontent—conscription and military terrorism—by the partial disarmament, which, as has before been shown, would necessarily ensue. Austria has ever manifested a preference for diplomatic over military contests, and in her present weak condition would gladly welcome so advantageous a change, and enlightened and humane Italy has everything to gain by participating in a movement which would materially aid her in completing the great work of her national regeneration.

With regard to the minor powers it is unnecessary to adduce any arguments to prove what is self-evident, that for them, an appeal to an equitably constituted court of international justice, instead of an unequal struggle against superior force, or a dependence upon the tender mercies of more powerful allies, cannot but prove inestimably beneficial. We have already seen that in Socialism and Nihilism there exists an immense power of misdirected energy, which, were it turned into its proper channel would work for good instead of threatening evil. Let the leaders in these movements, instead of attempting to overthrow order, unite in demanding the abolition of war and devote all their energies to the furtherance of an object, which, once accomplished, cannot fail speedily to remove their most serious grievances.

Much more evidence of the seasonableness of the hour might be adduced; but it is hoped that enough has been said to show that any efforts in the direction of peace made at the present time, will be at least not premature.

Having, as we hope, shown international arbitration to be desirable, feasible and opportune, we shall conclude by endeavoring to demonstrate that such a result is but the natural outcome of that consistent and inexorable law of progress, which appears to be cosmically universal. If a national system of government be possible, why should an international one be impracticable? To the divisions and sub-divisions in each nation, certain privileges of self-government are accorded. States, counties, towns, villages, families, all have in a greater or lesser degree the management of their own affairs in their own hands, subject of course to the general law of the land. Has not this system worked, and worked well? Has not the tendency in these smaller communities been towards the peaceful settlement of disputes in almost every case? Coming to the individual, have not dueling and horsewhipping and appeals to brute force generally, so given way to the growing preference for the machinery of the law, as to have become comparatively rare. What are the causes of this change for the better? The existence of tribunals, their accessibility, the general justice of their decisions, the power of enforcing those decisions, and their regarding and punishing as offenders those who take the law into their own hands. Cannot all these utensils be combined in an international court, the nations severally being the individuals, collectively the community? For nations have their passions, interests, ambitions, weaknesses and idiosyncrasies of character, precisely as the human individuals by the aggregation of whom social communities are formed in each nation. These are controlled by certain customary and statute laws—the growth of centuries—and a judicial system administers, while a police force watches the observance of these laws. In the community of nations, international laws exist, but they have never yet received a binding sanction, neither have they a recognized judicial system, nor the means of enforcing the mandates of such a tribunal, did it exist. Why is this so? How does it happen that the analogy between a community of nations and the communities in nations should hold good up to a certain point but no further? The difficulty can be easily explained. It is simply due to that recognized law of nature, by the operation of which, the grander and more perfect organisms demand a larger period to develop themselves than the lesser and subsidiary. Even as the forest in its



infancy began by isolated trees, each becoming the parent of others, until separate clumps were formed, ruled by certain laws and subject to peculiar influences, and growing and spreading more or less rapidly according to situation, soil and other conditions, until at last comes the blending of these clumps into one majestic whole, the very existence of which becomes the cause of a mightier code of laws by which, even the climate, the rainfall and the winds are swayed. So in the case of mankind, the patriarchal and the national stages, corresponding to the isolated trees and the separate clumps, have led to the approaching confederation which is to form the forest of nations and produce universal and comprehensive effects upon the whole of the blended mass of atoms. So long as the clumps were distinct, there was rivalry and conflict between them, which should attract the passing cloud, and secure the largest share of the fertilizing showers, but once united, all contention ceases. The aggregation of force draws down a plenteous supply, and the rain falls upon all alike. So must it be with the civilized world, the cause existing, the effect must follow. The common interests of the nations are drawing them together, the popular masses are becoming united in the hatred of war and bloodshed, and when once the cry is unanimous, the rainfall of peace, ruled by the general principles of international law as administered by a recognized international tribunal, will descend upon the nations, and bestow upon them a plenteous harvest of blessings.

APPENDIX.

SKETCH OF A PROPOSED ARBITRATION TREATY.

The powers joining the arbitration league, shall sign a treaty, binding themselves to submit all disputes to an international tribunal, to abide by the decisions thereof, and to assist in enforcing such decisions upon any recalcitrant member of the arbitration league.

Each signatory shall disarm, reserving only such force as under the treaty such signatory is required to maintain as its contingent in the international police.

The contingent to be maintained by each signatory shall be calculated, (1) in the case of land forces, on the basis of population, and (2) in the case of sea forces, on the basis of the tonnage of the shipping entered in the ports of each signatory.

Such contingents shall remain under the control of their respective authorities, until summoned by order of the international tribunal on international service, when they shall unite to execute its commands.

Upon receipt of such summons, the commanders of both land and sea forces, shall elect by ballot, a Commander-in-chief and Lord High Admiral, who shall thereupon assume the direction of their respective forces.

An international tribunal shall be constituted to perform the herein recited functions.

INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL.

CONSTITUTION.

