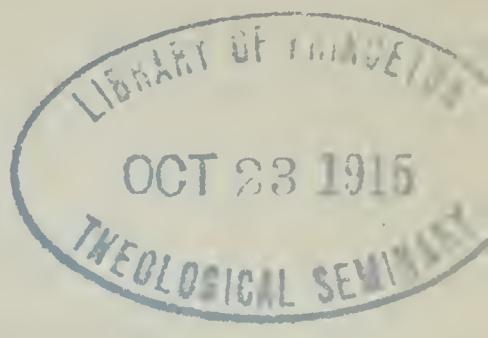




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REPORT

OF THE

TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL

LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE

ON

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION

MAY 19th, 20th AND 21st

1915

PUBLISHED BY THE

LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION
MOHONK LAKE, N. Y.

1915

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Mohonk Lake, N. Y.

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May 19-21, 1915

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OF THE RIGHTS OF ALIENS**

(Appointed in 1910)

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PREFACE

The Lake Mohonk Conferences on International Arbitration were founded by Mr. Albert K. Smiley in 1895 for the purpose of creating and directing public sentiment in favor of international arbitration and an international judicial system. To this end they work through annual and representative assemblies, the members of each being entertained by Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Smiley at their summer home at Mohonk Lake, about one hundred miles from New York City. Mr. Smiley maintains a permanent office, in charge of the secretary, through which the annual conferences are arranged and a continuous correspondence conducted.

The Conferences are greatly aided, not only by those who attend them, but also by the official cooperation of nearly two hundred leading chambers of commerce and like bodies throughout the United States, Canada, and other nations, and of a large and widely scattered body of "Correspondents."

The Twenty-first Annual Conference was held in the parlor of the Lake Mohonk Mountain House, May 19, 20 and 21, 1915, with two hundred and fifty-eight members in attendance. Six sessions were held, the proceedings of which are given, nearly in full, in this report. The attitude of the Conference on various questions discussed is shown by the Platform and Supplementary Resolutions (p. 9.)*

The management of the Conference, while providing opportunity for free discussion of matters not foreign to the purpose of the meeting, assumes no responsibility for individual opinions printed herein.

One copy of this report is sent to each member or official correspondent of the Conference, and several thousand copies are mailed to individuals in public and private life, to libraries and to other institutions. Distribution of current reports is free to the limit of the edition, and libraries and public institutions may obtain back numbers without charge except for transportation. Applications for reports, and other correspondence, should be addressed to the Secretary of the Conference.

*The Platform, as the official utterance of each Conference, gains force from a standing rule requiring its adoption only by a substantially unanimous vote.

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PLATFORM
OF THE
TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE ON
INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION, 1915

(The platform is the official utterance of the Conference and embodies only those principles on which the members unanimously agreed.—Ed.)

The Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration, although meeting this year in circumstances that tend to discourage the hopes entertained by many as to the maintenance of general peace, particularly among the larger and more powerful nations of the world, reaffirms its faith in the beneficence of the measures for the advancement of which the Conference was founded. The present war daily furnishes convincing proof of the superiority of those measures over the resort to violence.

The Conference deems it to be opportune, in the midst of the present convulsion in Europe, to call attention to what has been accomplished since the Napoleonic wars, in:

- (1). The development of International Law.
- (2). The growing sense of obligation and duty between nation and nation.
- (3). The increasing interdependence and cooperation among nations.
- (4). The wider application of the federal principle, and
- (5). The tendency toward broad alliances or groupings for the accomplishment of international ends.

We express our gratitude to the President of the United States for steadfastly maintaining the neutrality of our Government and for asserting, with firmness, clarity, and restraint, the rights of our people as citizens of a neutral nation.

We invite the thoughtful attention of all peoples and nations seeking a substitute for war to a consideration of the three following proposals, as a basis for joint action by any two or more powers, to be binding on the signatories:

1. All justiciable questions arising between the signatory powers, not settled by negotiation, shall be submitted to a judicial tribunal for hearing and judgment both upon the merits of the case and upon any question of jurisdiction.

II. All non-justiciable questions arising between the signatories and not settled by negotiation, shall be submitted to a Council of Inquiry and Conciliation for hearing, consideration, and recommendation.

III. Conferences between the signatory powers shall be held from time to time to formulate and codify rules of international law, which shall thereafter govern in the decisions of the Judicial Tribunal mentioned in the first proposal.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESOLUTION.*

(The following resolutions, submitted by the Committee of the Conference on the Protection by the United States of the Rights of Aliens, were unanimously adopted by the Conference.)

Resolved, that the Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration is convinced that, to avoid occasions of war, it is desirable that Congress should extend the jurisdiction of the Courts of the United States as to criminal prosecutions for violation of the treaty rights of aliens.

Resolved, that this Conference cordially recognizes the public spirit of the Citizens National Committee, organized under the Chairmanship of the Honorable William H. Taft, in undertaking the task of securing legislation for the protection in their treaty rights of aliens resident in the United States, as well as of the American Bar Association in cooperating in the promotion of that important national object, and ventures to express the hope that their efforts will soon be crowned with success.

Resolved, that the Secretary of this Conference transmit copies of these resolutions to the Citizens National Committee and to the American Bar Association, together with copies of the reports of the Conference for 1910, 1911, 1914 and 1915.

* For an important resolution adopted by the official delegates of business organizations, see proceedings of the fifth session.—Ed.

THE TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION

First Session

Wednesday, May 19, 1915, 9:45 A. M.

The Twenty-first Annual Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration met in the parlor of the Lake Mohonk Mountain House, Mohonk Lake, N. Y., on the 19th of May, 1915, at 9:45 A. M. About two hundred and fifty members were present as the personal guests of Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Smiley. In welcoming them, Mr. Smiley said:

REMARKS BY MR. DANIEL SMILEY

Mrs. Smiley and I welcome you most heartily as members of the Twenty-first Annual Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration. This year it reaches the age of manhood. Our invitations have been extended without reference to creed, calling, or country, and as the Chairman of our Executive Committee last evening so comprehensively worded our purpose, "With charity to all and malice towards no nation or peoples." (Applause.) While recognizing the part that human feelings must always have in all affairs and the force with which they press for utterance, it is our hope that this discussion may tend wholly in the direction of constructive work. Perhaps it may be helpful to recall the suggestion sent out with the early notice of this Conference. It was as follows: "As the present European conflict is unprecedented and affects all nations, the general rule regarding the scope of the Lake Mohonk Conferences is not to be regarded as excluding consideration of the interests of neutrals and of the world at large in the war and its effects, it being understood that there will not be discussion of the causes and conduct of the war in the form of direct criticism of specific policies or acts of any belligerent or group of belligerents." (Applause.)

We are frequently asked to have papers on the subject of peace, and their absence from our reports has been commented on as

something strange. At this date, one would think it unnecessary to explain that this is not, nor has it ever been, a Peace Conference so-called. It is rather a conference of experts on a scientific problem, a company of experts addressing itself to an uninformed populace. (Laughter.) It is taken for granted that all here are convinced that war is undesirable, and it is our purpose with earnestness, but at the same time with carefulness and prudence, to devise machinery for making its recurrence less frequent. (Applause.) That our discussions may be mindful of the rights, and with courteous respect to the sentiments of all nations, as well as within the limits of international law, we have again asked to preside the great expounder of international law, the HON. JOHN BASSETT MOORE. (Applause.)

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

OPENING ADDRESS BY HON. JOHN BASSETT MOORE, LL.D.

The Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration assembles this year in the midst of the greatest catastrophe that has befallen the world since the close of the Napoleonic Wars a hundred years ago. The address, which I had the honor to deliver last year, as presiding officer of the Conference, was, according to a published report, "interpreted in some quarters as having a pessimistic tone in regard to the value of present treaties of arbitration." Upon this interpretation, perhaps no comment is necessary beyond that which is furnished by the tragic events that have since occurred. These events inculcate the importance of facing candidly the realities of life and the grave problems which they involve. The tendency of the human mind, running in advance of results, to treat as an accomplished fact that which it desires to bring about, may often exert in the affairs of life a useful and helpful influence: but when, following the "illusions of hope," it bids us close our eyes to actual conditions and to rely in comfortable security upon safeguards that either do not exist or are so defective as to be practically non-existent, it may become a peril as well as a hindrance to wise and essential effort.

We do not meet today for the purpose of discussing the rights or the wrongs of the present appalling conflict. It is upon us, and nothing that we can say can allay or retard it. But, apart from the merits of the cause of any particular belligerent, it does teach us the necessity of something in the direction of international cooperation more far-reaching than has heretofore been tried, if the part which war has played in international affairs is to be appreciably diminished. I say international cooperation; for, after all is said and done, there is no device by which peace can be preserved unless nations cooperate in making it effective. Sixteen years ago, when the nations agreed to the establishment of the

Permanent Court at The Hague, it seemed to many that the millennium had come; and they certainly were justified in thinking that a great step forward had been taken. Gradually the whole world was brought into the arrangement; but with the lapse of time, it became apparent that, although a "world court" had been established, the spirit of cooperation was lacking to support it and make it effective. Wars broke out without resort to it. Three years elapsed before any controversy was submitted to it, and the United States and Mexico then agreed to lay before it the case of the Pious Fund of the Californias, a case involving nothing more important than the technical question of the effect to be given to the award of a previous tribunal of arbitration.

In view of the abundant, constant warnings, which history furnishes against relying upon any one device for the prevention of war, I propose today to make a general survey of the international situation with a view to ascertaining the fundamental conditions with which, in our efforts after peace, we are obliged to deal, and the nature of the measures which we must devise in order to meet them.

The record of man on earth, as we know it, relates to the activities of various tribes, peoples and nations, and, until a comparatively recent time, is concerned chiefly with their wars one with another. During the last two hundred years, a marked development has taken place in the conception of nationality. International law since it came into systematic existence, has assumed as its foundation the principle of the independence and equality of nations. This principle, as expounded by Grotius and his followers, represented a progressive and enlightened sentiment, which was intended to assure even to the feeblest member of the family of nations the preservation of its rights. As the great Swiss publicist, Vattel, eloquently declared: "Power or weakness does not in this respect produce any difference. A dwarf is as much a man as a giant; a small republic is no less a sovereign state than the most powerful kingdom." Or, to employ the graphic phrase of our own John Marshall: "Russia and Geneva have equal rights."

But, with the principle of independence and equality, there was associated another principle antagonistic and potentially fatal to it. This was the principle that every independent nation had the right to declare war for any cause deemed by it to be sufficient; and that, having declared war, it immediately acquired all the rights pertaining to that condition, including the right of conquest, under which the stronger power, even though it were the aggressor, might lawfully proceed to destroy or absorb its adversary.

It was for the purpose, among others, of limiting the exercise of this right and of maintaining the independence of nations that the European Concert, so often superficially criticized, came into

being. This Concert, however, never undertook to place any theoretical limitation upon the rights of war. It represented merely a union of nations, and incidentally of their forces, to the end that the balance of power in the existing system should not be unduly disturbed. At the present day, the world is groping about for something beyond this, for a measure more radical, which will establish a reign of law among nations similar to that which exists within each individual state.

It is evident that the first condition of the establishment of such an international system is the regulation of the conception of nationality. Exaggerated to the point where it either subordinates human rights to supposed national interests, or regards the interests of humanity as being capable of realization only through a particular national agency, there can be no doubt that this conception directly incites to the transgression of the bounds of law and of justice. This tendency, often aggravated by confused, declamatory, transcendentalist teachings, evolved from the emotions rather than from the observation of existing facts, has not been confined to any one nation or to any particular age. It has nowhere been more strongly manifested than among the ancient Hebrews, who, regarding themselves as the "chosen people of God," conceived themselves to be merely the instrument of the Almighty in obliterating their enemies. It was in the 137th Psalm, in the humane and gentle phrase, "Happy shall he be that taketh and dasheth thy little ones against the stones," that Grotius found an unquestionable proof that the right of war permitted the slaughter of women and infants with impunity. Nor can it be denied that, in a milder form, the doctrine of the "manifest destiny" of certain nations to extend their boundaries, by force if necessary, is tinctured with the same thought.

Nevertheless, when we come to analyze the conception of nationality, as expounded by philosophers, we find that its principal ingredients are largely imaginary. We have often been told, in phraseology supposed to be highly scientific, that the "nation" is an ethnographic unity within a geographic unity, or words to that effect. Except in remote, restricted areas inhabited by savage tribes this combination of conditions can scarcely be said fully to exist. It is found least of all in some of the most enlightened and most progressive countries of today, such as Switzerland; and, with the constant movements of population resulting from improved means of transportation, is less and less likely to continue anywhere as a stationary condition. Tried by such a theory, or definition, what should be said of our own United States, with its admixture of races from all quarters of the globe? And as for the element of geographic unity, it suffices to say that the applications of steam and of electricity have rendered it an anachronism.

Assuming that our goal is the establishment among nations of a reign of law in such sense that each nation is subject to the law, the fundamental object which it is essential to accomplish is to limit the present unrestricted right of the individual nation to declare war and incidentally to acquire the right of conquest. This object would be attained by establishing the principle that a nation, before declaring war upon another, must submit its grievance to the judgment of its associated nations, and that without such submission it should not be regarded as acquiring the right of conquest.

In this relation it is interesting to refer to one of the transactions of the first International American Conference, which was held in Washington in 1889-1890. On April 18, 1890, the committee on general welfare, acting upon a motion submitted by the Argentine Republic and Brazil recommended the adoption of resolutions declaring that the principle of conquest should not thereafter be recognized as admissible under American public law; that in the future cessions of territory should be void if made under threats of war or in the presence of an armed force; that a nation from which such cessions should be exacted might always demand that the question of their validity be submitted to arbitration; and that any renunciation of the right to have recourse to arbitration should be null and void under all circumstances. This report was subsequently taken up in connection with the project of an arbitration adopted by the Conference. By this project, all questions were to be submitted to arbitration except that of national independence and even in this case arbitration was declared to be obligatory upon the adversary power. Combining this project of a treaty with the proposed abolition of the right of conquest, Mr. Blaine presented a plan upon which the Conference unanimously agreed, with the exception of one delegation that abstained from voting. Under this plan it was agreed that the principle of conquest should not, during the continuance of the treaty of arbitration, be recognized as admissible under American public law.

It may be doubted whether the far-reaching significance of the plan thus outlined was at the time fully grasped. The plan was in reality in advance of the times. It was not ratified by the governments concerned, and never became effective. But it clearly presented the fundamental principle upon which nations must unite if they would place their relations upon a thoroughly legal basis.

Far more difficult than the statement of the object to be attained is the formulation and application of measures to carry it into effect. Here again it is of the first importance to grasp in its details the problem with which we are dealing. During the past ten years, we have, for instance, often been assured that what the

world needs is an arbitration tribunal and an "international police" to enforce its awards. This statement seems to disclose both a misconception of fact and an incomplete grasp of conditions. The misconception of fact is the supposition that the evil, from which the world today suffers, is the disregard of arbitral awards. In reality, arbitral awards have been remarkably well observed in spite of the indulgence now and then lately shown to the vicious notion, by which the domestic administration of justice is so much enfeebled and impaired, that every sentence of a judicial tribunal ought to be subject to some kind of an appeal. The actual problem, with which the world is confronted, is how to induce nations to accept not the results but the process of arbitration.

The proposal for an "international police" requires a more extended examination. As originally advanced, it seems to have contemplated the maintenance by a certain number of the larger powers of an international force for the purpose of correcting or restraining the misconduct of smaller or weaker states. Even in this restricted form it involved certain assumptions the correctness of which is by no means self-evident; for, while the possession of physical strength is not an invariable proof of virtue or of disinterested devotion to the cause of justice, it is also true that some of the finest examples of national rectitude and enlightenment are to be found in the conduct of the smaller states.

When so expanded as to embrace all nations, the underlying idea of an international police appears to be that of a force to compel all states, without regard to their strength or weakness, to observe international law; and, when so extended the proposal is at once seen to be closely connected with the question of the limitation, or of the development, as the case may be, of national armaments. How large a force, it may be asked, would have to be maintained in order effectually to hold in check any of the great powers of Europe if their national armaments were continued on the scale of the past twenty-five years? History tells us that the force of a great united nation is exceedingly difficult to overcome. Without recurring to earlier examples, it suffices to point to the fact that for almost twenty-three years preceding the close of the Napoleonic Wars, France fought and at times seemed to vanquish the vast European combination formed against her, and yet in the end emerged from the contest with her boundaries little diminished. It is manifest that an international force, organized to assure the preservation of peace would have to be, as against any individual national organization, far stronger, in numbers and in equipment than anything we are accustomed to think of under the term "police." It would need to be practically overwhelming, unless it were merely to have the effect of the great armaments of Europe today involving in hostilities a larger number of men and making armed conflict more bloody and more costly. And it

is equally manifest that, unless national armaments were greatly reduced, a proportionate contribution to such an international force would require on the part of the United States a development of its military resources far beyond that which has usually been contemplated. I mention this not as an argument but only as a fact.

These considerations are equally important and vital, whether the force which it is proposed to employ is to be in a strict sense international, or whether it is to be composed of the forces of united nations, combined for the attainment of a common end. In the present state of the world, the latter conception would appear to be simpler and more immediately practicable. But, viewed in either aspect, continuous union and cooperation would be the first and essential requisite of the success of the plan.

The fact cannot be too often or too strongly stated that, for the preservation of order, national or international, we cannot rely upon force alone. Force is not an end; it is merely the means to an end. Situations often arise in which the resort to forcible measures tends to provoke conflict rather than to prevent it. Economic pressure may in many instances be far more efficacious than attempts at direct coercion; nor are proofs wanting that forbearance may sometimes be more effective than either, even leading to the eventual acceptance of wise solutions which were rejected in the heat of controversy. We must not forget that back of all effort, moral or physical, lie the feelings, the sentiments, the aspirations of humanity; and it is only by the organization of forces, moral and physical, in such manner as to assure justice and contentment through cooperation, that widespread outbreaks of violence can be avoided.

In order to attain this end, it would be necessary to provide for the employment of three different kinds of agencies, which may be designated by the titles Arbitration, Conciliation, Legislation. We may briefly consider them in this order.

1. *Arbitration.* This represents the judicial process. As defined in The Hague Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, "international arbitration has for its object the settlement of differences between states by judges of their own choice, on the basis of respect for law." With the object of facilitating the "immediate recourse" to this process, the convention provided for the establishment of a "Permanent Court of Arbitration, accessible at all times" and proceeding in accordance with definite rules. This court was duly organized. It is still in existence. It has dealt with a number of cases, some of which were important, and its decisions have been carried into effect. Proposals have been made for its improvement or alteration, as well as for the establishment of another or additional tribunal differently constituted. Into the discussion of these proposals,

it is not my purpose now to enter. Some criticisms of the present court have, as in the case of its decision upon the preferential claim of the blockading powers in Venezuela, disclosed a defective appreciation either of the law and the facts, or of the proper functions of a judicial tribunal. But, speaking for myself individually, I would support any measure that tended to render the resort to international arbitration easier, more general, and more efficacious.