1. Each signatory to the arbitration treaty shall nominate judges according to population of such signatory. For fifteen millions and under, one judge; between fifteen and twenty-five millions, two judges; over twenty-five millions, three judges and no more.

2. At the first session of the international tribunal, the members thereof shall elect their president by ballot.

3. When any question is submitted, concerning which not more than three nations are at issue, the judges representing such nations, shall retire from the bench and shall be at liberty to act as counsel for their respective nations, but all questions affecting more than three nations, shall be heard and decided by the entire bench.

4. The salaries of the judges shall be paid by the nations which they represent.

5. Contending nations shall appear by such counsel as they may think fit to employ, but judges may not act as counsel, except as provided in Art. 3.

6. Each nation shall, by its judge or judges, select and name a place of session within its territory. An alphabetical list of

such places shall be drawn up, and the tribunal shall sit at each place in rotation, except as provided in Art. 7.

7. The tribunal shall not sit at the place of session of any nation which is a party to the question to be decided, notwithstanding that such nation is next in order on the rota-list, but in such case, the session shall be held at the place of session of the nation immediately following on the rota-list, which shall not be a party to the question to be decided; and places of session so postponed, shall *pro hâc vice* exchange positions on the rota-list, with places of session so substituted.

8. The judges shall collect existing precedents of international law, to form the basis of a future code.

9. The language of the tribunal shall be the French tongue.*

10. It shall be lawful for the tribunal to interfere in cases of internal disturbances in nations being parties to the arbitration treaty whenever, in their opinion, such disturbances are calculated to lead to internecine conflicts.

11. The international police shall be at the disposal of the tribunal to execute any orders it may think fit to issue.

Philip C. Garrett remarked at the conclusion: "In reading this paper, I do not say that my convictions coincide in all respects with the writer's. The paper has its faults, but it is suggestive. It is written by a graduate of Oxford University, an Englishman who is a resident of Auckland, New Zealand.

The Chair announced that discussion on the paper was now in order.

Robert E. Evans suggested that the idea of a league armed, as advocated in the paper just read, was an egregious error. William Penn met the savages in childlike innocence and confidence. He met in them the same spirit as was in himself, and it had a most happy effect. There was no difficulty. The treaties with the Indians made by this country have never been kept by us with frankness and justice.

* The French language has been inserted here as being the recognized medium of diplomatic communications.

Philip C. Garrett thought the speaker had mistaken the purport of the essay. "What the writer proposed was an international police to enforce the edicts of the international tribunal, as the municipality requires it to enforce the city's ordinances. The treaty which the writer sketched between European nations, provided for the retention of small armaments to maintain the decisions of the arbitration tribunal. I think this is the argument on the part of the paper, and it is exactly the position William Penn took in his essay towards the peace of Europe."

Rev. D. C. Babcock :

"The European nations and the American nations are warlike, while the Asiatics and Africans are peace people. If, therefore, a court of arbitration can be organized that will embrace all the leading nations, if not all the nations of Europe, I think we need have no apprehension whatever of any invasion from Asia and Africa. It is well known that China, with her four hundred millions of people, has never made an effort to overrun Europe. But Europe, with her small population, has threatened to overrun China; and Great Britain has forced upon China commercial relations by powder and ball. It is well known that the immense population of India is not only double that of Great Britain, but quadruple—that Great Britain has subjugated by invasion and conquest the whole of the latter country. Therefore, it is proof *primâ facie* that India is a peace empire, and Hindoos are peace people. And it is also proved by observation that the American Indian is a peace man, as compared with the white people of this country. [Cheers.] We never have had an Indian war in this country that was not forced upon the Indian by the white man; that is, a war between the two races. Now, taking these facts, and I think they will not be disputed, for granted, I agree with the gentleman that the danger from invasion by what are termed the barbarian hordes is an imaginary danger. If we can once civilize the civilized nations, as I remarked yesterday; if we can once Christianize the Christian churches, we are safe. If we can once secure the league of arbitration between the nations of Europe and America, the world will be at peace and remain at peace."

Edward S. Morris :

"I should like to make a remark touching the heathen condition. It was my pleasure and privilege to be taken up the rivers of Liberia

by a Mohammedan chief, a man living on the coast of Africa. The subject which we talked about was this very question of peace and war. In his rigid belief in the Koran of Mohammed, he said they regarded the Old Testament scriptures as full of war. Not so with Mohammed's Koran.

“There are in the heart of Africa, out of a population of ninety millions, at least fifty millions of total abstainers from intoxicating liquors for centuries back; and it is a fact there is a large population in Central Africa who are almost persuaded to bow at the feet of Jesus Christ if England and other nations of Europe will only keep away their Gatling guns and weapons of destruction and their intoxicating liquors.” [Cheers.]

Hon. Mr. French, of Ohio:

“The paper read seems to me the most pertinent subject under discussion. I am not willing to admit that the savage nations were freest from war. When we discovered the North American Indians here, they were constantly at war with one another or else with neighbors around them. The African tribes are constantly at war among themselves, and enslaving one another. The question is, what is the most direct and common-sense way of reaching the point? It is to submit all the controversies of nations and governments to peaceable arbitration for their solution. I do not think this involves temperance. It does not necessarily, as I understand, involve the existence of certain good or bad sentiments in the world. The Bible is, as I regard it, the light of the world. But we are to take the world as it is. We find it everywhere mentally in certain conditions. We have had it exemplified in thousands of ways for centuries past, so that we ought not to misapprehend what humanity is. So long as people are different, there will be differences among men; and differences among men will make differences among nations. Whether we cut one another's throats or appeal to the law for justice is the question before us. We have decided that it is desirable to have questions in dispute submitted to arbitration, discussed, and all the merits and demerits of each side considered by minds not immediately interested. It has been said that the United States being the leading competent power on this continent, it is for this Government to take the initiative on this continent; then go abroad and invite others to join us. It is all proper enough, it seems to

me, for the United States to begin it. The light has gone abroad from here.

“The war between Chili and Peru was originally a dispute about the guano trade, and after a long and disastrous war they had to settle it by conference. How much better would it have been to have held that conference first! I expect to live to see arbitration adopted among the American republics. The President is favorable to it; and among our statesmen you cannot find a man who is not. It is simply difficult on account of the pressure of other business before the National Legislature. Could we have somebody at Washington to keep the matter alive, it would succeed. You could not find fifty men out of three hundred in the lower house who do not approve of it. What said President Hayes on this subject? He was from my own State. He is not the greatest man in the world, but he is a man of conscience and his heart is in the right place. He said ‘The President is powerless. The Executive would be glad to avail itself of the opportunity to call a conference. All that is necessary is for Congress to make the necessary appropriation for an extraordinary convention of the representatives of nations.’ The President and cabinet are competent to make the appointment of commissioners, if authorized by a law of Congress. This would be constituted a congress of nations. It would take but very little legislation.

“The details pointed out in the paper read are quite extensive and too complicated for our machinery, which is simple—capable of being run by the people. It needs no great application to understand—no wheels within wheels. Put it into successful motion.

“I would suggest as a practical means, for this meeting to appoint such a committee to attend at Washington this winter, and not wait till people get any better. I have lived a good many years and I never expect to see any greater improvement in human nature than what has occurred within the last two thousand years. You may modify it by Christianity, but there is a deal of animal nature in humanity. The principle is self-protection. Trample upon it and it will repel the attack. It is so with all animate creatures God has made upon the face of the earth. He has implanted this principle within us. The object of this meeting takes it for granted that there must be a government for the protection of all; for the best

interests of the community. It assumes as a fact that some people will do wrong, and will try to overreach and impose upon the weaker. This makes government necessary. It is because there are wrongs; because human nature is depraved and men will sin when they have a good opportunity, and do right only when compelled from selfishness. I hope this meeting will not adjourn until such a committee as I have indicated shall be appointed—men accustomed to work in this movement—to go to Washington and have the necessary legislation passed this present session by Congress.” [Applause.]

Prof. Hobbs gave a statement orally of his calling on several Congressmen during the Convention held at Washington a year before. He found the Monroe doctrine was strongly held by the members of Congress. It was this which we have to meet. It was this which prevented the success of Mr. Blaine’s plan for an international congress. It was thought by some that we had better not touch the subject until after the next Presidential election. Some of us called on President Arthur and suggested the extension of the conference, so as to include European governments. He was very much pleased with that, and he did put it in his message to Congress, so that Congress took it upon his recommendation; but the session was short and this was why nothing was done. I do not have much faith in action on the part of Congress until the country moves.

Jacob M. Troth:

“I think that the most important thing that this convention can do, if it can do it, is to decide upon some practical scheme to present not only to our government, but to the people of this country, a plan commending the co-operation of the thoughtful, conscientious, patriotic people of this country—one starting out in the direction of influencing our government in behalf of some action in regard to arbitration. I, by invitation, called upon President Hayes and asked him to take some such action; then he said: ‘Put your views and your request in writing, and it shall receive my serious consideration.’ I did so. I put it in the shape of a petition, and when I had finished reading that petition to him, he said: ‘Have you had it printed?’ and before I could answer the question, he said: ‘I will print it.’ He had a large number of copies printed

and sent to me for circulation. We will command the attention of our government and people, and I hope this Convention will do it, and I think it will. The complications in Europe are such that the prospect of progress in arbitration is very poor there. It is not growing in the minds of the people rapidly, but the condition of this continent and the fact that with the exception of Brazil, all the nations are republics, offers us a field in which we can act effectively. My idea is expressed in that petition: 'That we propose the government inaugurate an international convention or congress as proposed by President Garfield and Secretary Blaine. That the objects of this Convention shall be to draft an international frame of government, as this petition says, not only a court of nations, but a congress of nations; and give international law the advantages of a permanent legislature.'

"This congress should be composed of delegates from all the nations upon this continent. Thus these countries and the people would be pledged to carry out that frame of government. It would have the effect of binding not only these nations, but their citizens also. I emphasize these things because I regard an international frame of government that will not look to any resort to arms as the necessity of our time. I believe there are forces more potent than the sword and brute force. I believe the greatest power known in the universe is the power of love. Make that power the element and the principle of government; it is the only power practical for the maintenance of peace among men. If there is a nation that will not work with the rest and objects to organic action, or that refuses to comply with these laws, the remaining nations can proclaim non-intercourse with it, commercially, and soon bring it back into the confederation. I would like to elaborate, but a word to the wise is sufficient."