2. *Conciliation.* The fact is generally admitted that for the preservation of peace and order judicial methods will not alone suffice. Even though it be demonstrable that international arbitration may be carried because it has been carried, far beyond the limits set in some of our general treaties of arbitration, it is nevertheless true that the judicial process is not adequate to all the needs of international life. It often happens that differences can be effectually adjusted only by the removal of their causes, and this may require the exercise of a power and discretion beyond the application of existing rules. The exercise of such a power would properly be vested in a tribunal of conciliation.

Under the supervision of such a body, there could be carried on the process of investigation which is properly entrusted to joint commissions, and which may be essential to the success of arbitration as well as of conciliation. With this object in view, provision was made for international commissions of inquiry in The Hague Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes; but, strangely enough, an exception was made of questions involving "honor." No doubt a question of honor may be of so delicate a nature that at least one of the parties may object to its investigation, especially where he has done something discreditable which he desires to conceal; but such objections are not generally admitted to be sound. Investigation by means of joint commissions formed a conspicuous part of the unratified treaties concluded by the United States in 1911 with France and Great Britain. It also forms the chief means provided for in the so-called peace pacts concluded during the past two years between the United States and various powers; for, although these agreements have often been loosely criticized as unlimited treaties of arbitration, they do not in fact provide for arbitration at all, but merely require an investigation and report and expressly reserve to the contracting parties, when the report shall have been received, full liberty of action.

The defect in all measures for investigation and report is one which it is difficult to meet by a prior, formal agreement. This is the case of a continuing injury, which one nation may seek to inflict upon another, an injury of such a nature that human interests or human feelings are not likely to tolerate its continuous imposition for a continuous space of time. Such a situation might

have to be met by a *modus vivendi*, and the attempt to employ such an expedient would again bring us face to face with the fact that, without the spirit of cooperation and the willingness to observe the limitations of law and justice, the use of force cannot be avoided.

3. *Legislation.* In the formation of an international organization, provision for the definition and improvement of the rules of international intercourse would form an important and essential part. A step in this direction was taken in the Peace Conferences at The Hague, but it fell far short of what is necessary to make the legislative process effective. This is particularly the case in respect of the power to enact rules of law. In The Hague Conferences, unanimity was necessary to the establishment of a rule binding on all the powers; and even in the treaties relating to the conduct of war, it was provided that they should not be obligatory unless all the parties to the particular conflict had ratified them. It is probably true that if there were allowed to each independent state, as has heretofore been done, a single vote, a mere majority rule would be quite unacceptable. While I am not so much disturbed, as many persons seem to be, by the apprehension that small states would be found systematically to unite against larger states, yet the rule of a mere numerical majority of nations would necessarily meet with strong opposition. The requirement of unanimity must, however, be done away with before an international law-making power can be effectually established, and there should be no difficulty in abolishing it when the principle, so essential to international organization, is once accepted, that no nation is so high or so powerful as to be above the law. (Applause.)

The next thing on the program is the report of the Treasurer of the Conference, MR. ALEXANDER C. WOOD.

REPORT BY MR. ALEXANDER C. WOOD, TREASURER

After presenting a detailed report, showing receipts during the year of \$2,233.79 and disbursements of \$2,036.84, with a balance of \$196.95, MR. WOOD said:

As there are many persons here who have not been at one of these conferences before, I think it is due them, as well as the incoming Treasurer, to say that it has been the custom since the beginning of the Conference, to make voluntary contributions to pay the expenses of printing and distributing the proceedings. The expense attending the gathering of the Conferences and conducting the business is borne entirely by Mr. Smiley. The reports have been sent all over the world and have been very instrumental in influencing public sentiment.

After fourteen years of service as the Treasurer of the Conference, the powers that be have kindly excused me and I am very glad to introduce as my successor, CHESTER DEWITT PUGSLEY, a lawyer of New York, a Director of a National Bank, and well known at Mohonk as the donor of the Pugsley prizes. (Applause.)

MR. PUGSLEY fittingly responded to the introduction and was received with applause.

MR. DANIEL SMILEY announced the officers of the Conference, a list of whom will be found on page 2 of this report.

The CHAIRMAN: We now proceed to the regular program of the Conference, the subject under consideration being The Creation and Improvement of Machinery for the Settlement of Differences, and I have the pleasure of announcing as the next speaker the HON. THEODORE MARBURG, lately Minister to Belgium. (Applause.)

OBLIGATION AND SANCTION

ADDRESS BY HON. THEODORE MARBURG, LL.D.

The question of a true court of justice for the world has been so thoroughly examined that I shall not stop to point out again in this gathering its proposed characteristics and possible advantages. You will remember that the project was adopted by the forty-four countries represented at the Second Hague Conference. It was endorsed at the meeting of the Institute of International Law in 1912, and has been earnestly supported by the great powers since. You will ask, then, why the court is not in being today. During the Home Rule agitation under Gladstone, the driver of a jaunting car, who was conducting an American around Dublin, turned to him and said, "Are ye with us?" "What?" asked the American. "Are ye with us?" "Oh," said the American "if you mean to ask whether I'm in favor of Irish liberty, I'm an American and in America we are all in favor of liberty." "Well, if you're with us, I'll tell ye: we've ten thousand men here in Dublin alone and can liberate Oirland tomorrow." "Well, why don't you do it?" "The dommed police won't let us." (Laughter.) And so in this case. It is the Latin-American countries that won't let us. At the Second Hague Conference, they insisted on having equal representation in this court. That would have meant a judicial assembly of forty-four instead of a true court, which most of us think ought to be limited to fifteen judges. Before this war, I, like many others, believed that a purely voluntary institution would be sufficient, because, as Professor Moore has pointed out, we are confronted with a century of the acceptance of the awards of arbitral tribunals. We felt that a nation which had agreed to

go into this court was likely to abide by the decision of the court. Moreover we feared that an attempt to use force against one of the great Powers would bring on the very disaster we were trying to avoid. The Hague Convention, it will be recalled, provides for a purely voluntary institution like all the other international institutions which exist today. The International Commission of Inquiry, Good Offices and Mediation, the Permanent Court of Arbitration, all are voluntary institutions. There is no element of obligation connected with them. Since this war broke out many of us have begun to feel that the element of obligation must be added. We saw this unspeakable catastrophe beginning with a controversy between Austria and Servia over a question of fact —the fact whether Servia was a party to the conspiracy to murder the Archduke Franz Ferdinand. What question could be more eminently fitted for solution by a tribunal than such a question of fact? There existed these several institutions at The Hague to which this question might have been submitted. There was also this long record of successful arbitrations specially instituted, and despite that fact we find that the cause of reason failed and violence triumphed. Now introducing obligation involves some sort of international understanding, something in the nature of a league and the first question that presents itself to us in that connection is whether we can trust a league to do justice. Immediately the suggestion of a league is made, the minds of men turn to the Concert of Europe to which Professor Moore has referred, and to the Grand Alliance which sought to have periodic meetings and to settle the affairs of Europe without the wars which had characterized the Napoleonic era just closed. They think of the Quadruple Alliance and of the Holy Alliance, the latter set up in 1815, between Russia, Prussia and Austria, ostensibly to promote the Christian religion, really to maintain dynasties and operating in fact to suppress liberty in Hungary, in Italy, and in Spain. Through the instrumentality of France, as you recall, it threw down the liberal government in Spain and restored to the monarch his full autocratic powers. Then, there are all the shifting alliances of the nineteenth century with their partial successes and many failures. The Concert of Europe has done some fine things. It has ameliorated the condition of the Armenians in Turkey. It has undoubtedly prevented more than one Balkan war. But what an awful failure on its part the present war records! Again, the Triple Alliance and Triple Entente were professedly formed in the interests of peace, and to their existence is due the wide area of the present war. Now when we talk about setting up a league of peace, the first question to ask is why these leagues of the past have failed. I think the answer lies in one thing, the smallness of the circle composing these groups, permitting of the swapping of favors and of the

triumph of special interests. We know how the Concert of Europe first said to the Balkan States, "You must not fight"; then when the war actually began, "Turkey must not be dismembered." Well it was the selfish interests of a single Power which defeated the purposes of the Concert.

This experience of a century points to the conclusion that a league, to be permanent and successful, must embrace all the progressive powers, big and little. Naturally you will ask which are the progressive powers. Now I think a proper interpretation of the term "progressive" might be found in the respect for law and order that exists within the country. Justice is the growing purpose of the world. To measure progress in terms of numbers, as we are all inclined to do,—growth of population, pounds of steel or yards of cotton turned out,—is false. Progress consists in the growth of the spiritual, of the intellectual, of all the forces other than the material, principally justice: social justice, the justice between man and man, the justice of the state towards its citizens, justice written in the law, justice administered by the court the justice of employer to employee, and the justice of nation to nation. (Applause.) When we grow in that direction, we are really growing. Simply to multiply numbers who work under bad conditions in factories, or in mines, or work long hours without adequate return, is not serving the purposes of humanity. Now I think if we can find a measure of good laws in a country, and those laws fairly well interpreted and executed, we may accept that country in this league. To include a country, which is incapable of maintaining law and order and justice, would not lend strength to the league. Now what would that mean? Such a group would embrace, to begin with, the eight great powers including ourselves; and in them you would have three great peoples—the English, the French and ourselves—who have common political aspirations; that is, they have ceased to look upon democracy as a passing phase of political experiment, and have come to regard it as a fact of politics. You would have two important nations—Great Britain and the United States—who may be said to be satisfied territorially. It would embrace next the secondary Powers of Europe such as Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Belgium, Spain, Greece,—all the Powers of Europe in fact, with the possible exception of some of the Balkan States, and with the certain exception of Turkey. It would embrace, also, the A. B. C. countries of South America. That would leave out all the other Latin-American countries, which, for the present, can hardly lend strength to the league. Now then, we think that if we got all these progressive nations with this play of varied interests, like the conflict of interests of various groups and classes in private life, which on the whole makes for justice,—if we got all these groups, substantial justice would emerge just as justice results from the united action of the forty-

eight states composing the American Union. And whether you think a league of peace is possible or not depends on your answer to that question; Will it do justice? If it does not do justice, the league cannot be permanent. If it does not do justice we don't want it. (Applause.)

Now, what would be the functions of a league of this sort? It would be a mistake for the league to endeavor to decide controversies itself. It should confine its action to insisting that controversies shall not lead to war. If countries want to continue a dispute, as we did our fisheries dispute with Great Britain for three-quarters of a century, they shall be privileged to do it; but they shall not resort to war. (Applause.) Professor Moore has raised the question of which country is responsible for beginning a war. There would seem to be a way to settle that by saying that the league will unit against the country which first invades the territory of the other. (Applause.) You cannot make war without overt acts. France retired some kilometers from the German border at the beginning of the present war. There you have a method—retiring the national forces well within a country's boundaries, so that there can be no mistake of where the first battle takes place. (Applause.) Now supposing that under the proposed league, Russia and Germany were about to fight. The league would announce to them that it would take up arms against the one that first invaded the territory of the other. If Russia invaded the territory of Germany, the latter, siding with the league, would have the united world back of it against Russia. So that, while we may look for conspiracy and great divisions within the league, resulting in a world war, just as we had civil war in this country, it seems to me impossible that any one country alone should set up its own will against the will of the league. Therefore, the potential force of the league would seldom have to translate itself into war. (Applause.) Now the league would, of course, have first of all a great court of justice. It would have some body like council of conciliation to deal with other than justiciable questions. It would have meetings which would grow in time into a legislature, the necessity for which Professor Moore has pointed out.

Now, we must take this desirable plan, if you will permit me to call it such, and examine it with a view to ascertaining how much of it is a realizable project. A group of men were assembled in New York for this latter purpose on April 9th. They were not ready to accept as a realizable project the whole of this plan which had been worked out at previous meetings. There are various stages in the conception. The first stage is a true court of justice such as is proposed by the present Hague Convention, and a council of conciliation, both of which are entirely voluntary. The second is a group of nations which obligate themselves, in setting

up these tribunals, to make use of them. The third step is the group obligating itself to act as an international grand jury to hale the law-breaking nation into court and to use force to bring it there if recalcitrant. The fourth step is the execution of the award by the united forces of the league. Now it is this fourth step which the men assembled in New York on April 9th, including such men as Mr. Taft, Mr. Lowell, Mr. Pritchard, Mr. James M. Beck and some twenty others, were unwilling to take. They did believe that if we began with the first three stages, which they accepted, out of that would grow the more perfected organization; that the nations would become impatient of failure to observe the verdict of a true court, with the result that in course of time they would come to insist on the execution of the verdict. (Applause.)

There being no discussion, the Conference then adjourned until evening.

Second Session

Wednesday, May 19, 1915, 8 p. m.

The CHAIRMAN: The first paper on the program this evening is by DR. GEORGE H. BLAKESLEE, Professor of History and International Relations, Clark University, on the subject of Possibilities and the Present Limitations of Pan American Cooperation.

PAN AMERICAN COOPERATION: ITS POSSIBILITIES AND LIMITATIONS

ADDRESS BY GEORGE H. BLAKESLEE, PH.D.

The world-wide significance of Pan American cooperation has probably never been more clearly discerned than by an international thinker of Austria, the winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, Dr. Alfred H. Fried. In his "Pan Amerika," published in 1910 in German and not yet translated into English, he clearly pointed out to Europe the frightful abyss towards which it was hastening. He pleaded for the adoption in the old world of the same kind of international cooperation which Pan Americanism has brought into the new. "Across the Atlantic," wrote Dr. Fried, "we see before us a world organized in accordance with modern ideas. An America already exists; but a Europe does not yet exist. * * * If the Pan American idea shall finally be fully carried out, if by the side of the organized family of states in the western hemisphere there shall exist an organized family of states in Europe, then the way will have been found for the definite and lasting peace of this European world, bleeding as it is from its heavy burden of mutual suspicion and mutual hate."

That was written five years ago. Today the present war is broadening and deepening the conviction that only through the adoption of a system of cooperation by the various nations may the peace of the world be permanently maintained. A long list of societies, of influential journals and of public men, have almost suddenly declared for the creation of some concert, or union, or league, of states. The ten most representative programs for a constructive peace, which have appeared in this country and in Europe, all agree that, in addition to a more perfect world court there must be created a permanent international organization. They aim to develop a system of collective action which, in many and fundamental respects, would be for Europe and the world

what Pan American cooperation is coming to be for this hemisphere.

The United States and Latin America, notwithstanding diversities in language and culture, have in common the very basis necessary for joint political action. Their states are organized primarily on the basis of peace, while Europe, in contrast, has long been organized primarily on the basis of aggressive war. The peoples of North and South America sincerely and strongly believe, as an ideal and as a matter of principle, in the settlement of difficulties and of perplexing problems by arbitration, international courts, and inter-governmental conferences.

In the United States, during the past two or three years, there has been a wide swing in educated public opinion towards this policy of joint action with the leading republics to the South of us. This Pan American sentiment has developed in spite of a feeling, both natural and still strong, that the United States, due to its relative power and importance, should settle by itself alone all international matters in which it may be at all concerned. Our best public opinion would even place our cherished Monroe Doctrine upon a Pan American foundation. The strength of this feeling is shown by the replies to a printed set of questions which the speaker took the liberty of sending out a year ago to all teachers of international law and diplomacy in our colleges and universities, and also to a selected list of leading newspapers and periodicals. One hundred forty-eight replies were received from college and university professors. These included answers from a large number of the men best known as educational leaders in the field of international relations. Most of them believe that the United States should in some way share the responsibility of enforcing the Doctrine with at least such stable Republics as Argentina, Brazil and Chile; while a large majority (eighty-seven as against thirty) believe that these stable States "should be invited to co-operate with the United States in both interpreting and enforcing the Monroe Doctrine wherever it may apply on this hemisphere." Of the leading publications, whose definite views could be secured on this point, twenty-five to six believe in this same complete co-operation. Further, our two living ex-presidents have both declared that the Doctrine should, if possible, be placed upon some sort of an all-American basis.

This widely held belief in joint action with Latin America is not limited to the Monroe Doctrine. During the past few weeks, proposals that the United States should invite the A. B. C. states to join in settling the perplexing Mexican situation have continually been made in many of our influential publications.

In Latin American countries, also, during the past few months, there has been a remarkable increase in Pan American feeling. Their latent suspicion of the big North American Republic, which

was greatly intensified by the seizure of Vera Cruz, was turned by the Niagara Conference into almost an enthusiasm for Pan America. "Blessed be Pan Americanism," exclaimed "La Prensa," of Buenos Aires, the foremost daily of all South America. Other leading journals of the A. B. C. countries have echoed this sentiment, declaring that Pan Americanism has now come to be an accomplished fact. These newspaper accounts in turn have been substantiated by personal letters. From Chile an American acquaintance writes, "Chilean opinion regarding the United States has made a complete revolution since the acceptance of the A. B. C. mediation, and now we are held in very high esteem." A distinguished citizen of South America said to the speaker, "The Niagara Conference has largely created a real Pan Americanism; it has made it actual; before this it was merely an idea."

The present war has still further increased this sentiment. State after State has cabled its Ambassador or Minister at Washington to bring various matters of common neutral interest before the Pan American Council. Only a few days ago, Ambassador Suarez, of Chile, declared that, "on the great occasions when the continent is concerned," the common interests of the A. B. C. countries are automatically united with those of the United States. Less than two weeks ago the President of Argentina, in his message to Congress, paid a public tribute to Pan American cooperation.

It may be stated with considerable positiveness that if the countries of Latin America are treated frankly, courteously and as equals—and no international aggressions are made by the United States—they will gladly join with our country for the common settlement of common American problems. (Applause.)

Cooperation has already won definite and striking successes. In 1906-8, the United States and Mexico mediated between the warring Central American States and induced them to form the Central American Court of Justice. Four years ago, Argentina, Brazil and the United States succeeded in preventing war on the West Coast of South America when it seemed ready to break out between Peru, on the one hand, and Ecuador, possibly aided by Chile, on the other. By the Niagara Conference the past year, Argentina, Brazil and Chile kept the peace between Mexico and the United States. Finally, during the last few months, the representatives of the entire number of American States have been continually meeting together to consult over their common problems presented by the war. It only remains to extend this occasional cooperation into a generally accepted Pan American policy.