Hon. W. S. Pierce, Judge Court of Common Pleas, Philadelphia :

"I have two resolutions to offer, which I have been led to prepare from the history of an incident that occurred preceding the war between Media, Persia and Babylon, which resulted in the downfall of Babylon."

The Chair requested Judge Pierce to read his resolutions, which he did as follows. [See Series IV. at end of Proceedings.]

Judge Pierce continued: "A distant nation of Asia sent to Media to inquire into the causes of war, ambassadors, who stated that their object was to know what their own action should be in the matter by understanding the reason of the difference. Now, you ask what is the good of such action as this? In the first place it gives the differing nations to understand that the eyes of the world are upon them, and they want to know what is the matter. Who of us knows now the cause of the difference between Chili and Peru? Who understands the agitation between France and China as it ought to be understood? In the second place it will not only bring these nations to the knowledge of the facts, but put them upon the inquiry themselves—set them to inquiring the reasons for their contemplated warfare. In doing this they may learn a great deal respecting the difference themselves. They are upon trial before the world, and this matter of inquiry might lead to great and important information. And then the governments being better informed, can tender their own offices with more propriety. The people of the earth should know what they ought to do relative to any controversy between nations at variance. It enables the people themselves to take action if the government does not. For this reason I offer these resolutions."

The resolutions were referred under the rule to the Committee on Resolutions, and afterwards adopted.

After some unimportant discussion, the Convention adjourned till half-past two o'clock P. M.

At 2.30 P. M. the meeting was opened with prayer by Bishop Simpson who then took the chair.

After the reading of the minutes, etc., Professor Hobbs, by request, read the following poem by Charles Mackay, entitled:

THE BROTHERHOOD OF NATIONS.

The wars had ceased; the weary nations furled
 Their tattered flags and sheathed their blunted swords;
 And, sick of blood, the decimated world
 Counted its scars, its glories, and rewards.

A little whisper, raised in doubt and fear,
 Made an appeal to all the suffering lands—
Form an alliance, holy and sincere,
And join, join hands.

Old men left childless and disconsolate ;
 Widows forlorn, and maidens sorrow-crowned ;
 The children loitering at the cottage gate ;
 The young men mournful, gazing on the ground,
 Joined in the cry, lamenting, yet of cheer—
 Repeating ever, *Oh, ye ruined lands !*
Form an alliance, holy and sincere,
And join, join hands.

The ploughman singing at the early morn,
 Stopped in his song, and shuddered to behold,
 Through the long furrows for the future corn,
 Half-buried skulls projecting from the mould ;
 Bones of his brethren, scattered far and near ;
 And sadly gazing, sighed : *Unhappy lands !*
Form an alliance, holy and sincere,
And join, join hands.

The whisper spread—it gathered as it went ;
 From crowd to crowd the aspiration flew ;
 Distracted Europe stanch'd the wounds that rent
 Her bleeding bosom, pierced at Waterloo ;
 Her wisest sons, with voices loud and clear,
 Took up the words and bore them o'er the lands—
Form an alliance, holy and sincere,
And join, join hands.

“Why should ye drag,” said they, “the furious car
 Of blind ambition ? Why with sweat and moil
 Follow the panting demi-gods of war,
 And with your blood make runnels through the soil ?
 Long have ye suffered—long in mad career
 Borne fire, and sword, and sorrow through the lands.
Form an alliance, holy and sincere,
And join, join hands.”

“Sheathed be the sword forever ; let the drum
 Be schoolboys' pastime ; let your battles cease,
 And be the cannon's voice forever dumb,
 Except to celebrate the joys of peace !
 Are ye not brothers ? God, whom we revere,
 Is He not Father of all climes and lands ?
Form an alliance, holy and sincere,
And join, join hands.”

The words grew oracles; from mouth to mouth
 Rapid as light the truthful accents ran,
 From the cold Norland to the sunny South,
 From East to West, they warmed the heart of man;
 The prosperous people, with a sound of cheer,
 Passed the glad watch-word through the smiling lands,
Form an alliance, holy and sincere,
And join, join hands.

They spread, they flew, they fructified apace;
 The spear and sword hung rusting on the walls,
 Preserved as relics of a by-gone race,
 When men went mad and gloried in their brawls.
 Peace, the fair mother of each bounteous year,
 Dropped corn and wine on the prolific lauds.
Form an alliance, holy and sincere,
And join, join hands.

England forgot her deeds of battle done;
 France blushed at "glory" gained in fields of gore;
 German, Italian, Spaniard, Pole and Hun
 Taught kings a lesson and were foes no more;
 Knowledge achieved the circuit of our sphere,
 And love became the gospel of the lands.
When that alliance, holy and sincere,
Had joined all hands.

Evening Session.

Bishop Simpson took the chair at the opening of the session, and being obliged to retire, announced that he had nominated the following persons as a Committee to present the proceedings of this Convention to the President and Congress of the United States, viz.: Gen. U. S. Grant, Hon. John Welsh, Ex-Governor Stanton, and Philip C. Garrett.

It was understood that Bishop Simpson would be chairman of this Committee.

The Bishop withdrew and called Vice-President Philip C. Garrett to the chair.

Daniel Hill spoke as follows:

"I presume there are others here who could entertain this Convention better than I can, but no man is more opposed to war. I have been engaged in the peace work for the last twelve or fifteen years, as editor of the *Messenger of Peace*. Some of you may

have seen it. It is published not on my own account but on account of the Peace Association of the Society of Friends in America. It is amazing to me that this subject has not more engaged the attention of Christian people than it has. We know that the early Christians for several centuries refused to fight. They were soldiers of the cross, valiant soldiers, courageous men and women, willing to hazard their lives, putting on the whole armor of God, but they fought not with carnal weapons. While in that position the church prospered, and but for the fact that afterwards it changed its high position on this subject, it would have spread much more rapidly. Nothing is so anomalous as the position assumed by Christian nations on this subject.

“The evils of war are manifold. We are apt to look upon them as those of the battle-field and hospital. But the evils of war do not die when the war of the armies ceases. The evils of the last war in this country are manifest throughout the land to-day. They had their influence on the young who were at home and who read accounts of the battles in which their elder brothers and fathers were engaged. The murder spirit was at that time engendered, and we see its effect in the murders occurring throughout the country reported in the daily papers. The children were then educated to believe that human life may be taken when occasion shall occur and another’s judgment shall justify it. I have heard young boys use the words: ‘Your money or your life.’ The books permitted children to read foster the same spirit, and thus children are trained to become murderers. Educated parents do not realize this. There are ten murders since the war to one before the war. These come largely through the effect of the war. It was said by one speaker last night that in 1861 there seemed to be no other resort but war; but had the proper course been taken by Christians North and South fifty years ago, I do not believe there would have been any war. It might have been averted; but it was too late to avert it in 1861. Now we are taking steps to prevent war. This is largely the work of the Peace Society.”

The speaker continued at length, showing the folly and extravagance of the competition going on between nations in building warships with armor to be proof against projectiles and then to invent guns that shall destroy the armor-plates, and thus there is no end to

the expenditure; the thicker the armor-plates, the heavier the artillery to break through them, and yet there have been no navies used to any purpose in the late wars because the invention of torpedoes render them an unsafe dependence. There is thus an immense amount of capital invested in these war-ships and they are almost useless for defensive purposes. On this ground alone, saying nothing about other reasons, it becomes sensible advice to adopt other means than war to settle international disputes. There is only one way to get darkness out of a room and that is to let light in. The Bible is the book of light. The multiplication of Bibles has increased twenty-fold. That is to say there are twenty times as many Bibles printed and circulated in this century as in all the ages before. In the beginning of this century the Bible was printed in about thirty different languages. Now it is printed in from two to three hundred different tongues. But there is something to do to teach the precepts of the Bible as well as the Bible itself. Christians need to be taught the principles of the Prince of Peace and that they are not in harmony with the principles of war.

“War violates the other commandments of the decalogue. God said ‘Remember the Sabbath day.’ War has no respect for the Sabbath. A great number of the great battles of the past have been fought on the Sabbath day. Does it not desecrate the Sabbath to have thousands of people meet and butcher each other? I believe the Lord wants Christians and everybody else to go to work to let the light shine in the world on this question; to show that war is such an immoral thing, such an outrageous thing, so destructive of the moral as well as the spiritual life, that it cannot be sustained consistently by any Christian nation.

“Our young people see the military parades and all the pomp and circumstance of war, and are led to admire them. If a railroad train is run into and two or three hundred persons are mangled, it excites the utmost indignation, but you can go to the battle-field and see hundreds of thousands mangled by shot and shell, and the dead bodies exposed to the wild beasts; such scenes must, in the very nature of things, harden the sensibilities. War is a cruelty that cannot be defended.

“I am glad this Convention has been held. I do not expect you will all indorse my sentiments on the subject of war. I expect to

hold my sentiments and shall allow you to hold yours. We do agree, however, on the general sentiment that we ought to do all in our power to provide other means than war for settling disputes. There is no more reason why nations should resort to war to settle their disputes than individuals should resort to war in settling theirs. In fact the war between nations is more unreasonable than fighting out a quarrel with fists. War is entirely out of harmony with the principles of the Gospel. Now, if the church and all good citizens will use common sense and reason and will take this matter in hand, throw off their indifference and carelessness, such a public opinion will be formed as will bring a pressure to bear upon the Government that will make war absolutely impossible. That is the part of the work we have in hand in this Convention. It has been more than the dream of inspired men. When the millennium comes, military academies will be converted into institutions for other purposes, because we shall have no further use for them.

“I desire to express my gratitude to my Heavenly Father that, as I am getting to be an old man and may not live to see war abolished, I have lived to see an advance in civilization and enlightenment which I doubt not will eventually lead to that result.”