What definite benefit, it may be asked, will come to the United States from such systematic cooperation? To mention but one important result, it will save us from the temptation to conquer

neighboring territory. There is already a natural tendency for us to extend our sovereignty down to the Panama Canal. Foreigners see this clearly. To quote but one of them—Rondet Saint, a French writer on international politics—"The United States is like a giant who will put in his pocket five little children—the five little republics of Central America. This event is almost mathematically certain." Among our own people, too, there is a latent desire to extend our borders to the Canal frontier. The old spirit of American expansion has been somewhat revived by the possession of Panama and by the anarchy in Mexico. When Vera Cruz was seized, Senator Borah is quoted as exclaiming, "This is the beginning of the march of the United States to the Panama Canal." Many a similar expression was heard from men on the street as they talked of the probable outcome of the intervention. A newspaper campaign for the retention of Mexico broke out with startling suddenness. More recently, we have been frequently reminded, even by our more responsible journals, that some additional Mexican territory would be desirable. *The Independent*, for example, a few months ago, published a prominent article entitled, "Shall we annex Northern Mexico?" and in the same issue a leading editorial commenting favorably upon the idea. Within the past few weeks, a number of papers, including *The New York Times*, printed an article by Mr. Jacob H. Schiff on "The Reasons why the United States should buy Lower California." United States Senator-elect Harding, of Ohio, recently said, "The magnificent resources of Mexico will never be given to mankind * * * until it is brought under the civilizing influences of the American flag. How and when that condition will be brought about is not for me to say at this time, but it is coming." Rear Admiral Peary, at a banquet in New York a month ago, exclaimed, "A hundred years hence we shall either be eliminated as a nation, or we shall occupy the entire North American world segment."

Well, why not? Why not take additional territory to the South? It would be for the best interests, it is claimed, both of ourselves and of humanity. Possibly so! But you cannot secure possession of your neighbor's property and of his goodwill at the same time. Seizure of territory south of the Rio Grande would kill all genuine Pan Americanism for decades to come. The outcry, through South and Central America, which greeted the occupation of Vera Cruz, the denunciation of their press, the occasional anti-American demonstrations and even the riots—as far away as Uruguay—give a clear idea of the probable effect upon Latin America of a permanent seizure of territory between us and the Canal. The United States needs beyond its borders, not additional territory, but stable and orderly government. This could best be secured by the cooperation of several American Republics;

it would have the additional advantage that the United States, by acting jointly with other countries, would be freed from any tempting opportunity to seize or retain its neighbors' lands.

What will Pan American cooperation do for the States of Latin America? Besides making them partners, not subordinates, in the joint work of safeguarding our common America from over-sea imperialism, it will also save them from their own recently revealed imperialistic tendencies. Señor Don Santiago Pérez Triana, one of the foremost public men of Colombia, in an open letter, the past year, told of "the shameful imperialisms already arising in Latin America." He spoke the truth. Certain of the leading States of South America are standing today at the parting of the ways; their rapidly developing power, their increasing population, their growing navies, the vision of playing the rôle of a Great Power, are all tempting them to take the old, well-worn road of militaristic competition, which leads to aggression and to war. Their own idealism, however, points along a newer and a better road. At the first Pan American Congress, in 1890, the delegates of every State but one voted for the declaration, "the principle of conquest is eliminated from American Public Law." Only the other day, the brilliant Ambassador from Argentina, publicly said: "'Victory gives no rights,' is the highest expression of our aspirations." Cooperation, on this principle and basis, will keep South America true to its own best ideals. A Chilean acquaintance, a member of one of the foremost families of that Republic, wrote not long ago: "You are well informed by your friends when they tell you that the A. B. C. conference produced an almost revolutionary effect upon opinion in Chile, both as to Pan Americanism and as to the United States * * * The most important result of the A. B. C. mediation, however, is, in my judgment, the fact that it constitutes a moral obligation for these nations to keep the peace for all time to come. It is the moral obligation of the preacher to practice what he preaches."

"To keep the peace for all time to come"—that is the possible, even the natural result of a genuine policy of Pan American co-operation. The details of the system may well be left to be worked out as various occasions of common interest arise. A general guarantee to respect the territorial integrity of each American State should probably be included. The Latin American countries, it is believed, would at present with possibly one exception agree to this with enthusiasm; it would be providing for this hemisphere what the international thinkers are convinced is necessary for Europe. In any case, no league can be formed whose power of action is controlled by a majority vote of the various American Republics. Cooperation must be sufficiently flexible to meet the varying requirements of the different international problems which arise.

"The Niagara Conference," to quote a South American statesman, "has established the proposition that any war which breaks out between two American States is a Pan American affair." Excellent! But suppose the war is not between States, but entirely inside of a State. What then? Then we discover a present limitation upon Pan American cooperation. Public sentiment throughout South and Central America would at present almost certainly refuse to permit any interference in the internal affairs of any American State—the speaker has been given very definite assurances to this effect, since the Niagara Conference, by a sufficient number of representative men from the Republics to the South of us. In the United States, however, there is a widespread belief that no land has a right to become a lasting "neighborhood nuisance," and a continual international menace. Is it not fair, then, to ask the leaders of South America what they would do in case the anarchy in Mexico should become clearly intolerable? Would it not be better for them and for us, and for our common America, if some of their representative States would join us in restoring order in that country, should it be necessary, rather than have the United States do it alone, with the great likelihood—in the judgment of many of those best informed on Pan American affairs—that our flag would then stay forever somewhat beyond the Rio Grande?

Looking into the future, to the time, not far distant, when an increasing number of the Latin American Republics will be strong, powerful, self-conscious States, it is clear that the new formula of cooperation is the only international salvation for this hemisphere. The responsibility for developing our occasional American cooperation into a definitely accepted system rests especially upon the United States. It is the part of American statesmanship, then, to hold up as a national ideal a genuine, cooperative Pan Americanism; to work for it, to make concessions for it and, if necessary, to sacrifice minor issues to obtain it. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: Next on the program is a paper by HON. PHILIP MARSHALL BROWN, Professor of International Law and Diplomacy, Princeton University, on the subject of Pan American Unity.

PAN AMERICAN UNITY

ADDRESS BY HON. PHILIP MARSHALL BROWN

Since the Czar of Russia took the initiative in summoning the first Peace Conference at The Hague in 1899, the world has suffered from an almost unintermittent series of wars and revolutions. A dispassionate consideration of this turbulent state of affairs should cause the friends of peace to think soberly. We cannot, with justice or reason, be undiscriminating in placing the blame

for these harrowing events. We ought now to be conscious of the fact that a splendid amount of idealism has been sadly misdirected. We have urged disarmament when nations knew that it was impractical, and that to do so would invite disaster. We have urged arbitration, as a general panacea for international ills, when it should have been evident that arbitration has its most decided limitations and is incapable of adjusting momentous questions of a political, non-judicial character. We have sought to establish courts of justice when there was little or no law for the courts to administer. We have pleaded for international order when there was no force to keep order. We have blindly accepted the intolerable international *status quo* with no thought of redressing the wrongs of outraged nationalities. We have considered peace as something tangible to be attained through agreement and have failed to realize that peace is a *state*—a resultant of actual fluctuating conditions which in themselves, in the last analysis, depend internationally, as within any community, on the intelligence, morality, and sense of justice of the average man.

The great definite task we have particularly ignored in our enthusiasm for world-peace is that of peace and unity on this American continent. Statesmen like Blaine have realized the importance of this magnificent task. Many have spoken and written in favor of a "better understanding," of the "need of closer relations," etc., between the nations of this hemisphere. The Pan American Union was organized for this specific purpose. It is now enthroned in a beautiful palace in Washington and most efficiently directed by the Honorable John Barrett.

But what is the practical result of all this agitation and organization? Not much more, it would appear, than flowery sentiment and the awakening of keener interest on the part of business men in openings for trade in Central and South America. Diplomatically, we seem hardly any nearer a closer union between the nations of this continent than twenty-five years ago. In some ways, we would seem further away, owing to certain incidents which have aroused mistrust and fear concerning the policy and aims of the United States.

This brings us to a consideration of the main reasons why it is that the idea of Pan American unity has failed as yet to attain any practical results.

First of all, and primarily, the nations to the south have been unable to accept with enthusiasm the idea of Pan American unity because of startling extensions and interpretations of the Monroe Doctrine. Originally accepted with gratitude and joy, this Doctrine has lately awakened keen distrust and fear. It has even been characterized as an "obsolete shibboleth," as utterly abhorrent to the peoples of these countries. They have understood it of late as an egotistic assertion by the United States of a right of

hegemony, and of intervention in their affairs. So strong has this sentiment become that there are clear indications of a desire to form alliances to counterbalance this apparent assumption of overweening lordship.

Secondly, there is a keen appreciation among these nations of the supreme need of the creation of a body of law to govern the international relations of the States of this hemisphere. Arbitration without law is, with reason, of little value in their eyes. From their point of view, there can be no genuine unity worthy of respect that is not founded on common conceptions of rights and obligations. They realize better than ourselves the obstacles to be overcome in this regard. They ask not for leadership. They ask for equality before law. And they ask for law to which they have previously given their positive assent. Until that law and that equality exist, they refuse, with reason, to accept the dictation of the United States, no matter how altruistic and disinterested that dictation may be.

The first and the main obligation of the United States is either to abandon the Monroe Doctrine or to formulate it anew in such terms as will obtain the unhesitating adhesion and the enthusiastic support of the other States of the Pan American Union. To abandon this ancient bulwark of independence would seem folly if the objections are not against the Doctrine itself but are based, as would appear, on recent extraordinary misinterpretations of it.

Senator Root, in his Presidential address at the Annual Meeting of the American Society of International Law in Washington, in April 1914, came very close to formulating the Monroe Doctrine in terms which should be acceptable to all the States of this continent when he said:

"The Monroe Doctrine does not assert or imply any right on the part of the United States to impair or control the independent sovereignty of any American State. In the lives of nations, as of individuals, there are many rights unquestioned and universally conceded. The assertion of any particular right must be considered, not as excluding all others but as coincident with all others which are not inconsistent. The fundamental principle of international law is the principle of independent sovereignty. Upon that all other rules of international law rest. That is the chief and necessary protection of the weak against the power of the strong. Observance of that is the necessary condition to the peace and order of the civilized world. By the declaration of that principle the common judgment of civilization awards to the smallest and weakest state the liberty to control its own affairs without interference from any other Power, however great."

"The Monroe Doctrine does not infringe on that right. It asserts the right. The declaration of Monroe was that the rights and obligations of the United States were involved in maintaining a condition, and the condition to be maintained was the independence of all the American countries. It is 'the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained' which is declared to render them not subject to future colonization. It is 'the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it and whose independence we have on great consideration and on just principles acknowledged' that are not to be interfered with."

In the course of this address, Senator Root also said: "The Doctrine is not international law, but it rests upon the right of self-protection and that right is recognized by international law. The right is a necessary corollary of independent sovereignty."

It is true that Senator Root would restrict the scope of the Doctrine to the assertion of the right of the United States, or Brazil, or Peru, to adopt proper measures of self-protection that each might deem necessary. According to Mr. Root, it would have no communal significance. It would remain a declaration of national policy, not the assertion of a fundamental principle of international law.

It would seem, however, as if Mr. Root, in a natural desire to reserve liberty of action to the United States, was resorting to a nicety of argument not devoid of inconsistency. One may well question the alleged "right" of a state such as Morocco, for example, to exist, but once a group of nations have explicitly or impliedly conceded to each other a qualified or unqualified right of existence, as would seem to be the case on this continent, a declaration of their part to stand together in mutual self-defense would appear to be the most solemn assertion of international law. Viewed in the light of Mr. Root's own definition, the Monroe Doctrine would thus seem to provide on this continent a definite sanction of international law that has been lamentably lacking in Europe where the rights of smaller nations have been subservient to that archaic and cynical doctrine of the "Balance of Power."

It should, of course, be recognized that every nation must necessarily reserve to itself the right to liberty of action in certain situations of near-neighborhood interest, such as confronts the United States on its Mexican frontier. We should not confuse questions of this nature with the Monroe Doctrine itself. With this reservation in mind, we should be prepared to abandon the Monroe Doctrine as an arrogant assertion of national policy and restate it in broad general terms as the defense of a fundamental principle of international law. There would then exist no reason why all the other nations of the Pan American Union should not enthusiastically support this American Doctrine. We would have thus removed the natural mistrust and fear that the policy and acts of the United States have so unfortunately aroused of late.

Having reached a broad understanding of this nature, we might then properly direct our attention to the tremendous task of creating the law to be applied in the mutual relations of the Republics of this continent. It is highly desirable, for example, that there should be an agreement, defining the rights of international creditors and prescribing the precise mode of procedure to satisfy these rights.

There should be an international law concerning claims founded

on government concessions granted to aliens, an international law defining the rights of aliens in times of domestic revolt, and an international law of torts to determine definitely the rights of aliens in claims for damages on account of alleged injuries at the hands of foreign states.

Such questions of moment should never be left to the arbitrary caprice of governments; nor should they be carelessly submitted to arbitration without any previous agreement as to the law to be applied.

There is also an immense amount of work to be done in the field of international private law in order to help bring the nations of this continent into closer harmony. In Europe, very much has been accomplished by international conventions to obtain uniformity in law and procedure, and thus to remove possible occasions for serious conflicts of law. These agreements relate mainly to commercial practice and to questions concerning "personal status." It is most desirable, for example, that the United States and other members of the Pan American Union should come to a definite understanding with respect to the rights of domicile and nationality.

The task of removing possible grounds for conflicts of laws is rendered supremely difficult by reason of the two distinct systems of law in use in the United States and in the other nations of America, as well as by reason of the peculiarities of our constitutional system which in itself stands in the way of uniformity of law and procedure within the borders of the United States. And yet, if the difficulties are great, they also indicate how great is the need of reconciling antagonistic conceptions of law, whether within or without our borders. The unity of nations must depend primarily on a harmonization of varying notions in regard to legal rights, duties and remedies. If nations have no *common* law, if their fundamental conceptions of rights and obligations are incompatible, it is futile to ask them to have recourse to a common court of justice.

The Third International American Conference of 1906 appointed a Commission of Jurists "for the purpose of drafting codes of private and public international law regulating the relations between the nations of America." At the opening of the congress of these jurists, held in Rio Janeiro in 1912, the representative of the United States, Honorable John Bassett Moore, summarized in the following comprehensive manner the work of the Commission:

"The duty of the present congress is comparatively simple, and as it does not embrace the discussion of principles or the conclusion of conventions on controverted topics may no doubt be expeditiously performed. Our meeting upon the present occasion marks only the beginning of the great work that lies before us, a work that will involve hereafter the prolonged and profound

study of general principles, of conventional agreements, and of domestic legislation and judicial and administrative decisions, to the end that by becoming acquainted with our points of disagreement, as well as of agreement, we may be sure of our ground and go forward with a precise knowledge of the actual legal situation in each country concerned."

It is earnestly to be hoped that this Commission of Jurists may be able to formulate special laws to apply in some of the instances previously mentioned where everything is at present so confused and discordant as to constitute a constant menace to the peaceful relations of the American nations. The adoption of the recommendations of this Commission should not prove difficult or doubtful. One practical result of their labors in Rio Janeiro was the adoption of an agreement concerning the law and procedure of extradition.

This brings us to the consideration of a most important question; namely, the functions and scope of the Pan American Union in Washington with reference to all matters of mutual interest, particularly the adoption of laws governing the relations of the States who are members of the Union.

Is it not of great significance that during this momentous war the representatives of the Union should have been in constant consultation in respect to the protection of the just rights of neutrals? Is there any sound reason why they should not be empowered to crystallize their common counsels into definite and permanent form as an integral portion of the international legislation of the American nations?

If the affairs of any particular nation should become so utterly demoralized as to give serious concern to its neighbors, why should not this representative assembly be fully empowered to deal directly with the problem involved, or to delegate such power to certain of its members?

If it should appear that the Republics of Central America would be infinitely better off united again in one state, and that they were awaiting only the sympathetic initiative of outside friends, what finer work for the cause of peace could the Pan American Union accomplish than the reuniting of brothers suffering from the evils of disunion?

Should we come to realize that one of the greatest obstacles to international peace is the existence of artificial economic barriers, erected at the behest of a benighted Chauvinism, could we not through the medium of the Pan American Union attain an agreement to abolish protective tariffs and narrow restrictions on coast-wise trade?

Through the judicious use of the principles of initiative and referendum, it would seem as if we had in the Pan American Union precisely the organization needed to effectively express, and practically apply, the sentiment for unity already in evidence.

In the great movement for world peace, the special duty of the United States would therefore seem to be this most difficult though inspiring task of helping to bring into harmony the Pan American nations. If we labor wholeheartedly to foster like conceptions of rights and duties, and identic economic interests and sympathies, then may we decide in common those large questions of mutual concern which are now left to the separate diplomatic negotiations and agreements of the several American nations. Then may we constitue a genuine American legislative assembly. Then may we lay the solid foundations of unity on the sound basis of *law*. Then may we look forward with justifiable optimism to the speedy establishment of an American International Supreme Court of Justice, maintained by an adequate sanction and thus worthy of all respect. (Applause.)

But these magnificent projects will not be accomplished merely through a realization of their desirability or of their feasibility. "The substitution of law for war" is a painfully slow process. It is to be done by "doing the work that's nearest." And the "work that's nearest" for us is the definite, glorious task of converting Pan American Union into Pan American *Unity* based on positive law and true justice. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: We are always glad to hear anything about our sister countries of America, and are fortunate in having with us the HON. JOHN BARRETT, Director General of the Pan American Union, who will speak on the subject, "Pan America and Pan Americanism: Their Influence for Peace." (Applause.)

PAN AMERICA AND PAN AMERICANISM: THEIR INFLUENCE FOR PEACE

ADDRESS BY HON. JOHN BARRETT, LL.D.*

I must apologize to you for taking your time this morning out of the regular program, but I think possibly you will be indulgent with me when I tell you that it is necessitated by a great international gathering which we are to hold in Washington during the week, beginning on Monday—the Pan American Financial Conference—which will assemble in the Hall of the Americas of the beautiful Pan American Building in Washington, and which many of us hope will mark a new era in the relations not only of commerce, but of comity among the American Republics.

When President Wilson, on behalf of the United States, welcomes the delegates from Latin America Monday morning, there

*Mr. Barrett was obliged to speak Wednesday morning but his address is printed here because of its connection with the subject under consideration.—ED.

will be in his presence the greatest and ablest collection of men from Latin America who have come to this country since the great Pan American Conference of the winter of 1889-90, to which Professor Moore has already referred. To me it is interesting to note that the Latin American Governments have shown their appreciation of the importance of the Conference by sending as delegates the very best men they have, and in many cases their Ministers of Finance, in order, if possible, to bring something practical out of it which will be beneficial not alone to the United States but to others of our sister Republics lying south of us. I beg of you, therefore, as patriotic Pan Americans, that you take interest in the sessions of that gathering, which we hope will bring about something tangible in the line of improved financial, commercial and transportation relations among the American nations. (Applause.)