The speaker concluded by quoting the lines of Longfellow, ending with these verses :

Down the dark future, through long generations,
The echoing sounds grow fainter and then cease;
And like a bell, with solemn, sweet vibrations,
I hear once more the voice of Christ say, “peace!”

Peace! and no longer from its brazen portals
The blast of War's great organ shakes the skies!
But beautiful as songs of the immortals,
The holy melodies of love arise.

General Armstrong, of Hampton, Va. :

“My first impressions of the cause of peace came from a missionary in a remote part of the world, who gave me a book called the ‘Book of Peace.’ It drew a strong contrast between peace and war. My strongest convictions, I remember, were from poring over that old book. I served three and a-half years of the last war and I have seen men on both sides, having mingled a good deal with Southern men. I think I know how they feel. I think the two

armies that fought out that trouble have had all the fight taken out of them. They do not desire another war. We are all peace men and the best of peace men. Perhaps something no individual will stand might arise, there may be a point beyond which a nation should never go; but we know what horrible business it is. We see bands of music, soldiers parading and the like on the Fourth of July, and it produces the impression of something grand; but in the South many of the regiments could not afford to buy uniforms and had no music. It was a terrible business. The ex-soldiers of both armies, if they could express their sentiments, would give the cause of arbitration a good backing up. You must give us credit for self-respect. I think and believe that our war was a great peace measure. The moral damage of the war was, however, far beyond the material damage, great as that was, and the blood that flowed. Suffering is doing its perfect work. It has done a great deal already. The young men of the South do not now eat their meals off tin plates as their fathers did in following Lee. These young white men form a sort of middle class; the poor whites and the old aristocracy forming the other two classes. Speculation brought about an accumulation of wealth, and changes are gradually taking place. The right kind of education is the one great remedy for the war spirit. There is no such thing as setting aside the military at once. There are some other things to be done first. It must be done by establishing a Christian civilization. There is a change in the essential condition of the South which, indeed, its best men and women see. Seeing the progressive enterprise of the people, even if they had the opportunity, they would not have slavery back. With that feeling come the assurances of peace. Let us hope for our children that in the increased accumulation of wealth and extension of railroads, there will be a binding us together into one country that can never be divided into North and South. The East and West have been united by the grand trunk lines of railroad. Business has become established on the new order which has been accomplished by this regular development. The same thing is being accomplished between North and South. There is no more war spirit left in the South."

Gen. Armstrong explained the position and work of his school at Hampton, where colored children (both African and Indian), are

taught; and gave a rapid review of the Southern situation and the favor with which peace principles would be viewed there.

A report from the Committee on Resolutions was then read, containing two resolutions:

Resolved, That when the Convention adjourn, it be to meet at the call of the officers.

Resolved, That a Committee on Correspondence be appointed to correspond with other organizations in regard to holding a convention on the subject of arbitration in their respective localities.

Alfred H. Love:

“Now that we have the Professor here, who is so fortunately the superintendent of our public schools, let us suggest that they have a professorship of arbitration in our colleges and schools.

“Another thought: not only the railroads but the magnetic system should be used for the cause of peace and arbitration and not for war. The postal system is also a great instrumentality for peace. How wonderful it is that we have received this letter from the Swiss Society, and from the Society in Ireland. It is due to the great postal system of the world; and we give it credit as one of the great peace agencies, costing so little and yet sending our thoughts around the world. The postal law was in the line of arbitration. Not only does it aid trade and commerce, but it unites us with nations on the other side of the earth as no other instrumentality could. It unites the affections of the world. Then the maritime system is a system of arbitration—international—combining the world. We all have to suffer the same pains and exult in the same advantages the wide world over. What hurts us will hurt some one else; and what will hurt others will hurt us. We are all bound together by a common tie of humanity. And then above all, we all recognize the same Supreme Being; and are subject to the same conditions of existence. If we continue on we shall feel the pulse of man the wide world over joining all in a common brotherhood.”

Hon. John M. Broomall, ex-member of Congress, from Pennsylvania:

“I have very decided notions on the subject of war. I do not know that I agree exactly with anybody else. I am a peace man who has been in the war. I am a decided peace man who, like one

of the speakers, has some doubt whether the time will ever come when human war will not be. I cannot agree with the same speaker that there was a necessity for either of the American wars. From a child I believed there was no necessity for the war of the American revolution. If the people had simply refused to submit to an unjust power, there would have been less loss of life. A few leaders would have been hanged, and that would have aroused the spirit of the people to a point that would have secured us the sympathy of Great Britain and resulted in our independence. I am not of opinion that the recent civil war was a necessity. There was a time when, if we had had the machinery in operation, there would have been no difficulty in bringing the two opposing parties together, and the South would have been willing to sell their slaves; and if it had not been for a comparatively small number of men in the North, who could not think of such a thing as buying a human being, that plan might have been resorted to. Then, through the machinery of arbitration, I suppose we could have bought by voluntary purchase from the South, all the slaves for one-twentieth of the cost of the war. I have no doubt of it. We would have saved two things: we would have saved our Christian name as a people, and thousands of human lives; and we would have saved the terrible demoralization from which we now suffer. I am opposed to war in all its forms. There is no Christianity in it. It is impossible that any thinking man can maintain that the religion of him who said, 'Blessed are the peacemakers,' can at all justify the killing of one man by another, under any circumstances, much less the killing of the harmless man—the man who has not taken part in any quarrel—by others who have also taken no part. No, there is no Christianity in that. We know very well that the number of individual disputes in the world as compared with the number of national disputes, would be as many millions to one. We know also the time was but a little while back when these individual disputes were settled in precisely the same way national disputes now are. Let me ask the question, what would be the result if we had no means of settling individual disputes now? Suppose our civil courts were to be suspended, even for a single year, what would be the result of turning the people of Philadelphia, for instance, back to the old system of submitting disputes to the arbitrary will of the stronger? The population of

Philadelphia would be sadly diminished in a very short time. A singular part of all this is that the government makes it a crime for me to settle disputes with my neighbor in that way. What would you think of those parents who would fight out, in the presence of their children, their disputes; and expect the children to settle their own differences in a different way? Yet, that is just the spectacle the civilized world presents at the present time. If there is anything in the highest degree repulsive to my mind, it is to see two armies, calling themselves Christians, approach each other with a view to settle some point of controversy; and have ministers of the Gospel on both sides pray to the same God for aid in destroying the other. Anyone looking for a moment at that, would say there is no Christianity there. The time will come when nations cannot afford to fight. National debts cannot go on increasing forever. No people on earth in a civilized community of modern times ever did support war by an immediate tax. It was always by borrowing; and debts have been piled up to an enormous extent. The time is not distant when Europe must break down in anarchy. It must learn some other way. It is learning, as shown by the increasing application of the principle of arbitration. Now it is for some strong government to take the lead, and it will go on. I do not know any other nation better situated than we are for doing it. We have shown our strength and our weakness in the civil war for disunion. We can afford to talk peace without it being supposed that we are afraid of war. England and the United States could establish a system of arbitration if disposed to do it. I am proud of my own country when I am able to say that the United States alone can inaugurate the work. I would have the Government of the United States set the example of submitting all its own disputes to arbitration before anything else is done. Let the United States have its court of arbitration. Let it appoint six, eight or ten men, among the best jurists in the country; let it appoint them for life; let them be removed entirely out of the range of politics; and retire them on half-pay when too old; let this tribunal consider every question likely to produce war abroad and between the States.

“Costly? Yes, it is a costly movement. You would pay them, if you please, liberal salaries; but it would be infinitely cheaper than the cheapest war, the cost of which to the United States would have

maintained a court of arbitration seven or eight hundred years, if you paid each man as much as you pay the President of the United States. It is not worth while to talk about cost. Such a tribunal would be followed up by other nations. Other nations would also be apt to submit their causes to it. If we had such a court, it would be more in the direction of the 'Sermon on the Mount' than any agency that I know of."

Rev. D. C. Babcock :

"I had no thought in coming to this meeting but to express my hearty sympathy in the great movement in which you are engaged, in compliance with the invitation of my friend, Mr. Hobbs, which he extended before the Preachers' Association. I owe my position on the Committee, apart from the wishes of friends, more to parliamentary usage than to any special interest on the part of this Convention. It was Shakespeare's sentiment that was put in this way :

"Peace in its nature is a conquest for both parties, as by it had neither party lost.'

"It is not the case with war that neither party loses, for it is usual for both to lose. We are losers, immense losers, through ignorance. Consider a moment what we lost in this country by the sacrifice of the last generation of young men. . This immense loss was greater than all the money that has been put into the war.

"I was born in 1835. I had the pleasure of being just about old enough to catch the inspiration of what was known as the Washingtonian movement, and being a native of Massachusetts, I heard not a little of the eloquence of that inspiration as developed in John B. Gough. I early placed my name to the pledge never to touch, taste or handle intoxicating liquors. I believe that was one of my great safe-guards, and if I had been born five, eight or ten years later than this, I should have come under the influence of the war, and the circumstances would have been vastly different. The education of society exercises an immense moral influence on the youth of the country. The generation of 1850-65 came under the influence of all the pomp and circumstance of war. I doubt if you could have found in this whole nation a boy from five to ten who did not have a drum. What a tremendous illustration of the effect can be found in the case of that little boy who wanted a drum but had not succeeded in getting one, and who, when required to say his prayer at his mother's knee that night, said :

"Now I lay me down to sleep,
 I want a drum ;
 I pray the Lord my soul to keep,
 I want a drum ;
 If I should die before I wake,
 I want a drum ;
 I pray the Lord my soul to take,
 I want a drum.'

"Such was the effect of the influence of a war-education on the children of that period. Then we have the lesson of young and middle-aged men sacrificed. God grant that we may never see the like again. I am most heartily in favor of peace and the impress of peace, that it should prevail through our land. I am not prepared to say I think all untoward circumstances can be prevented. I doubt that seriously. I do not know war is always, strictly speaking, wrong. I do not pretend to know anything about that, but we can all stand, Mr. President and friends, on this platform, in favor of international intervention to secure peace and arbitration. I hope we shall do that.