What I say today is inspired as much from the standpoint of Latin America as from the standpoint of the United States, as I am just as much an officer of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia and Mexico as of the United States, being elected by the vote of the governing board of the Pan American Union which is made up of the Ambassadors and Ministers of these countries and the Secretary of State of the United States. I want, therefore, to try to have you look at all these questions from the standpoint of our sister republics, and to study Pan America and Pan Americanism, as much through the eyes of the Argentine and Brazilian and Venezuelan and Colombian, as through those of the citizens of the United States, for that is the only way in which we can ever get practical results in advancing the great cause of Pan Americanism.

It is fourteen years since I first took up the study of this cause, or since I was appointed a delegate to the Second Pan American Conference, which met in Mexico; and now, after being United States Minister in three Latin American countries—Argentina, Colombia, and Panama—as the Executive Officer of the Pan American Union I have been endeavoring, for nearly eight years and with the magnificent support of a strong board of Ambassadors and Ministers and the Secretary of State of the United States, to bring out all of this experience a new situation, a new solidarity and interdependence that will eventually result in absolute, permanent peace not only throughout the Western Hemisphere, but, through its example and influence, throughout all the world! (Applause.)

When you are thinking of the field down there, do not speak of it as "Spanish-America"—a term constantly misused, even by so-called experts. You say "Spanish-America" when you wish to differentiate between the countries that speak Spanish and those that speak Portuguese. Brazil, into which you could put nearly

all of the other countries, is "Portuguese-America," but both terms come under the head of "Latin America." Never, moreover, speak of an Argentine, a Colombian, or a Chilian, as a "Spaniard" unless you would surprise him as you would surprise an American by calling him an Englishman or a German! There is as much difference between certain groups of the Latin American States as there is between groups of European States. You would not class all Europe as having the same interests. In the same way, to approach these countries properly, and to get their respect and their cooperation with us in the cause of peace and Pan Americanism, we must recognize the different influences which are inspiring them to follow out their various national lives and activities.

If I were to sublimate and reduce to the last forms what I have to say today, it would be included in these words: *The most remarkable fact affecting the Western Hemisphere which has been developed by the European War is the impetus which it has given to practical Pan Americanism. The war has done more than any other international political influence since the declaration of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823 to promote Pan American solidarity and to emphasize the importance of the common interests among the nations of the Western Hemisphere. In other words, the great silver lining of the war cloud which hovers over Europe, if it can have a silver lining, is the development among the American Republics of their common purpose, their common responsibility, and the necessity of their standing together for the prosperity and civilization of the Western Hemisphere.* There never has been, heretofore, a time, when the press and the people of both North and South America have been saying so many kind things of each other as they are doing at this very hour, and there never was a time when the Latin American Governments and peoples were so ready as they are now to co-operate with the United States for the development of closer commercial and political ties!

Since the war began, as evidence of what I say, the Pan American Union, as the international organization in Washington of the twenty-one American Republics, dedicated to the development of commerce, friendship and peace among them, has been literally overwhelmed with thousands upon thousands of letters and inquiries relating to Latin America, Latin American relations, Latin American commerce and progress, Latin American resources, opportunities and general development. The demand for all of its publications has almost doubled since the European war began. Such demand has not come alone from the United States for data regarding Latin America, but in a most surprising degree, from all over Latin America for data regarding the United States and its people, its progress and its general development. It is not an uncommon thing for twenty-five cablegrams to come in a day to me from all over Latin America for information about the

United States and its institutions and purposes. Our daily mail averages 200 to 300 letters to and from all parts of the world, and we are also sending out, on an average, several thousand publications and reports each week to every nation of the world that is accessible in this time of war.

In this growth of Pan Americanism there seems to me to loom high the possibilities and potentialities of Pan American or, perhaps a better term, a united America, using its influence along practical lines for peace in Europe! The nations of the world must be impressed with the fact that all of the republics of the new world are at peace with each other and are doing everything in their power to preserve that condition. When one group of men is engaged in a bitter quarrel, in contrast to another group which is characterized by peaceful and friendly relations, it is not impossible, and it may be inevitable, that the former shall appeal to the latter for the settlement of a serious dispute. It is, therefore, altogether possible and feasible, even though it may not seem at the moment probable, that not alone the United States, but the United States with the cooperation of the other twenty American Republics, or a group of them, such possibly as Brazil, Argentina and Chile, shall be able to respond favorably to an appeal that may yet be made from the old world to assist in the arbitration or the settlement of its difficulties. Such a situation is far from being as remote as many persons think, because Europe of late years has been recognizing, as never before, the importance of the Latin American Governments in international affairs and might feel even a surer confidence of absolute impartiality of treatment if the great statesmen of the leading Latin American Governments were to join with the corresponding men of the United States Government in responding to a European or a world appeal for an adjustment of its difficulties!

Only the other day, in an autograph letter which I received from a distinguished Englishman, he told me that one of the most prominent men of the British Cabinet had remarked that if they had had an organization of the European nations in some capital of Europe based upon the organization of the "Pan American Union," as an organization of all the nations working together, that is, a "Pan European Union," there would never have been a European war! That statement showed an appreciation of the importance of standing together and of the Pan American Union as the united organization of the nations of the Western Hemisphere. You would not think he was so very far away in his observation if you could view the Pan American Building in Washington, which the greatest living French architect has described as the most beautiful Temple of Peace and as combining for its cost, beauty of architecture and usefulness of purpose more than any other public building in the world, and if you would go into the

Governing Board Room on the first Wednesday of any month, seeing there the plenipotentiaries from one hundred and ninety millions of people and of twenty-one nations, sitting around a table from one to three hours and discussing in the most frank and friendly way questions affecting the welfare and the peace and the common interests of the nations of the Western Hemisphere! Did you ever stop to think that there is no other place in the world where the representatives of a large group of nations regularly and officially gather for any such purpose? Professor Moore, our presiding officer, can support what I say, because in his former capacity as Counselor of the State Department he presided on one occasion over this gathering, in the absence of the Secretary of State of the United States.

It is also a most impressive fact that at this very moment a Committee made up of these Ambassadors and Ministers is considering the attitude of the Western Hemisphere in the matter of neutrality with reference to evolving new rules, new regulations or new suggestions to govern the attitude of the Western Hemisphere in the event of another great European War. While nothing practical may come of those committee meetings at this very moment, it is altogether probable that this Committee will make valuable suggestions to be submitted to the Fifth Pan American Conference which will probably meet next year in Santiago, Chile, and from which may come the most practical steps that have ever been taken by the nations of the Western Hemisphere for the preservation of peace among themselves and for the development of an attitude here, that will have its influence for peace the wide world over.

Do you realize that at this moment the so-called anti-United States feeling in Latin America, is disappearing until it is becoming only a characteristic of certain classes of demagogues and sensational newspapers? The spirit of anti-Americanism in the old form is almost no more, and those men who are in closest touch with Latin America will call your attention to the fact that during the last year the great newspapers of Latin America have said more kind things favorable to the development of friendly relations with the United States and of a practical Pan American Union for peace and commerce than ever before; and the speeches made during the last six or eight months in the Congresses of the Latin American Republics are quite different in tone and temper from what they were before this great war came on. Throughout the United States also it is most gratifying to see how the universities, colleges, public schools, and the great commercial and civic organizations are taking up the study of Pan American relations, of Pan American intellectuality and education, as well as of commerce and trade.

It may surprise you to know that over two thousand educa-

tional institutions of this country have taken up, within the last two years and on the advice of the Pan American Union, the study of the Spanish language. You will be surprised when I tell you that last year one thousand seven hundred different clubs throughout the United States took up in accordance with the suggestion of the Pan American Union the study of Latin America and Pan American relations; and today the newspapers of New York, Boston, Chicago, San Francisco and New Orleans, by actual measurement of one of my ambitious statisticians, are giving more space to Latin America in a week than they gave in two months about three years ago! All over the country there is enthusiasm for the subject of Pan Americanism and men are constantly coming to me with "new" ideas on Pan American relations and Pan Americanism which were old fifteen or twenty years ago, but which seem new to them now simply because they were not then in touch with our work. A great deal of this new development is due to the splendid work done by Professor Moore, by Dr. Shepherd of Columbia, by Professor Rowe of the University of Pennsylvania, by Professor Blakeslee and Professor Brown, whom you have heard today, and then too the attitude of the Latin American diplomats themselves in the speeches which they have made throughout this country and in the reports which they have been sending down to their own Governments. Then again I may say in all sincerity as to the attitude today of the present administration—without any thought of politics, without any suggestion of saying kind things of an administration with which I am closely associated, though not politically, because I do not owe my appointment to either Democrats or Republicans—that few, if any, administrations have shown more interest in dealing with the subject of the development of Pan American commerce and Pan American comity than the present one, and in view of the present criticism of him, I want to commend highly the interest which the present Secretary of State has shown in the work of the Pan American Union, and in the desire to promote peace, commerce and friendship between those countries and this one.

It is one of the most important necessities of the hour, then, that our great men, our thoughtful men, should be considering a practical way of using this combined force of the Western Hemisphere toward an organization of an American arbitral court or a permanent American peace conference which in time will result in the attainment of those things which will allow the Western Hemisphere at least to set the example of peace methods to the rest of the world, if it is not able yet to get the rest of the world to join. I am one of those who believe that even if the great Hague Court can not be made a success for all the world, there is no conclusive reason why an American Court should not be made a success. (Applause.) There are some difficulties in the form of the great

and small nations, but no more than are found in the National Union of the United States,—the little states of Delaware and Rhode Island, or the small populated states like Idaho, Nevada and other states of the mountain districts. The fact, that in the United States Senate and in the Constitution of the United States these small states have exactly the same rights as the great states, can just as well be carried to the lesser states of the Western Hemisphere, as we may perfect some Western Hemisphere organization, and I believe the sentiment in favor of that is rapidly growing throughout Latin America.

In this connection I want to call your attention to what Dr. Naön, who stands as one of the foremost statesmen of Latin America and who has made a great impression as the Ambassador of Argentina, said last night in Harrisburg that there would be in the Western Hemisphere an American solidarity, based on right, on justice, and on reciprocal tolerance, that would be an example to the rest of the world. He expressed the hope that the republics of the Western World would cooperate to bring about lasting peace among the nations of Europe in the face of this enormous war. He said: "The bearing of America cannot be but expectant and reconstructive, if as I believe, there is still reason to trust the idea of human solidarity as the final end of social evolution. May God grant that, inspired by that idea and prompted by our community of interests, all the nations of America may cooperate before long in the task, a thousand times blessed, of restoring lasting peace and friendship among the peoples of Europe, with the sentiment of that solidarity as the basis of their future action. It is for us, the countries far removed from the scene and aloof from the interests in the midst of which the European dissensions have been growing until this terrible climax, to take up the arduous but glorious task of reincarnating modern civilization." (Applause.)

My final thought is that I want you to bear in mind, in order to get yourself into the right mental attitude for participating in this broad Pan American movement, to realize the relationship we have with those countries based on grounds from which we cannot get away,—first, that every one of those Governments south of us has practically written its constitution upon the constitution of the United States! That fact is not generally realized. Secondly, if you watch the tenor of their newspaper articles and their books, you will find that there is everywhere a tribute to the fact that today their great constructive interests are watching the United States in order to learn the best results of its experience and bring about that evolution of government and prosperity and progress which will make them greater, more powerful and more prosperous nations. The third point is that the great statesmen and great patriots of their early days somewhere, either

in their biographies or in statements recorded in histories, admit that each one of these countries won its independence from the mother country through the leadership of generals and statesmen who were inspired by the example of our own George Washington! Every time, therefore, that you see the statue or bust of Washington, remember that he was the Father not alone of the United States but practically of all the twenty-one independent nations of the Western Hemisphere! There is also this comparison which you should always bear in mind,—that in contrast to the destruction of great monuments and great buildings and everything that is dear to civilization in Europe we have way down yonder on the summit of the Andes, overlooking on the one side the precipitous plateaus of Chile and on the other side the Pampas plains of Argentina, the famous statue of the Christ, erected there some twelve years ago to commemorate the fact that two great nations of South America—Argentina and Chile—representing the most progressive sentiment of South America, and following a determination to settle their difficulties which gave them more cause for war than the European countries have had in this present struggle, decided to erect this monument made of the molten cannon of their respective countries, this monument of the Christ, the Saviour of man, which shall stand there forever as evidence of the highest possible civilization of the Western Hemisphere, and carrying upon its base these words: "Sooner shall these mountains crumble to dust than shall Argentina and Chile go to war." (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: A gentleman known as a practical advocate of international peace and justice will now address us, Hon. JAMES T. DUBoIS, formerly Minister to Colombia.

RIGHTEOUSNESS AND JUSTICE

REMARKS BY HON. JAMES T. DUBOIS*

I consider it a distinct honor and a great pleasure to say to you just a few words that are very near to my heart. We have been talking about international cooperation. The thought occurs to me that there can be no international cooperation between two nations where one has been wronged by the other, until that wrong has been righted. (Applause.) I have tried to keep track of the number of times the words righteousness and justice have been employed during these wonderful sessions, and have found, that "righteousness" has been used over a hundred and fifty times and "justice" over two hundred and twenty times. President Wilson, in New York the other day, said that we are a country

*Mr. DuBois spoke during the 5th Sess.; but his remarks are printed here because of their connection with the topic considered.—ED.

of "righteousness and justice," and I know that he wants us to be. But are we? You know there was the stone age and the iron age and the electrical age. Now we are living in the "scrap of paper" age and it began on this continent in 1903. You know that for nearly a hundred years the Republic of Colombia was the best friend of the United States in all the Latin world. You know that that friendship was completely shattered by the violent separation of Panama in 1903. From that hour, the Colombians viewed every act of the United States with distrust, and no matter what we men of the Northland may say in extenuation of it, the people of Colombia firmly believe that that act was a wrong of the first magnitude, and that it was a flagrant violation of the rights of nations based upon a supremely commercial selfishness. That feeling of suspicion is spreading mistrust wherever the Latin American holds sway. General Wood* said yesterday that nine-tenths of all the wars are created by commercial and trade selfishness. That is a positive truth. Commercial greed is the heart and soul of the awful conflict that is riding like a nightmare on the breast of Europe today, and commercial greed and territorial aggrandizement have been the heart and soul of all the mighty tragedies that have battered human justice and bruised the human race for over five hundred years. If the Anglo-Saxon and the Latin are to live in harmony on this continent, the Anglo-Saxon must treat the Latin with absolute justice and must kindly and generously but firmly exact justice from the Latin. (Applause.) Now it has been said that that act of the violent separation of Panama was an act of the highest international morality, that it was for the commercial benefit of the world, and especially for the good of Colombia. Well, I have lived in Colombia for two years, and I know that Colombia looks upon that act just as the young husband looked upon the minister when he came to him two years after the marriage and demanded the unpaid wedding fee. The young husband looked at him and said, "Why, parson, you are mighty lucky that I haven't sued you for damages." (Laughter and applause.)

The violent separation of Panama in 1903 is the only real unjust act toward the Latin American race now recorded by the whole world against the United States. The means of settling this unfortunate difference easily and fairly is now in the hands of the United States Senate in the form of a treaty and the Senate is noted for its justice and fairness in the defense of human rights both of individuals and of nations. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: This closes the formal discussions of the evening. The meeting is now open to general discussions under the five minute rule.

*See address in Sess. 4.

LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS, AND AN INTERNATIONAL POLICE

REMARKS BY HON. EVERETT P. WHEELER

I come before you on behalf of the New York State Bar Association, as Chairman of the Committee on International Law and Arbitration, which Committee favors limitation of armaments and an international police that should have power to enforce the judgments of an international court. The position of the world is not unlike that of the Borough of Manhattan; and there, as Mr. Marks* pointed out, we have a court, and when one man undertakes violently to prey upon another, we have police to arrest him, and if he does not come within the scope of the police activity, we have a court that issues an injunction to prevent the violation of law. Is there any way to accomplish a similar result among the nations except, first, by an agreement that their armaments shall be limited? The war armament of each nation should be limited to such a figure as will be sufficient to preserve order within its own bounds, but not enough to enable it to prey violently upon the peace and property and territory of its neighbor. We must have an International Court, a real, substantial court, and a power behind that court so that its decrees shall be obeyed. It has been suggested that to accomplish this would be very difficult. But at the termination of this war every power engaged in it will be greatly in debt. There will be industrial limitation, because the strong arms and the clear eyes of the workmen have been paralyzed by war machinery. I think the nations will be very glad then to consider the limitation of armaments and the desirability of having not only the law of treaties, but a court to administer and police to enforce this law.

There are many principles of international law that are not very clear and that have not been codified, but we have the treaties—the clear and distinct agreements between nations—any attempted violation of which there should be some international power, other than war, to prevent. (Applause.) I have in my hand a joint resolution† introduced in Congress proposing this, which we had proposed at the recent Conference at Cleveland. The plan is also favored by Senator Lodge. Our New York State Association Bar had the honor, fourteen or fifteen years ago, to propose to this Conference the establishment of an International Court, and now we are thankful to have the opportunity, through you, to appeal to the larger audience which

*See address, Sess. 5.

†Senate Joint Resolution 219 introduced Jan. 5, 1915, by Senator Owen of Oklahoma.

will, in the end at least, decide what this nation shall ask for in the Congress of Nations that must come at the end of the present war. (Applause.)

Let me read you, in conclusion, what Mr. Gentz, the secretary and Historian of the Congress at Vienna, looked forward to one hundred years ago. There had then been the great Napoleonic wars which had lasted more years, but had not been so intense as this war has already been. Then, too, there had been a Congress of Nations, and then, too, it was proposed in that Congress to limit armaments and have an International Court.

"It would assuredly safeguard the settlement of the political system of Europe by the institution of an effective and enduring international Tribunal. Further, by way of attesting its sincere desire of putting an end to the constant recurrence of war, the congress would at least attempt to apply the remedy of a systematic, though at first inevitably partial, disarmament."

"If ever the powers should meet again to establish a political system by which wars of conquest would be rendered impossible and the rights of all guaranteed, the Congress of Vienna, as a preparatory assembly, will not have been in vain."* (Applause.)

THE SANCTION OF NON-INTERCOURSE

REMARKS BY MRS. LUCIA AMES MEAD

This morning Mr. Marburg, in his very excellent address, omitted reference to one sanction, and President Hibben omitted to mention one defense which seems to me of prime importance. I refer to non-intercourse. Ten years ago, Justice Brewer, of the Supreme Court, said here, in his discussion of non-intercourse:

"If the nations * * * shall agree that any nation which refuses to enter into arbitration * * * or refuses to abide by the award of arbitrators, * * * shall be isolated from all intercourse with and recognition by any other nation, can you imagine any compulsion more real and peremptory than that? Take Germany, for instance, * * * the great military power of the world; if all the other civilized nations would say: 'From this time forward until you submit the dispute to arbitration, we will withdraw diplomatic representatives, we will have no official communication with you, * * * we will make you a Robinson Crusoe on a desolate island,' there is no nation, however mighty, that could endure such an isolation. * * * The business interests of the nation would compel the Government to recede from its position and no longer remain an outlaw. Such procedure would involve no military force, no bloodshed."

If this principle of non-intercourse should become embodied in international law by the cooperative action of the nations in the League of Peace, to which we are all looking forward, it seems to me that it would be a far greater power than would be the complete bombardment of a mere seacoast and the sending of a bomb

*Cambridge Modern History, Vol. 9, Napoleon, pages 577-578. Diplomatic Centenary, 1814-1914; 19th Century and After; Living Age, No. 3684, Feb. 13th, 1913; page 387.

twenty miles inland. This sanction of non-intercourse was brought up at another time at a Mohonk Conference by the Rev. Lyman Abbott, who called attention to the fact that non-intercourse is the peculiarly Christian force, the one authorized by Jesus Christ who used the words, "Shake off the dust of your feet," leaving the obstinate person who would not listen, who would not arbitrate, to be an excommunicate and anathema during the period of his non-repentance. Mr. Norman Angell, in his discussion of the League of Peace has specified that economic pressure or non-intercourse would be desirable from the United States as its contribution to the compulsion of a faithless nation. The penalty need not be military compulsion from us, whatever it be from contiguous European members, of a League. Even the Chinese people, in their boycott of our merchants, some years ago, by refusing to buy our cotton goods, caused great trouble and the loss of many hundreds of thousands of dollars, and finally brought from Washington some modification of our laws, as applied in San Francisco, and I was told by a Japanese that the Chinese boycott applied to Japan in regard to the Tatsu Maru affair, also produced a great effect. These boycotts were purely unofficial and sporadic and fell far short of concerted non-intercourse. The principle of non-intercourse, when carried out, would involve the cutting off of not only diplomatic relations, but of shipping, railroad and postal connections, leaving it, as Justice Brewer says, "like Robinson Crusoe on a desolate island." It seems to me that it is extremely important for us to consider non-intercourse as eventually a substitute for rival armies and navies and as a measure that can be applied *now* before disarmament occurs.

Every true American feels, a thrill when he hears the words—"righteousness," "justice" and "honor", but if any nation desires to attain righteousness, I cannot understand how it can by deciding a dispute to which it is itself a party, and deciding it by force. Armaments have much to do with military success, which is a totally different thing from righteousness, but a nation, that has waged three unnecessary foreign wars—one against Mexico which General Grant said was one of the most unjust wars ever fought by a strong people against a weak people, and one against Spain which war Minister Woodford has demonstrated to us was wholly uncalled for—should be becomingly modest about assuming that it must always be righteous and that it can promote righteousness by adding fleets of submarines and battleships. I am not here now to plead for disarmament. I am simply here to emphasize two things which I think are supremely important—that defense and armaments are not synonymous and that military success and righteousness have no relation to each other. (Applause.)

NON-INTERCOURSE AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR KILLING

REMARKS BY HON. WILLIAM GORHAM RICE

I am glad the previous speaker has brought before the conference at this time the idea of non-intercourse, as a force to be employed in establishing right relations between nations, and has suggested its use as a substitute for killing. A League of Peace has been much in our minds; cooperation, brotherhood, often on our tongues. At first thought non-intercourse may seem the very antithesis of these fraternal ideas, but is it not rather to be recognized as a non-destructive force of possibly great aid in promoting friendly international relationship? Of possibly great value in establishing foundations for the closer intercourse of civilized mankind? Ostracism, in many situations of ordinary social life, is an important, disciplinary force. Certainly it is of remarkable effectiveness in dealing with a certain type of character. The same principle internationally applied would seem likely to bring an entire people to a realization of its position in opposition to the opinion of the rest of mankind. Moreover, such a comprehension would come without arousing that patriotic instinct of defense which military attack inevitably awakens. (Applause.)

REMARKS BY REV. PHILIP S. MOXOM, D.D.

It seems to me there is a slight misunderstanding as to the value and the use of the principle of non-intercourse. Of course, it is idle to say to nations on the brink of a war which they have planned perhaps for twenty-five years: "If you go to fighting, we will have nothing to do with you." It will not have the slightest effect, and I don't suppose it is contemplated that the principle of non-intercourse shall be used in any such way. The first thing is to secure a rational agreement between nations that the nation which even raises the question of war as a possibility becomes, by that very deed, ostracised from the fellowship of nations. It will be very difficult to apply it immediately and it would have very little effect now, but I believe that in the not distant future there will be such a world-opinion and that no single nation, however great or proud it may be, will dare to go in the face of that world-opinion. (Applause.)

REMARKS BY ARTHUR K. KUHN, PH.D.

The great difficulty is to *apply* the general principles of "righteousness, justice and honor" to actual conditions. I remember James Bryce, now Lord Bryce, standing in this place and saying there was never any difficulty in getting the nations collectively and individually to proclaim themselves in favor of righteousness, of universal and general peace, and in maintaining an army and a

navy only for the purposes of national defense, but that the great difficulty came in applying those general principles to the actual facts which might, at one period or another in their history, confront them. It is with facts that life has to deal, and though abstract principles, noble sentiments, fine visions, glorious dreams should occupy us from time to time,—there comes a time when it is right also to apply in some administrative way, the faith which we are willing not only to confess in the abstract but also to apply in the concrete.

With regard to the subject in hand this evening, I think that the main difficulty in arriving at a practical Pan Americanism; or, if you object to that very general term, at a practical co-operation with our neighbors to the south, lies in the fact that the net result of many of our congresses has been a very ambitious plan, noble, generous, fine, but quite idealistic. Take for example, the field of international private law and general jurisprudence, upon which a rapprochement has been attempted between the nations of South America and Central America and the United States. The plan which they hope to work out is so ambitious that you can be quite sure it will never be realized. I do not wish to be pessimistic, but at the vestibule of the problem, when you consider that some of these plans are, under the present constitution of the United States, impractical because the Federal Government has no authority over matters of private law, and has no authority to deal with matters of general jurisprudence or rules for solving the conflict of laws, because those are within the reserved sovereignty of the states, you can see that the difficulty lies in being too ambitious, in attempting to accomplish too much rather than too little. Europe has profited by the same experience. They have conferences at The Hague, not the peace conferences, but the private international law conferences that have met from time to time to cover these questions. These have been very successful in working out treaties which have been adopted and which have been in force for many years; but the reason they have been so successful, where the American nations have as yet not been successful is, in my humble opinion, to be explained by the fact that they have been modest and taken up small questions one at a time and gotten them out of the way, had them determined by the conference and then ratified, nation by nation, and put them into actual practice and found that they worked; where there were any amendments to be made, the subsequent conferences took them up and decided them.

Now, on the question of industrial unrest, there is a thought that comes to my mind; it was suggested by the address of President Marks.* The cause of war in most instances, I believe, can

*See address, Sess. 5.

be laid to private interests. I do not say "private" in any individual sense; I refer rather to the private interests of groups having race interests or masses of persons having some common economic interest. Thus in the South African War, the controversy was due to the private interest of the Uitlander who thought he was not being treated fairly. So similarly the Servian question, which I do not intend, of course, to discuss, in detail, involves the interest of the growing, expanding, southern Slave. Now the conclusion I wish to draw from the lessons of the principal speaker on the subject of industrial unrest is that it does not do to wait until controversy due to racial or economic interest has progressed and formed a climax, when the unrest has grown so great as not to be adjusted by peaceful means, by discussions, by conference, by cooperation. I make a plea for more frequent conferences when cooperation is possible, where conferences practical, not moot questions, are brought up for discussion, first of all perhaps by unofficial bodies and finally by official bodies which can pass upon them definitely. Many questions of international maritime law have been settled in this manner. If the question between Servia and Austria, of access to the sea, and similar disputes, had been brought up in time by unofficial conferences, and then followed afterwards by official conferences to determine the practical, actual operation, of "righteousness, justice and national honor," the war, I believe, would have been avoided. In conclusion, I trust that in our future discussions, we may lay more emphasis upon those things which are not ephemeral. Certain problems will pass away; we all pray they will pass away in a few months or in the course of a short time and not be the practical questions they are today—questions of non-intercourse, embargo, and the like. I trust we shall maintain our good reputation as a conference, not a bellicose conference but distinctly a peaceful conference, to materialize our great visions and to apply them to practical problems in a practical way. I thank you. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: Is there further discussion? If not, the Conference stands adjourned until 9:45 tomorrow morning.

Third Session

Thursday, May 20, 1915, 9:45 A. M.

The CHAIRMAN: The program this morning is devoted to consideration of the feasibility of a League of Peace. The first paper will be given by MR. HAMILTON HOLT, Editor of *The Independent*, New York. (Applause.)

A LEAGUE OF PEACE

ADDRESS BY MR. HAMILTON HOLT

The peace movement is the process of substituting law for war. Peace follows justice, justice follows law, law follows political organization. The world has already achieved peace through justice, law and political organization in hamlets, towns, cities, states and even in the forty-six sovereign civilized nations of the world. But in that international realm over and above each nation, in which each nation is equally sovereign, the only way for a nation to secure its rights is by the use of force. Force, therefore—or war as it is called when exerted by a nation against another nation—is at present the only final method of settling international differences. In other words, the nations are in that state of civilization today where, without a qualm, they claim the right to settle their disputes in a manner which they would actually put their own subjects to death for imitating. The peace problem, then, is nothing but the problem of finding ways and means of doing between the nations what has already been done within the nations. International law follows private law. The "United Nations" follow the United States.

International law is no further developed today than private law was in the tenth century. Then if two men had a dispute they could go either to some priest or judge appointed by the king, or else go out on the field of battle and fight it out. Either course was sanctioned by the state. If the appeal was to the field of battle the judge by law was compelled to adjourn his court, go out and sit on the grand stand as it were, watch the fight and render a verdict in favor of the winner, the theory being that God would not let the guilty man win. Yet this infamous doctrine continued for six centuries after the birth of the British Constitution and the jury system. So wars are likely to continue after we have our courts and parliaments. The nations are now in the same state of progress that individuals were when trial by battle was in vogue. They can go to The Hague, or seek self-redress, which is war. Already they have been sixteen times to The Hague

and settled amicably sixteen cases, some of which might otherwise have led to war. The seventeenth time they preferred to fight it out. But even so the vote is sixteen to one in favor of the court of reason.

It was consideration of the foregoing nature I suppose, that led the great German philosopher, Immanuel Kant, to say in 1795 in his famous essay, "Perpetual Peace," that we never can have universal peace until the world is politically organized and it will never be possible to organize the world politically until the people, not the kings, rule. And he added that the peoples of the earth must cultivate and attain the spirit of hospitality and good will towards all races and nations.

If this be the true philosophy of peace, then when the Great War is over, and the stricken sobered peoples set about to rear a new civilization on the ashes of the old, they cannot hope to abolish war unless they are prepared to extend democracy everywhere, to banish hatred from their hearts, and to organize the international realm on a basis of law rather than force.

The questions of the extension of democracy and the cultivation of benevolence are domestic ones. But the political organization of the world—that must be brought about by the joint action of the governments of the world and there, and there only can the United States exert any influence outside of its own boundaries.

If we must have a world federation, then what form is it likely to take? James Bryce, the author of the greatest book ever written on the United States, says all the nations in the world, some slowly and some quickly, but all with unresting feet, are coming to adopt the American form of government.

What is the American form of government? Over one hundred years ago when our forefathers joined together to form the United States of America, the State of New York and the State of Virginia each had its separate navy. But, on joining the Union, they abolished their separate navies or their right to say whatever they wanted to say by force in interstate affairs, and in return they were guaranteed home rule and local autonomy by the combined power of all the other states. Thus the United States is founded not on the principle of home rule but on sacrifice, or the duty of sovereigns to sacrifice a part of their sovereignty whenever the general welfare demands it.

But the inexorable logic of political events, which brought forth the United States of America so long ago, has been working—and at an accelerating rate—ever since. Not only has our success as a democracy and our example to the nations of the world been before humanity all this time, but new forces hitherto undreamed of have come into existence that make for world organization and for peace.

Thus the inventions of steam and electricity, to mention only

the most important factors by annihilating time and space, have actually made the world smaller in this year 1915 than the thirteen colonies were in 1776. Then news travelled no faster than people. Now the President of the United States has sent a cablegram around the world and back again to himself at Washington in less than ten minutes. Then Boston and Charleston were farther from New York than is London or Vienna today. Indeed the United States is in closer touch at this minute, intellectually, financially, or even physically, with any nation of Europe or Asia, than was the State of New York with Vermont or Maryland in 1776. But as the United States came into existence by the establishment of the Articles of Confederation and the Continental Congress, so the "United Nations" has come into existence by the establishment of The Hague Court and the recurring Hague Conferences, the Hague Court being the promise of the Supreme Court of the world and The Hague Conferences being the prophecy of the parliament of man. We may look with confidence, therefore, to a future in which the world will have an established court with jurisdiction over all questions, self-governing conferences with power to legislate on all affairs of common concern, and an executive power of some form to carry on the decrees of both. To deny this is to ignore all the analogies of private law and the whole trend of the world's political history since the Declaration of Independence.

Is the time ripe, then, for Tennyson's dream of world federation? Not yet. The Federation of the World must still be a dream for many years to come. There are too many medieval nations in the world.

The immediate establishment of a League of Peace, however, would in fact constitute a first step toward world federation and does not perhaps offer insuperable difficulties. Possibly there are enough nations now in existence who either through the suffering of war or political evolution are ready here and now to organize in advance of the others for peace and disarmament, for I take it that if enough nations joined the League the movement for the limitation of armaments could then for the first time in history begin.

The problem of the League of Peace is chiefly the problem of the use of force. Force, internationally expressed, is measured in armaments. The chief discussion which has been waged for the past decade between the pacifists and militarists has been over the question of armaments. The militarists claim that armaments insure national safety. The pacifists declare they inevitably lead to war. Both disputants insist that the present war furnishes irrefutable proof of their contentions.

As is usual in cases of this kind the shield has two sides. The

confusion has arisen from a failure to recognize the threefold function of force:

1. Force used for the maintenance of order—police force.
2. Force used for attack—aggression.
3. Force used to neutralize aggression—defense.

Police force is almost wholly good. Offense is almost wholly bad. Defense is a necessary evil, and exists simply to neutralize force employed for aggression.

The problem of the peace movement is how to abolish the use of force for aggression and yet maintain it for police purposes. Force for defense will of course automatically cease when force for aggression is abolished.

How can the nations of the League therefore have the protection that force brings and at the same time disarm? Unless they can solve that paradox, they will have to admit that it is a law of nature that war is to consume all the fruits of progress.

Let the League of Peace be formed, then, on the principle of the United States as to the nations within the League and on the principle of England as to the nations outside the League. Let me explain. When the various States joined our Union, the amount of taxes they paid into the Federal Treasury was less pro rata than what they paid towards the support of their own army and navy when they were separate colonies. In other words, the various states in a very real sense limited their armaments when they joined our Union, while in return they got greater protection. Let the League of Nations agree to follow the same principle. Let the nations composing it agree to arbitrate their differences and then disarm to the point of safety as we did. What is the point of safety? Evidently where the forces of the League are greater than any nation or alliance likely to use force against it. That is the principle of England. England has a navy equal to any two nations likely to be brought against her. Let the League, therefore, use arbitration and a proportional disarmament to the safety point with the nations in the League, and force against the nations outside the League that will not forswear force.

The following analogy will make the problem clearer. Suppose that instead of taking forty-six armed nations struggling to keep the peace of the world by their own unaided efforts, we take forty-six men who have neighboring ranches on the same frontier country where the only semblance of law is the *posse comitatus*. The rights and interests of these men overlap, and each man, carrying a weapon as he does, is quick to resent any infringement of what he considers his rights.

Now suppose some fifteen of the most intelligent get together and decide to keep the peace. How do they do it? Not by agreeing severally with each other to treaties of arbitration. Nothing of the sort. They form a League of Defense and say woe betide

any man who breaks the peace. If there are enough of them, and they are sufficiently armed, they will keep the peace; otherwise they may all get killed.

But assuming they are strong enough. At first they will have to carry their weapons as before but gradually the weaker men will ask to join the League in order to get greater protection. Then the combined armament of the League, instead of increasing with the addition of new members, will decrease because the number of men who could possibly attack it will have diminished. As more and more see the better way and join the League, its armament will decrease—always keeping a trifle larger than the equipment of any possible combination of foes—until two or three armed men will keep the peace of the whole community.

Applying this illustration to the nations, it is evident that if a majority of the eight great powers of the world join a League of Peace—that will be sufficient, because most of the smaller nations will have to join for the greater protection afforded.

But what effect will this have on the outside nations? Will not parties in the outside nations at once see the immense gain of being in the League through the greater assurance of peace by arbitration and the vastly lightened expenses for armaments? As each nation entered, will there not be a pro rata reduction of the forces of the League? The progress towards the ultimate reduction of our present armaments to a mere international police would naturally be gradual, but it would be much quicker than to wait until all the nations become sufficiently civilized to give up voluntarily their armaments all at one time.

This is in outline the League of Peace. Will it be accomplished when the great war is over? No human being knows. But the theory, I believe, is correct.

Already there are several groups in England and on the Continent working out the basis for a League of Peace. One of the groups is so close to the British Government that it would almost seem that England is ready to join in such a movement if launched under proper auspices.

In the United States the idea is receiving even greater support. Leaders like Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Taft have already worked out in rather complete detail the principles that should underlie a League of Peace. It is notable that both our ex-Presidents are ready to have the United States enter such a League and even to use its armed forces in the maintenance of the League's integrity. Surely the espousal of such a revolutionary and far-visioned project by two such distinguished world statesmen is a matter of profound significance.

This is not the time or place to discuss the detailed basis of the League of Peace—its sanctions, its parliament, its court, its council of conciliation, its executive, or its army and navy. Those who

have given the subject most thought are not in full agreement as to even the fundamental principles.