"In reference to cultivating patriotism, national patriotism, my idea is just this: why do we need to specially cultivate national patriotism? I listened to an address from Mr. Governor Wallace, of Indiana, in which he asked a lady: 'Do you believe in woman's rights?' and the lady replied: 'Sir, I believe in human rights.' We, as a nation, are made up of people from every nation almost under heaven. It is hard to tell what constitutes an American to-day, and I think altogether we have got beyond the idea of America. We used to go across the Atlantic and enter our names at a hotel as 'from Virginia.' Those who did that, now enter their names as from the United States. A few years hence we shall become broad enough to write our names as from America on the books of the old world. By and by we shall find our patriotism embraces the length and breadth of the human race. This is the kind of patriotism I want to cultivate. We do right to observe the effect of these educational forces at work upon us to-day. We are becoming grander, broader. Let us extend our interest from the narrow compass and special life of a nation to a broad love for humanity." [Applause.]

Hon. R. L. Wright:

"I think it would be an outrage on the audience to-night to add much at so late an hour to what has been so well said. I am delighted with what I have seen. I give way to the feeling that it is well for me that I have been here. It has been good to look into each other's faces and compare notes, and we have come to know that men differ very little in discussing questions so important as those that have engaged the attention of this Convention, when we meet for the same end and have one spirit, one intention, and one motive. I feel like expressing thanks to every gentleman who has taken part in these exercises for the light which he has thrown upon the subject."

Prof. B. C. Janney:

"As representing the only strictly Arbitration Association, I rise to thank heartily every delegate present for the cordial response to our call, and we do fully and proudly congratulate you on the grand success of this Convention."

During the progress of the Conference, the subjoined resolutions were at different times offered and adopted, and may be regarded as embodying the conclusions of the body.

I.

WHEREAS, Until other means than war are provided, governments will continue to look to the sword as the only method for the settlement of disputes,

Resolved, That we urge the formation, as early as practicable, of a code of international law, and the establishment of an international tribunal.

II.

WHEREAS, The friends of arbitration in Europe look especially to America and the American Government to take the lead in this movement,

Resolved, That we fully appreciate the action of our government with reference to arbitration, especially during the four successive administrations of Presidents Grant, Hayes, Garfield and Arthur, and that this Convention respectfully and earnestly urge upon the

Executive Department of the United States Government, the expediency of early negotiating for a congress of the nations of the Western Hemisphere, with a view to providing for the settlement of all difficulties among those nations by peaceable arbitration or other judicial means.

Resolved, That we further respectfully petition our government to invite a congress, for the same object, with such nations of Europe and other continents as may entertain the proposal, whenever practicable.

Resolved, That a committee of five, consisting of Bishop Matthew Simpson, Gen. U. S. Grant, Hon. John Welsh, Hon. Frederick P. Stanton and Philip C. Garrett, be entrusted with the presentation of these resolutions at Washington.

III.

WHEREAS, The Senate and House of Representatives adopted resolutions on June 17, 1874, authorizing and requesting the President of the United States to negotiate with civilized powers in regard to international arbitration, and for the establishment of an international system, whereby matters in dispute between different governments may be adjusted without recourse to war,

Resolved, That we earnestly but respectfully petition that a commission be appointed by the President to negotiate with such governments as may be induced to unite therewith, in order to secure the practical adoption of international arbitration.

Resolved, That we request Congress to make an appropriation for this purpose.

IV.

Resolved, That this Convention respectfully suggests to the International Leagues of Europe and America, when differences tending to war may arise between nations, to urge upon their respective governments to inquire of the governments of the differing nations the causes of the differences, for their own information, and for the information of their people.

Resolved, That in default of such inquiry by the respective governments, the International Leagues be urged to make such inquiry themselves, for the benefit and information of the people of their respective lands.

V.

Resolved, That we respectfully and earnestly request the ministers of the Gospel throughout the country to urge the substitution of amicable negotiations for war, in the settlement of international difficulties, as a step towards the universal triumph of the Prince of Peace.

Resolved, That the editors of the land be requested to keep the principle of the arbitration of national difficulties frequently and prominently before the people.

Resolved, That all available channels through which to inform and educate the masses on the subject of international arbitration should be utilized, especially the pulpit, the press, the lecture platform and the proper education of the youth.

VI.

In pursuance of another resolution, a committee, consisting of Rev. D. C. Babcock, Chairman, Rev. Dr. H. L. Wayland, Bernard T. Janney, Rev. Dr. Crawford, Rev. Dr. W. P. Breed, Rev. Chas. G. Ames, Dr. Henry Hartshorne, Prof. J. H. Dillingham and Rev. Dr. Conrad, was appointed to correspond with organizations of different places with a view to holding conventions on international arbitration in their respective localities.

It was resolved, also, That when the Convention adjourns, it does so to meet at the call of its officers; and at the close of the evening of the second day, the Convention adjourned.

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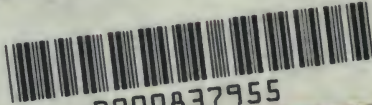
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