But it should be of no little interest to the Mohonk Conference to know that already there is a group of eminent Americans, headed by ex-President Taft and including such men as Alton B. Parker, A. Lawrence Lowell, Oscar S. Straus, David Starr Jordan, Theodore Marburg, Theodore F. Woolsey and a hundred others, who have already agreed upon a tentative basis for a League of Peace and unless plans miscarry are proposing to issue a call for a conference to launch the movement on June 17 at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, where the United States Constitution was framed and the greatest League of Peace known to history was born. (Applause.)

In conclusion, it would seem to be the manifest destiny of the United States to lead in the establishment of such a league. The United States is the world in miniature. The United States is a demonstration to the world that all the races and peoples of the earth can live in peace under one form of government, and its chief value to civilization is a demonstration of what this form of government is. And when we get the League of Peace, we shall find it will not satisfy the world any more than did the Articles of Confederation satisfy our forefathers. As they had abandoned their Confederation and established a more perfect Union, so we shall have to develop our League of Peace into that final world federation, which, the historian Freeman says, when it comes into existence, will be the most finished and most artificial production of political ingenuity.

It is notable that from the birth of the Republic to the present hour every president of the United States has advocated peace through justice. All, from the first great Virginian, Washington, to the last great Virginian, Wilson, have abhorred what another great Virginian, Jefferson, called "the greatest scourge of mankind."

Is it too much to suppose, therefore, that when the great war is over, Woodrow Wilson can, if he wants to, do for the world something similar to what George Washington did for a continent after the Revolutionary War?

Stranger things than this have happened in history. Let us add to the Declaration of Independence a Declaration of Interdependence. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: The next subject on the program is, "Existing Alliances and a League of Peace," which will be discussed by DR. JOHN B. CLARK, Professor of Political Economy, Columbia University, and Director, Division of Economics and History of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. (Applause.)

EXISTING ALLIANCES AND A LEAGUE OF PEACE

ADDRESS BY JOHN B. CLARK, LL.D.

The war has converted even the belligerent world to that kind of pacifism, which consists in a grim determination that the present Armageddon shall never be repeated, however long it may be necessary to fight in order to insure this outcome. To perpetuate the peace, however, a strong League of Nations is indispensable, and various plans for such a League are forming. Some of these rely on an extension of treaties of arbitration and conciliation; some would fortify these treaties by giving to the League a power to coerce recalcitrant members, and still others would create a world state with a central government, an army and a navy. The first question to be answered is what kind of international union can be secured, since, in the case of any new league of this kind, the more ambitious the plan, the less probable it is that nations will adopt it. In many minds grave doubt exists whether even a modest plan will be carried into execution. In the face of this doubt, I wish to express the audacious opinion that something having the characteristics of a league of peace is rapidly evolving and in all probability will, at the close of the war, require only a small modification to enable it to prevent, so long as it lasts, the recurrence of a great war on the continent of Europe.

It is not necessary to create a league of peace *de novo* and without reference to combinations which now exist. Two great leagues have been formed, each embracing powerful states and each so firmly held together that it acts toward the outer world much as a single great empire would do. Since they are now waging against each other the greatest war in history, the conclusion is much too lightly reached that such unions are by their nature war-breeders. Defensive unions, however, are in line with the whole trend of political evolution. Great nations, created by combining smaller ones, are in the order of the day; and so are federations of a looser kind, such as those which preceded the German Empire and our own Federal State.

Every such consolidation involves a risk that, if a war occurs, it will be larger than it might otherwise be; but it reduces the frequency with which wars occur. Peace between great states continues through longer periods than it does between warring districts which later unite in such states. The prospect that peace shall ever be universal depends on its tendency to establish itself within larger and larger areas till it shall end by embracing the world. European wars have occurred in spite of alliances rather than because of them, and the general effect even of imperfect unions has been to lengthen the intervals of peace. It is an even century since a war akin to this one was waging in Europe and it is forty-four years since a war between any two great nations has

taken place on that continent. The consolidating tendency in itself makes for peace.

During the Moroccan trouble and the two Balkan wars the present leagues averted a general struggle and they might have averted the present one *if as unions, they had been more nearly complete than they were.* It is a safe guess that if it had been definitely known that Russia, France and England would act as a unit in opposing the invasion of Servia, the knowledge would have delayed and possibly prevented the invasion with all its fateful consequences.

Let us assume that peace has been made, that both the Entente and the Alliance continue to be strong and that, in everything political they are the powers which must first be reckoned with. Let us assume that, in each of them, the constituent countries are held firmly together, because no single country can think of surrendering the protection which union affords. Outside the Entente, France would be helpless against an attack by Germany, and outside of the Alliance Austria would be helpless against one by Italy and Russia. Any country standing alone would have a precarious hold on its territory and its freedom.

The chief dangers that threaten a great league spring from within, while those that threaten a small league are from without. A union of all Europe would be entirely immune against foreign attack and, *for that very reason*, would be far more easily disrupted and plunged into something like civil war.

Such unions as the Alliance and the Entente, each of which has a great power now arrayed against it, are held together much more firmly. The bond that unites its members is the imperative need of mutual protection.

If, as we have assumed, the war has ended neither in a draw nor in a sweeping victory for one side—if the unsuccessful league has kept most of its territories and its fighting strength—the situation will throw an enormous power into the hands of the neutral states. By joining either union, they might cause it to preponderate over the other, and by joining the victorious one they could make it safe against any attack and able, if it were disposed to do so, to guarantee the peace of Europe. In the smaller states of Europe, the opinion is growing that for them liberty and union are one and inseparable. It may be vital for them to join a defensive league, and by their union with it cause it to become, if it were not already, a true commonwealth of nations, great and small, and fully committed to a just and peaceful policy. In order to be a nucleus of such a commonwealth a league should, if possible, already contain enough great states to prevent any one from dominating the others. If possible, it should contain a number of the smaller states, and, as a group, it should be so free from aggressive designs as to merit the confidence of states not as yet in any combination.

Since the Entente now virtually includes four great states and four small ones, and may soon be joined by one more of each class, it already has important qualifications for becoming such a League of Peace as we are suggesting. If either Italy, the Balkan countries or the northern countries should join it, there would be created a commonwealth of nations powerful enough to preserve peace and vitally interested in doing it.

The original purpose of each of the two leagues now existing was protective. It aimed primarily to secure each of its members against attacks by other powers, and this security, which all the members continue to need, is that for which the small neutral countries are also compelled to look. What they must demand of any combination which they are asked to join is, above all else, protection. Now the more promising plans for new leagues of peace which have been suggested contain no provision for protecting their members from attacks by nations outside their circle. They content themselves by preventing warfare between the members. On the other hand, the present combinations have no formal and constitutional machinery for settling internal disputes. A true commonwealth of nations needs to be assured against both dangers and its constitution, therefore, will need to contain the best provisions that it is humanly possible to devise for settling peacefully all internal disputes and also for preventing or repelling attacks by other states. This is saying that an enlarged Entente, besides protecting its members, as it is now using all its force in doing, will need to guard itself against the perils that necessarily beset large leagues: namely, those that originate from within. The institutions of The Hague will be for it well-nigh a *sine qua non* of success, and there must be measures for compelling a resort to them in disputes between members of the League and in those arising between any of them and states outside the League. Such provisions as have been contained in the best constitutions that have been suggested for new leagues will be needed in one that may evolve out of one of the existing combinations.

If a new league should be formed without affording protection against external attacks, it would be necessary that the Entente and the Alliance should continue. It would be vain to ask their members to dissolve them and trust to a new league that would lead each of them to fight its own battles. The Entente or the Alliance, as the case might be, would then constitute a union within a union—a compact defensive body within a loosely organized combination for promoting the friendly settlement of disputes. A new league of many states might conceivably be formed, and either the Entente or the Alliance might join it bodily and give its own members the protection which the larger league would not give; but a simpler and more natural plan would be to enlarge one

of the present leagues and adopt the needed provisions for peacefully settling all disputes in which a member is a party.

Against a league so formed, the objection that it is theoretical and Utopian certainly cannot be urged. Eight countries are already in effect in the Entente, and that combination is now fulfilling the one function that, in making constitutions for new leagues few persons are bold enough to require of the members—that of lavishing life and treasure in defending each other. In this respect, the present reality outstrips our dreams. As the leagues will almost certainly continue, it should be possible to give to one of them the relatively easy function of settling peacefully the disputes occurring within its membership.

Herein lies the golden opportunity for the neutral states. They have a sense of danger and the protective feature of a league will attract them; though the chance of being involved in a general war will in itself repel them. It will probably repel them less than the danger of being conquered by some great state, and both dangers be at a minimum, if the international body that they join is too strong to be attacked, and if its spirit, as well as its formal constitution and the interest of its members, hold it in ways of peace and justice. It will be in the power of the neutral countries to help effectively in making it so. They can consent to join only a union of this character.

It will be hard indeed for the two leagues, now in deadly war with each other, at once to unite in any single union. Will the fact that one of them for a time holds aloof be a source of danger? In one essential way, it will be a cause of security. It is sadly to be admitted that, in the present moral status of the world, treaties are not bands of steel and there is danger that they may be broken when they are not buttressed by national interests. Against the danger of disruption, a defensive league, which does not include all states of Europe, may be stronger than one which does so. The treaty that binds such a league together will be powerfully reenforced if all the members have a sense of common danger—a sense of the presence of a foe strong enough to overcome any country singly. Pressure from without means solidarity within and, while enmities are strong, a hostile nation might impart to a league more strength by remaining outside of it than by joining it.

In the long run, all Europe should be consolidated. The chance that it will become so by a single step is small, and the best beginning of a general union will be furnished by one of the existing leagues, enlarged by the adherence of neutral states and fortified against the danger of disruption from within by the exposure of any seceding state to the peril of attacks from without. The League may thrive on external hostility until the good time shall come when the desired system of settling international disputes

shall be thoroughly established and peace shall prevail by the supremacy of reason. Guarding always the territory and protecting the sovereignty of its members, the League will develop mutual interests so important that a new and powerful tie will bind the countries together in addition to the bond furnished by the necessity for defense. That necessity itself will grow less, armaments may be curtailed and the forces now engaged in mutual destruction may become available for raising in many ways the level of human life. Under such influences, the leagues should become too powerful to be attacked from without and too indispensable to humanity to be weakened or disrupted from within.

For these reasons, I conclude that in the leagues now at war may be afforded the most practical means of creating the League of Peace. There is inspiration in this possibility and there is a terrible spur to action in what will ensue if it is not realized—desolated lands under enormous debts with no assurance against a further struggle; neutral lands as well as belligerent ones involved in the competition for larger armies, navies, arsenals, guns and fortifications; the people demanding costly reforms by governments unable to afford them and in peril of revolution if they refuse to do so. Only in the relief from war and its burdens lies the possibility of meeting such needs and giving to social progress an upward trend. Such is the plain teaching of the present struggle. It is as though the war demon himself had led humanity to the parting of the roads where the guide boards indicate on the one side, the long way to the Delectable Mountains and on the other, a short route to the pit. Far reaching beyond all precedent is the choice humanity must soon make and lands at war and lands at peace must participate in the decision. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: The HON. OSCAR S. STRAUS, Ex-Ambassador to Turkey, member of the Hague Court, has unfortunately been called away and the paper which he was to have presented will be read by MR. WILLIAM C. DENNIS, of Washington, formerly Assistant Solicitor of the State Department. The subject of the paper is, "The Roots of the War." (Applause.)

THE ROOTS OF THE WAR

ADDRESS OF HON. OSCAR S. STRAUS, LL.D.

For several years past, in anticipation of the Centenary of Peace between our country and Great Britain, preparations were made in Great Britain, Canada and in our country to celebrate that event in a fitting manner. This celebration was planned to be participated in not only by Great Britain, her colonies and ourselves, but by other nations as well, in order to accentuate the

conditions that conserve peace, as a lesson and an example for the maintenance of peace among the nations.

Unfortunately, six months before the celebration was to take place, the world-war broke out. The people of New Orleans, undismayed by world conditions, carried out their impressive and magnificent program of celebration. The monument that was erected on the plain near the City of New Orleans where the last battle was fought, was dedicated not in vainglory, but in a spirit to emphasize the hundred years of concord. This was graphically portrayed by unfurling simultaneously from the top of the granite shaft the national emblems of the United States and Great Britain.

What are the lessons of those hundred years of peace? The Treaty of Ghent, which concluded the war, was made not at the end, but in the midst of the war. It was not made after exhaustion. It was not made between a dominant victor and a crushed foe, but in a spirit of mutual concession, followed by disarmament and by adjustment of the outstanding differences through commissions and arbitration. The Treaty did not leave in its wake the spirit of bitterness and revenge that usually follows war; therefore it did not require increased armaments on either side to check threatening outbreaks.

During the hundred years a number of serious and irritating differences have arisen between our two nations, but they were adjusted in the spirit of the Treaty of Ghent, in equity and fairness.

This leads us to briefly trace the roots of the world-war. One of the greatest curses of war is that it settles by force, and what is settled by force is seldom, if ever, settled justly. And because such a settlement is not just, it leaves behind it the dragon teeth of future conflict. As distinguished from the settlement made by the Treaty of Ghent, let us take in view the settlement made after the Franco-German War. It was made by a dominant conqueror, who had brought the vanquished foe to his knees, and resulted in tearing away from that foe two important provinces without the consent of their highly enlightened population. The result was that the Peace of Frankfort left behind it the spirit of revenge, which in its train produced that competitive race for the increase of armaments which aroused and stimulated a similar spirit of war preparations among the leading nations of Europe.

After the Russo-Turkish War of 1877, followed the adjustment by the Congress of Berlin. That adjustment was made in a spirit of *might*, regardless of the rights of the smaller nations involved. Among other maladjustments, the Slav provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina were placed under the tutelage of Austria-Hungary. This tutelage, contrary to the terms and stipulations of the treaty of Berlin, was, by Austria-Hungary, supported by Germany, converted into annexation. When annexation of territory is made

in opposition to the will of the inhabitants, the condition arising therefrom usually develops into the subjection of the inhabitants of such annexed territory. From this annexation have "woes unnumbered sprung." This and other forcible maladjustments, made by the power of might against the will and the right of smaller nationalities, following the Turko-Balkan War, resulted in the second Balkan War, where again readjustments were made in opposition to the inherited traditions and religious affiliations of the people, who were transferred from one nationality to the other. Such was the condition when a half-crazed, misguided and irresponsible enthusiast murdered the Crown Prince and Princess of Austria.

These are some of the more approximate roots of the present war, but there are others even more potent. The development of international law, or, more correctly, international relationship, has been halting and with little regard for the basic ideals of justice. The standards of international morals have been far behind and often, in some respects, in contravention to the recognized standards of justice within the territory of the separate nations. In other words, while the standards of morals within the several nations have advanced with civilization, regulated by law, by equity and justice, international relationship has developed under entirely different standards, by expediency and by might. The result has been and is that the standard of international right is not only on a lower scale, but often in contradiction to the ideals of justice. So long as international relationship is regulated by standards that are far below and often in conflict with the ideals of justice that obtain within nations, so long as national boundary lines put a limitation on justice as between man and man, we have ever present those irritating differences that war is evoked to settle.

Jingoism is too often mistaken for patriotism. True patriotism must be founded upon justice. Justice is universal and is not born of expediency, but of righteousness. "Righteousness exalteth a nation," but, unfortunately, as the history of nations shows, righteousness will not protect a nation from attack unless other nations are likewise exalted by righteousness.

The progress of international relationship has been, first, each nation stood alone and protected itself as best it could by the might of its arms. Then followed the system of the "balance of power," which was initiated after the Napoleonic Wars at the Vienna Congress of 1815, and extended by the Berlin Congress of 1878, following the Turko-Russian War. This system gradually disintegrated by the leading nations dividing themselves into two groups under a dual alliance, which developed into a Triple Entente on the one side and a Triple Alliance on the other. By the conflict between these two groups the present world-war has broken out.

So in turn all of these international systems have broken down, and with this cataclysm international obligations and the well-established principles of international law have been violated and torn asunder as scraps of paper, as illustrated by the tragic fate of Belgium, the sinking of neutral vessels and the ruthless destruction of the lives of neutrals and non-combatants on merchant vessels.

This war has shown that all of these past guarantees and international machinery for keeping peace lacked in power and in durability. There must, therefore, be a reconstruction of international relationship so as to strengthen the guarantees for peace. As universally conceded, and as past experience demonstrates, this can only be done by placing the might of all nations as guardians of the rights of each. Might without justice develops into tyranny, and justice without might is incompetent. Might and justice can alone secure peace with justice. The law of nations can then be made to conform to the eternal laws of justice and humanity, irrespective of national boundaries, upheld by the united might of the nations leagued together under the majesty of the law, with their united power pledged to support it. (Applause.)

The Conference then adjourned until evening.

Fourth Session

Thursday, May 20, 1915, 8 p. m.

The CHAIRMAN: The topic for this evening is "The Problem of Armaments," and we shall have the good fortune of having it discussed first by DR. THEODORE WOOLSEY, formerly Professor of International Law, Yale University. He bears a name which has been linked with the subject of international law in this country for many years. (Applause.)

WAR AND DISARMAMENT

ADDRESS BY THEODORE S. WOOLSEY, LL.D.

A great war, arousing the conscience, the deepest sensibilities of the whole world, raises questions which in normal times the easy-going world is content to let alone. Is war necessary? Is it of moral value as the truculent school of historians and philosophers seems to believe? If not, how can it be abolished? Can an armed league of states prevent war? Would disarmament prevent it? Is disarmament practicable or even thinkable? Do armaments make for peace as we are vociferously told? In default of force can states be made to keep faith? These and a dozen other problems of vital moment crowd upon the mind. If one cannot solve such questions, one can at least state and define some of them.

Let me begin with a truism—at least all but a small fraction of civilized man considers it so—war is not the greatest of evils. Peace at any price may be bought too dear. Independence should be defended: Capuan ease in place of resistance to wrong should be despised: the good faith, the honor of the state should be maintained. For such high purposes war may be the highest duty. Raze, ravage, overwhelm Belgium as the invader will, its struggle to maintain national good faith and national life will shine brighter than the strategy of Napoleon or the diplomacy of Bismarck. Notice, however, that if the invader had no arms, such sacrifices as Belgium's would not be necessary. Moreover, it is only when an evil war calls it forth, that a good war, i. e., an honest, justifiable war, can be conceived of. That the blindness of nationalism will usually lead the citizens of a state at war to believe that war to be just, is true. But that is because they *are* blind: thinking their cause just does not make it so. It may sanctify the action of individuals, but cannot override the opinion of the civilized

world, the verdict of history, as to the responsibility of governments.

Is war then of value in itself in its influence upon human character and national morality? This is an assertion often made. But for war and its ennobling self-sacrifice of ease and wealth and life itself, for an ideal, the world would sink into such effeminacy and slothful ease as to destroy its capacity for moral improvement. We may admit a certain force in such argument. But at best it is but a half truth to be confronted and outweighed by other truths. Have the wars of the Roman Empire, have the religious wars of the XVII Century, have the wars of Napoleon enhanced the moral standards of civilization? Have they not, on the contrary, drowned the lands beset by them in a sea of moral and social desolation? Where one man is ennobled by war, others are brutalized by it, for war too often means unrestrained force. Without being a pacifist, one can yet see the inevitable nature of war. Read the evidence gathered by the Carnegie Commission of Balkan war atrocities, or Zolas *Dèbâcle*, or picture the field of Solferino as the founder of the Red Cross saw it, or travel Belgium today and you see war as it is.

To burn, to slay, to ravish, to destroy, above all to hate—what is there ennobling about all this even if one serves his state and dies for it in the process? Moreover, if the self-sacrifice involved in war perfects the individual combatant, yet if the same fact of war brings untold misery upon countless non-combatants, such a benefiting at such cost is the most supreme selfishness.

This much is said to show that relatively the possible gain in character from war is far less than the probable loss in character. Not only so, but there is in the “ennobled by war” idea something fallacious, for it implies that no other kind of service can be equally beneficent. There is an analogous case—the risk and suffering of a woman in childbirth. Upon her readiness for sacrifice, the family ideal is founded, and through the family the state. Now suppose that through better medical knowledge, through “twilight sleep,” or other method, the risk and suffering of the mother are entirely obviated, are there not other kinds of sacrifices on her part for her child, of time and ease and pleasure, upon which family morality and family life can be founded? So in the case of the state: let disarmament make war impossible or judicial decision replace it, and surely the individual can find plenty of ways to serve his day and generation without reward and at heavy sacrifice. The war sacrifice runs to meet a man with blare of trumpet: the peaceful sacrifice, too prosaic or too remote to be spectacular, has to be sought for. But it is none the less ennobling. Read William James’ illuminating essay, “The Moral Equivalent for War,” on this point.

A biological argument for the necessity of war is less often ad-

vanced, that unrestricted growth of population will press too closely upon the world's food supply; hence the mortality of war is to be welcomed. The answer, I think, is twofold. First, it is illogical to eliminate the noblest, or at least the strongest, to leave more food for weaklings. Not that way does the world's betterment lie. And second, if the premise were sound, the conclusion would be not that destructive and costly war should be relied upon as the agent of depopulation, but that the state should frankly and cheaply kill its useless, non-productive citizens. Or, if this shocks one's sensibilities, at least one should let plague, pestilence and famine, unrestricted by medical science, do the work of war.

These considerations are adduced to refute the rather widespread, perhaps growing, view that war is a good thing in itself, is an agency which for one reason or another is to be looked upon as a necessity of moral life and growth. Without stopping to argue this fully, I venture to assume that the better opinion is that war is an evil, even though occasionally justifiable and necessary. If so, the mind of the civilized world should be concentrated upon the problem of preventing this evil. For if you can prevent a bad war (i. e. an aggressive, unjust war), then you also put an end to all war, because the just, defensive war would never be needed.

Here comes in the argument for disarmament. Abolish conscription and reduce all standing armies to a policing basis, say one-tenth of one per cent of the population of a state, and you do away also with the military caste, for officers with no men to command would be ridiculous and therefore unthinkable. You turn thus the Samurai, the gentry, into productive channels. Destroy all arms, big and little, not needed for national policing, without hope of replacement, and you remove the profits of militarism—a potent source of war. With no troops and no weapons, war is next to impossible. Let me advert here to the "armament for peace" fallacy. If A. has $x + y$ arms and his rival B. only x arms, it may be that B. should add y, to his equipment to hold his own. But if A. has no arms then B. needs none. Armament for peace really means armament for self-defense, that is for war; if there can be no aggression, no self-defense is needed. If my truculent neighbor does not carry a pistol, I need not, for he cannot shoot me. The fallacy lies in picturing a world of states of equal population, but unequal armament, which of course does not and cannot exist, when one should picture a world disarmed. Armed, a state will eventually fight. If the United States had an army, whether paid or conscripted, commensurate with its population and wealth, it would justly be an object of suspicion to its neighbors, who, individually weaker, would try by union to be equal to it. Eventually the question whether they were as strong would be fought out. It is so on the continent of Europe today. Armament for peace does not bring peace; it brings Armageddon.

But would the degree of disarmament, here briefly pictured, abolish international war! We must consider two classes of objection.

One is this. War is the result of a state of mind. To avoid war you must first alter the mind intent upon war. The mechanical device of removing the facilities for war, before the war spirit demands such action, is illogical and will be futile because it emphasizes administrative and legal agencies when it should lay stress upon spiritual agencies. You go to work wrong end first.

I think this objection fails to take account of the influence upon mind and spirit which bodily environment exerts. Given laws, usages, policies, ideals, all wrapped up in the conception of a whole nation trained to arms, listening for the word to mobilize, and you will never develop the international mind which throws armaments overboard. To insist upon that mind as a prerequisite is therefore never to get it at all. The handicap is too great. Abolition of armaments might bring the peace-loving mind, but not the reverse.

The other class of objectors, to the working value of disarmament, insists that nations with hostile interests will occasionally fight notwithstanding all hindrances. If all weapons were sunk in the bottom of the sea, they would fight with sticks and stones and pitchforks. Moreover, a nucleus of armed force ever so small, in the hands of a great leader, could be made effective for aggressive war. Thus the very paucity of defensive force would give the ambitious, ingenious patriot his opportunity, and wars, though differing perhaps in intensity and kind, would be more frequent than before.

Whatever might happen to a state at war with itself, as in the case of our Civil War or the French Revolution, such prophecies, applied to aggressive war, do not seem to me to be serious. The broken heads of a Donnybrook Fair do not altar boundary lines. Organization, efficiency, the nation in arms, these are what war has come to mean. Without them you could get, at the utmost, but an inconclusive disorderly mêlée. (Imagine the undergraduate bodies of two universities, backing their football teams on the gridiron *vi et armis*, and you get a not unfair picture of what untrained, unarmed levees would amount to.) Or, if time is given for proper training and arming, nations have time to cool off.

Is the hope of world-wide disarmament impracticable idealism, a counsel of perfection? Perhaps so. It may be improbable, but it is not unthinkable. And it is to speculate as to its possibility in the present world crisis, that these lines are written.

If war ends with German triumph, disarmament is impossible, for a philosophy bound up in militarism will have triumphed also. Then truly must the rest of the world arm itself and try conclusions over again. But if Germany, and what she stands for,

is overthrown, there comes the question of the future. How can peace in the future be safeguarded? There are two possible ways. One is to weaken Germany and her allies; the other to disarm Europe. The first course, granting that the situation permits, is sufficiently obvious. Bereft of Alsace-Lorraine, of German Poland, perhaps of Schleswig-Holstein and East Prussia, of colonies and war harbors, Germany would be weakened to the point of harmlessness, and an indemnity, such as she would gladly have imposed upon France and England, might complete her discomfiture. To all of this, she has laid herself open, "for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword." But a merely weaker Germany will be a revengeful Germany, seeking henceforth new combinations which will hardly make for the peace of Europe. And, too, a weaker Germany means stronger neighbors who may entertain ambitious, unhallowed plans of their own.

Consider now the second course. In the present war both parties have very warmly disclaimed aggressiveness; both acted purely on the defensive; war was forced upon each by the other; each desired only to be let alone. So they have said. Why not take them at their word, and devise such terms of peace as will make future war improbable? This means the abolition of conscription; it means disarmament, in other words the surrender of aggressive facilities, retaining a standing army only calculated for the maintenance of domestic order. As a guarantee of good faith, this disarmament should include the destruction of all reserves of small arms except those adapted for sporting purposes, and the prohibition of their further manufacture. Similarly all armored ships should be scrapped, submarines destroyed, war balloons forbidden, only so many armed cruisers permitted to each state as are necessary to police the seas, a certain percentage of its ocean going tonnage.

Let me repeat that this tremendously drastic change in world usage is based upon the following convictions: (1) That war in itself is on the whole an evil. (2) That armaments by land or sea are unnecessary except to resist attack. (3) That if states disarm there can be no attack. (4) That if states are armed they will continue to fight, arbitral or judicial systems notwithstanding.

I note at this point that disarmament does not necessarily mean the perpetuation of the political *status quo*, but that political changes instead of being the result of war would be brought about by plebiscite. If a chastened and liberalized Germany, for instance, showed the same remarkable efficiency in industrial and commercial lines as she has shown in the past and, at the same time, under a really constitutional monarch, exhibited such excellence of government as to appeal to her neighbors' self-interest, they, disregarding nationality, might cast in their lot with hers. A Germany thus aggrandized would be great indeed, and the

method of her growth would be impeccable. (Applause.) Thus apart from the very considerable cementing power of dynastic attachment and racial ties, a state must, under this new order, deserve the allegiance of its subject parts to retain them.

An expression of the popular will might even be advisable in that readjustment of boundaries which will follow this war. For to annex a conquered but unwilling people is to incorporate an alien, antagonistic, disintegrating element into a state otherwise homogeneous. That is the weakness of Austria today. After 1864, Schleswig and Holstein were taken over by Prussia, subject to a plebiscite which should determine their sovereign in accord with their own wishes. That vote has never been permitted: it should be one of the conditions of peace. Alsace and Lorraine should be permitted to say whether they wish to become French again. Bosnia and Herzegovina should choose between an Austrian and a Servian crown. And German Poland with the Baltic province to the north should have similar rights; that is, if a permanent settlement is desired. The case of Constantinople is not so clear.

Now in order to judge of the possibility of such an overthrow of all past ideals, let us return to the premise of German defeat upon which this speculation is based. We assume in the belligerent states a condition of great exhaustion tending to make the idea of war abhorrent to all. We assume such a staggering burden of debt as will handicap future industry if military expenditure goes on as before. We assume such a contrast between belligerent and fortunate neutral as will tend to vast emigration to escape taxation and militarism. We assume a growth in European democracy whose influence is pacific. None of these assumptions is unreasonable. All of them make for lasting peace and relief from the burden of armaments. But to impose disarmament upon one's enemies and continue armed one's self is self-deception and self-debauchery. No nation could endure such a temptation; there must be a self-denying ordinance, universality of disarmament, to make it effective. Could the allies rise to such a height of altruism? Could their self-interest exhibit such enlightenment? Examine the British temper. Often since war began, have British writers and speakers declared that war must be waged until the downfall of militarism. Wellington after Waterloo* "advised disarmament to reduce taxation." Napoleon III†, in 1849, Disraeli, in 1861, desired a reduction in naval expenditure, France and England to reduce proportionally. Within two years Churchill has offered Germany a Naval Holiday. The British navy exists primarily to ensure England's food supply. If that can be otherwise assured, its war strength is an extravagance and a weakness.

*Trevelyan, Life of John Bright, p. 188. †p. 293.

Great Britain has always set her face against conscription. Her army in peace is scarcely larger than the limit suggested. She has everything to gain and nothing to lose by general disarmament on land and sea.

Republican France also is like-minded. Her people chafe at conscription. With Alsace and Lorraine restored to her, all she wishes is to be let alone. She has no other territorial ambitions. And Russia! Here we are on uncertain ground; yet her loyal acceptance of the disarmament principle is vital to it. But at least we recall that the Czar called the Hague Conference of 1899, out of a clear sky: "Qui serait chargée de rechercher les moyens les plus efficaces pour assurer aux peuples une paix durable et mettre un terme au développement progressif des armements militaires." To the same Romanoff idealism, are due the efforts to humanize war by the St. Petersburg and Brussels conferences. With an enlarged Baltic littoral and Constantinople, her legitimate ambitions would be realized. A democracy which makes for peace seems to be gaining amongst her people. Her debt is heavy, her losses great, her internal problems pressing enough to tax all her energies. These various considerations may not be convincing, but is not the trial worth while?

Japan's probable attitude toward disarmament will be of interest to ourselves. A movement in the interests of civilization, labelled "progress," and advocated by her allies, is certain to appeal to Japan. Her taxes are a severe burden, her war debt large, her country far from rich, her resources unequal to aggressive war on a large scale, her temper pacific unless goaded by insult or injury. Incroachment upon her treaty rights by our Pacific coast is the only argument against her acceptance of the disarmament idea if the other great states favor it. And if the United States cannot find a way of constraining the individual states to observe national treaty obligations, it is unworthy to live as a nation. (Applause.) Belgium would be glad to preserve its neutrality henceforth unassailed, while Servia, thrice at war within three years, can hardly oppose her allies' decision. So much for the belligerents. Of the neutrals, few have armies capable of large aggressive warfare; nearly all have pacific ideals; the United States army is a mere gendarme body; only Roumania and Italy need to be dealt with. Given the power to impose disarmament upon the German allied hosts, and no other state would object so far as its interest came in question. France and England, if Russia joined them could carry through even so revolutionary a project as this. In default of it, the whole military world must continue to arm itself and face bankruptcy.

Once begun, the growing democracy of the world would see that the program was loyally adhered to.

There remain two questions to be briefly argued, and they are

vitally connected. First: Would the plan outlined be as effective as the familiar league of states, with an international court and troops in each state to enforce unitedly the court's judgment? Second: In default of force how could states be made to keep faith, to observe their disarmament obligation, for example?

With the exception of Immanuel Kant, all the authors of perpetual peace plans, from the *Grand Dessein* of Henri IV. down, have put into their schemes the two principles of a court of some kind to decide international disputes, and an army drawn from the league units to enforce that court's judgment. A customary and valid objection to the latter feature is that it tends to the very thing sought to be avoided; namely, armed conflict, only the embroilment would be not localized but general. Yet the league feature, the idea of a number of civilized states acting together to maintain international law and the sanctity of treaty obligation is clearly valuable. How then is this dilemma to be avoided! Using troops to enforce the judgments and the obligations of league members you have occasional war; without troops you lack any enforcement. Given armaments, will you not run the risk of combinations which will break up the league, the axiom so often insisted on being that if states have drilled troops and arms, sufficient for aggressive purposes, they will occasionally use them?

In view of this dilemma, my suggestion is to retain the league idea, employing for restraint and punishment not force but non-intercourse.

That an international boycott would bring a state to terms under most circumstances is beyond question. Think what it implies—foreign markets, food, mail, news, travel, all cut off! A civilized state does not become a hermit nation without a shock, and besides, the material loss is the ignominy of being judged a criminal by its peers. But here is the difficulty. The neighbors of the wrongdoer will suffer as well, and only a high sense of responsibility will lead one state to carry out a league judgment and boycott another to its own detriment. Would we do without coffee to bring Brazil to terms at the orders of an international league, or without dye stuffs to force Germany to keep faith with Russia? It hardly sounds probable, and yet if the same league were to enforce the same judgment by arms, the same non-intercourse would result with the evils of war superadded. If a non-intercourse penalty were adopted and loyally enforced but once, it is unlikely that it would again be needed. To have it in reserve would be enough. For while the result of a war would be uncertain and the recalcitrant state might gain by it, the result of an international boycott must be certain loss.

In order to familiarize the mind with the broad principle of disarmament and non-intercourse as a substitute penalty instead of war, but little has been attempted in the way of detail. Details

would attract criticism and distract the mind from the fundamental thought. This thought is that if aggressive war is made physically impossible without long, fresh preparation, such a revolutionary change is made in the world's conduct of its affairs as to compel an entire readjustment of its ideals, its ambitions, its methods. If the world could once believe in this possibility, I really am inclined to think that it would demand it to be made a reality. But clearly the line of least resistance will be to depend as little as possible upon any kind of constraint. Hence I would limit the jurisdiction of an International League to the judging of violations of the disarmament agreement. All individual difficulties between states could safely be left to their diplomacy, in arbitration or compromise form, because a settlement by war would be no longer a possibility. And if a state broke its treaty obligations, other states would refuse credit to anything it might offer in the future. Perhaps in time a real international court might grow up if it proved to be needed. But deprived of a recourse to force, diplomacy would find its effective field greatly enlarged. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: The next subject is "The Problem of National Defense." It will be discussed by a man concerning whom, if I were to say all I feel, although I might not transgress the bounds of truth and indeed of strict moderation, I might seem to transgress the bounds of propriety; a model public servant who conducts the affairs of his high office with singular intelligence and efficiency and with a view solely to the public interest—the Hon. LINDLEY M. GARRISON, Secretary of War. (Applause.)

THE PROBLEM OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

ADDRESS BY HON. LINDLEY M. GARRISON*

The problem of national defense—how shall we solve it? That, of course, depends upon what we consider the problem itself to be. The great difficulty at the present time arises out of a failure to agree as to its fundamental factors, which failure is largely due to inattention and neglect.

I shall endeavor to consider the matter from the standpoint of reason and common sense, with a view of determining whether all sensible people should not be in agreement upon this most important subject.

Can there be any dispute whatever as to the important, vital nature of the subject? It does not seem possible that there can be. One of the first truths that reaches our developing conscious-

*Mr. Garrison spoke during the session of Thursday morning, but his address is printed here because of its relation to the topic of the session.—ED.

ness, when children, is that self-preservation is the first law of nature; and one of the earliest teachings that reaches our intelligence is that all that a man hath will he give for his life. Without these two active, vitalizing principles, human nature and nature outside of man would long since have perished from the earth.

We are therefore able to lay down as the first and indisputable premise that self-preservation is the first law of a nation. Self-preservation, in the sense in which we are using it, means preservation of the vital essence from assaults from without as well as from within. The body politic, like the individual body, to withstand such assaults must be sane, just, righteous, self-respecting and courageous. It must have virtue—in the fine, inspiring meaning of that word in its Latin original. The nation, like the individual, must constantly exercise these necessary elements of its well-being if it hopes to be preserved and to grow rather than to disintegrate and deteriorate.

All human life, from the cradle to the grave, from the earliest pages of recorded history to this minute, is a series of conflicts and struggles,—spiritual, mental and physical conflicts and struggles. Nothing worth while is obtained or retained without such. There is a constant and never-ending conflict in the spiritual and in the physical spheres between the forces which we call evil and those we call righteous. Nations, like individuals, survive or perish as they have prepared themselves to withstand the shock and effects of these conflicts. If spirituality or righteousness had already triumphed in the world, and all men saw eye to eye and none differed as to proper conduct, the struggle of life would be over and human existence would enter upon some other phase of being. Until that time comes, we must deal with men as we find them and with facts as they are. We can only secure preservation by deserving it.

This brings us to our second seemingly indisputable premise—that a nation to deserve preservation must be sane, just, righteous, self-respecting and courageous. Since it only obtained those virtues by conflict of one sort or another, it can only retain them and thus insure its own preservation by being prepared in every proper way to defend them from the inevitable assaults which will be made against them. Some of the deadliest of such assaults are not physical in their nature, and their variety is infinite; but we now are dealing only with those of a physical nature.

It would seem as if, having ascertained the premises, we need devote no further time thereto, but could immediately proceed to determine the nature, character and extent of the self-defensive measures to be taken. This would be so were it not for the fact previously adverted to, that, plain and simple as these considerations seem to be, and easy to grasp as they apparently are, many people refuse to give attention to them, and others dispute them.

It is this situation which constitutes the real problem of national defense,—how to get the people of this country to look the facts squarely in the face, deal with the situation as it actually exists, and definitely make up their minds as to how it shall be handled.

However difficult it may be to work out the practical details, it will be immeasurably easier when the public opinion and sentiment of this country has crystallized, appreciates the situation and determines to cooperate in dealing with it.

At first blush, it seems amazing that there could be widespread inattention on the part of our people to this matter which so vitally and intimately concerns them, and quite as amazing that there could be disagreement as to certain fundamental considerations, and confusion of thought and judgment with respect to them. There is, however, just such inattention, resulting in neglect of the subject, and just such confusion of thought and division of counsel, and we must face that situation and deal with it as it is. Until most of us think alike on this subject, there is no hope of a proper settlement of it.

Since the inattention and neglect of the subject, the confusion of thought with respect to it, and what I am firmly convinced are the mistaken views concerning it, are largely compounded of the same things and result largely from the same causes, they can receive simultaneous consideration.

Let us take up the various things which have caused the inattention and neglect, and those which obscure the issue and deflect and divert public opinion from a clear vision of it. Let us look open-eyed and open-minded upon these things with the courage of manhood, and let there be no shrinking or turning aside until we have seen through and thought through this thing to the very end.

We must recognize at the outset that the subject-matter is one for which it is difficult to get proper consideration. So many things are favorable to neglect of or opposition to it.

The early settlers of this country brought with them an inveterate hatred of tyranny and oppression and all things connected therewith,—and military force was closely connected therewith. Monarchies and oligarchies always had trained armies at hand and could even hire them in time of need, and they used them not only against alien populations but often against their own people, and always to support the king and the nobles against the commons. It was inevitable that out of such circumstances a prejudice should grow; and although with us at this time it is without foundation, without reason, and although we may not be conscious of it, it still survives and persists. This prejudice cannot survive if brought forth and subjected to the light of reason and of common sense. Here, now, in this country, with the form of our government and the character of our people, there is no shred of founda-

tion for any fear that military force will impinge in the slightest degree upon the civil authority, or be used by the civil authorities, under whose command it is, to tyrannize over or oppress the people.

Another controlling factor in turning people aside from the proper consideration of this subject arises out of their abhorrence or repulsion from what it connotes. To think of military precautions and military preparations brings to the mind warfare with all its horrors. Every humane and kindly instinct within us shrinks from the contemplation of the evils attendant upon war. We hate to think of the sentiments aroused by war, the deeds committed, and the woe and wastefulness which ensue. Were it possible to abolish these evils by shrinking from the contemplation thereof, that remedy would long since have been effectually applied. Right-thinking people the world over have for centuries deprecated war and its evils; and if these evils could have been abolished by the simple process of refusing to think of them, that process would by this time have had world-wide application. Sensible people, however, realize the impossibility of so simple and easy a solution of this as of other similar distressing conditions of individual and national life.

No; turning aside won't do—it not only will not prevent the calamity, but will also serve to make its effects more disastrous if and when it does come. If we would respect ourselves and deserve the respect of others, and have that courage without which man is useless, we must not shrink from or shirk our problem because of any of its repellent or repulsive features.

A great deal of inattention, and considerable opposition, is based upon the statement and belief that if a nation takes military precautions and makes military preparation, it invites what it seeks to prevent or repel. This contention does not seem to have any foundation in reason or in fact. It certainly is not so in any other like situation, either in our spiritual or our physical life. Those who entertain and give expression to this feeling would be shocked, I am sure, if a similar attitude to that which they have in this matter were applied to other like matters. Does the individual invite evil by preparing himself to withstand the assaults of temptation? Does the citizen invite the conflagration by preparing a force to extinguish and minimize the results of fire? Do men invite ill health by taking precautions to preserve the soundness of their bodies and by having a force of trained physicians to prevent and minimize the disastrous consequences of disease? Does a body of scientific sanitarians, trained and ready to cope with epidemics, invite the latter or make them more likely to come upon us? Do business men who make wise disposition of their means against the possibility of panic, invite the latter and make it more likely to occur? Surely none of these things

are so, and just as surely there is no rational basis for believing that a nation which takes proper military precautions and makes proper military preparations is inviting war.

They, however, who deprecate the taking of these precautions and the making of these preparations, urge still further opposition somewhat akin to that just disposed of. They say: "If you are strong enough to fight, you are more likely to fight," or, stated in the negative, "If your nation is not prepared for war, your nation will be less likely to be involved in war."

To be perfectly frank, I cannot perceive the slightest basis in reason or fact for such a contention; viewing it solely from the negative side, without now adverting to the affirmative side, which this position absolutely neglects.

Whereabouts in the realms of spiritual or physical life do those who urge this contention find any basis for its soundness. Do the things which we call evil refrain from assaulting the weak, the flabby and the feeble? In the physical sphere, where and when has feebleness and flabbiness and weakness acted as a shield and a buckler? Where in the history of nations do we find the strong staying its hand because of the feebleness of its rival? The pages of history literally abound with instances to the contrary. Civilizations which in their day reached the highest pinnacles of mental, spiritual and physical life, have disappeared from the face of the earth, and their names are almost forgotten by men, because they became feeble and flabby and were toppled over by the strong. Inanimate nature and human nature progress by the survival of the fittest, and they who are weak and flabby are not fit. If by this suggestion those who entertain it mean, as they would seem to mean, that the strong are more likely to use their strength than the weak, and that therefore a strong nation is more likely to go to war than a weak nation, let them frankly say so and be prepared to answer the obvious question which then arises. That question is how do you justify your trust that other nations which are strong will refrain from misusing their strength against us, if you fear that we, if strong, would misuse our strength against other nations? There is no basis for any such unjust animadversion against our nation and our people. There is no better test of real strength than self-control. If we cannot trust our own strength, and cannot trust ourselves to control our strength, and cannot trust ourselves not to misuse our strength, how much reliance should we, as sensible men, place upon the conduct of other nations which are strong? (Applause.)

No; that idea cannot find permanent lodgment in any reasoning mind. If the only reason that we should not prepare such strength as may be necessary to protect ourselves is because of a fear that we may be tempted to misuse it and may in fact misuse it, it were better to run that risk than the risk of feebleness and weak-

ness against the strength of others which is just as likely, on this theory, of being misused against us.

As above adverted to, we have been viewing this latest objection solely on its negative side; but upon its positive side there is just as much against it, and more, which needs consideration. The Hebrew Scriptures tell us that righteousness exalteth a nation. Whether justly or not, we firmly believe that we are a righteous nation; that is, that our intentions are toward the right. We certainly intend no marauding aggression, and entertain no covetousness, against that which belongs to others. But righteousness is not universal either in the spiritual, the individual, the community, the national or the international sphere. Righteousness is not self-executing. If it is to prevail, the unrighteous must be overthrown; and wherever injustice and unrighteousness take up arms to impose their will upon the just and the righteous, the latter must be prepared to withstand the assault and to prevail, if they are to survive as moral forces in the world.

Peace—yes; peace based upon righteousness. (Applause.) But in both the spiritual and the personal and community life, there will always be conflict of one sort or another so long as there exists the two contending forces of righteousness and unrighteousness.

The majority of mankind, so far as history shows us, have always been righteous. A strong minority from time to time have overthrown them and triumphed. But such conquests are not lasting, and the conflict goes on and on. In the spiritual realm, the church militant is engaged in constant warfare against the forces of evil. In our civil life, we endeavor to prepare the individual citizen to withstand the assaults of temptation and to live righteously, and we prepare physical force and use it against those whose unrighteous conduct disturbs the peace of the just and righteous. Courts, police, sheriffs and military forces are constantly invoked in the aid of right and the suppression of wrong. Human government without force is unthinkable until that day when unrighteousness is abolished from the earth and mankind has ceased to be subject to the present forces of inanimate and animate nature. Until that day comes, however, mankind must fortify and strengthen himself to withstand the assaults which he must inevitably expect, both spiritual and physical; and this is of course equally true with mankind gathered into nations and a like duty is enjoined upon the nation.

Some find justification in neglect and inattention upon the assumption that, for one reason or another (or, more truly stated, for no reason), war will never come to this nation. Here again it seems difficult to find a shred of foundation for such a belief. Certainly I cannot find any assurance which vindicates such a judgment. Our geographical position undoubtedly minimizes

the danger of invasion of our continental possessions. Our lack of aggressive intention and our righteous intentions minimize the sources and causes of war. But we ourselves have frequently been at war; our isolation has not as a fact assured our freedom from conflict; and other nations relatively as isolated have been involved in war; and no sound reason can be adduced which would justify a sane man in concluding that isolation alone spells safety. Furthermore, our isolation is geographical only. No nation dwells unto itself alone. Modern conditions have caused the interests of nations to be as corelated as those of families who have inter-married. The interests of many of the large nations today are inextricably interwoven with those of some or all of the others.

Nor can sure reliance be placed upon our lack of aggressive intention, our freedom from covetousness, or our tendency toward righteousness. The conflicts and struggles in the spiritual and the physical spheres are not always or often between the unrighteous and the unrighteous, or between the covetous. Evil preys upon virtue, the unjust upon the just, and the covetous upon those whose possessions they covet.

Self-respect, without which man is an invertebrate animal, requires that we should be prepared to protect that which we cherish, which not only includes our material possessions, but that intangible something which makes us a distinctive nation in the eyes of the world. Some one has very finely said that it does not matter so much what happens as the courage with which you face it; and very often the consequences of conflict, abhorrent as many of its incidents are, have brought forth some fine, hitherto undeveloped strain in a people and made them worthier to contribute to the progress of civilization.

No; we cannot justify neglect on this score; we cannot rest assurance upon righteous intention, or lack of bad motives, or possession of good motives, or isolation.

No one surely would suggest that we should rest upon the divinations of a seer or the oracles of prophets. However highly developed we may feel justified in assuming our development to be, we are surely advised of certain limitations. We know that the vision of the seer has not been bestowed upon mankind, and that the gift of prophecy has been withheld from us. But we have eyes to see, minds to comprehend, reasoning faculties to sift and ponder, and judgment to conclude and decide. If we burn out from ourselves, as we should in this connection, like dross is burned from gold, every prejudice, and view the facts with open eyes and open mind, we have been equipped with the faculties which enable us to reach wise conclusions. We have all the pages of history and all the wisdom of the ages and all the lessons of the present from which to form our judgment; and if we properly apprehend and comprehend, our judgment will be sound and our procedure safe.

Another obstacle to the proper consideration of the subject is potent, though perhaps in many cases unconscious. It is the question of expense or cost. Men set aside for military service, while so serving, and money spent for military material, are assumed to be wasted; and this consideration causes many to turn aside from a further consideration of the subject.

It goes without saying, of course, that unnecessary expenditure in any line is waste; but it is equally true that a necessary expense, whatever the tangible return therefrom may be, is not waste.

In a general way, most governmental expenditures produce no tangible profit; they are not like the expenditure of the individual citizen that produces something that he sees and can handle or can identify and assess its value. Governmental expenditures are, so to say, overhead charges which the community contributes from the pockets of all so that each, by reason of such expenditures having been made and the result thereof, may pursue his daily vocation with its attendant profit. The expense and cost of government is largely composed of maintaining executives, courts and legislatures, and those who guard the life and the property and the health of the citizen. There is no identifiable return for such expenditures; the citizen cannot carry an item on his books which represents the return to him therefrom. But even slight consideration will convince the citizen that every governmental expense is justified which is found necessary to provide those things which government must provide.

Among those things which the national government must provide, among those things which the founders of our Republic decreed should be provided by the national government, is the common defense. Whatever, therefore, is necessary to provide for the common defense, must be done at whatever proper cost. The individual citizen surely does not feel, in those aspects of this matter which come most closely home to him, that such expenses are unwarranted. He cheerfully sees the public money devoted to the salaries of executives that execute the laws and enforce the right as against the wrong, to courts that adjust the disputes between the community and the individual and between individuals, and that determine the right and make it effective; to officers of justice, whether police or sheriffs or organized military force, which protect the life and the property of the citizen and withstand the assaults of those who would overthrow public order and good government; to those who are trained and equipped to fight fires and to fight disease and to prevent epidemics and to minimize their consequences if, notwithstanding their precautions and skill, they overtake us. Increasingly, in all these lines, the public are insisting upon further and further progress, which necessarily is attended with more and more expense.

There need be no fear, therefore, that the people will shrink

from any proper expense attendant upon proper measures of common defense after a common agreement has been reached.

There is one other potent factor making for neglect and inattention to the present consideration and settlement of this great subject, and that is one in which you here at this place in this association have peculiar interest. Do not misunderstand me in what I am about to say; I do not attribute any thoughtless consideration to you or your associates. I refer to those who refuse present consideration of existing conditions because of a belief or hope that by some international agreement, new conditions will obtain and new forces be brought into play. I can and do entirely sympathize with every sane and sensible movement that tends to abolish conflict and to insure peace; but I am utterly out of sympathy with the idea that we should neglect or postpone consideration of what is now the existing condition, because of a hope or belief or even conviction that it may be radically altered in the future. Every right-thinking man sympathizes with every aspiration for peace. It may be possible to establish an international tribunal, to limit the armament of nations, to provide means by which the decrees of the international tribunal can be made effective by forces drawn from its constituent nations, and that a long step forward may be made toward abolishing physical conflict between nations. I am firmly convinced that no nation in the world has a more sincere and active desire to this end than has our nation. If by anything that I could do or leave undone I could contribute to this end, I should welcome the opportunity thus afforded. This, I am sure, is the sentiment of the people of our nation.

But such a great epochal event in the world of nations can only be brought about by those who are strong, courageous, self-respecting and righteous; by those who look facts fearlessly in the face and act accordingly; by those whose conduct is guided by reason and judgment. And if we are a nation composed of people possessing the characteristics just mentioned and actuated by the motives just referred to, then we will fearlessly and courageously take up the present problem, which it is our duty to determine, and will determine it properly and be prepared in the proper way and with the proper spirit for what may come hereafter. No sensible mind can believe that we will be more forceful in attaining our aspirations for peace because of an open exhibition of feebleness and weakness in the solving of existing problems. The voice which is firm and clear, which is heard and heeded, proceeds from the strong, sound, virile man pledged in word and in deed to righteousness. Those who hope to be in the van of a great movement to alter the current of human history and establish a new era must show themselves to be courageous and wise and self-respecting in the way they have handled the duties enjoined upon them in

their national life. Hideous as is the face of war, abhorrent as are the evils consequent upon it, its results in the long run cannot be so fatal to a nation as would be the failure of that nation to courageously and fearlessly ascertain its duty and do it. The former, terrible as they are, are evanescent and can be repaired; the latter eat into and consume the very sources of virtue and destroy the national life at its core.

Let us, therefore, take this matter up in the proper spirit, and submit those feelings which stand in the way of its proper consideration to the analysis and valuing of reason and common sense. Let us see, as I have attempted to show you, that our duty lies plain before us and that there is no substance or worth in the obstacles which obscure the vision and obstruct the path. Let us align our vision and our courage and our judgment and keep them at work until we reach a common agreement. It can only be settled in that way, and it must be settled in that way. It is a subject which concerns the nation vitally, and intimately concerns each citizen. It not only involves the integrity of the nation and the safety of the citizen and what he holds dear, but the safety of our institutions and of those who are to come after us. We must brush aside all attempts to make it the opportunity for personal advantage or advancement, and must absolutely exclude any political partizanship. This is the people's problem; the solution rests with us. If we have the proper stamina, we will face it and settle it; if we have not, that condemnation, old as the book of Genesis, will echo in our ears, "Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel."

I purposely refrain from discussing the policy which should be adopted and the details which must be carried out to make that policy effective. Difficult as it will be to properly do these things, such difficulties are immeasurably increased by a lack of a coherent public opinion, and will be immeasurably lightened when public opinion has crystallized and is put in motion. If the individual citizen can be brought to realize his responsibility in this connection and will banish prejudice, refuse to be diverted by sentiment unfounded on facts, and will not shrink or shirk his duty as he thus finds it, the rest of the task will be possible of accomplishment. Do not shrink from what you must consider; do not permit yourself to be diverted by terms of opprobrium. Militarism is used as a term of reproach to divert proper consideration of what *must* be considered, if the subject is to be considered at all. Militarism, in the sense of having the military force interfere in the slightest with the conduct of our government by our civil authorities, is not conceivable in this country, is not urged by any one, and is not feared even by those who use the word in that sense, so as to prevent proper consideration and to confuse the public mind. Militarism, in the sense of the absolute necessity

of proper military precautions and military preparations, is the very subject-matter for consideration; it is the imperative question for decision; and it needs stout hearts and sound minds to decide it. We are surely not so deluded as to believe that we can reach by intuition what others can only acquire by training and experience. We are surely not so sacrilegious or irreverent as to believe that Providence has unjustly discriminated in our favor and against the other peoples of the world. We surely will not admit that any vital national duty will be neglected and left undone because we shrink from the proper contemplation of it. We surely will not admit that we are unable to read history intelligently, to consider facts relevantly and to reach conclusions sensibly. We, as a nation, are exceptionally set apart only in one respect; namely, the freedom of our people under our institutions to develop and expand and make the most of themselves without fetters or restrictions. This was the great and momentous contribution of the founders of our Republic to the question of human government. It was epochal and of tremendous import. It means more to the future welfare of mankind than any other existing political fact. The institutions are the very Ark of the Covenant; and if we are worthy to possess them we must show that we cherish them and will protect and defend them. (Prolonged applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: We shall now have the pleasure of hearing from PRESIDENT JOHN GRIER HIBBEN, of Princeton University, on the subject, "Preparedness and Peace."

PREPAREDNESS AND PEACE

ADDRESS BY JOHN GRIER HIBBEN, PH.D.*

The proposition which I would urge upon your thoughtful and tolerant consideration that the policy of a wise preparedness of our military forces in the United States is not incompatible with the great peace movement which this gathering represents. I do not advocate preparedness for war, but a preparedness against war—a preparedness which in the event of the catastrophe of war itself will prevent the enormous initial sacrifice of human lives which has characterized every war in which the United States have been engaged throughout our past history.

It is to me a matter of serious concern that even the most extreme advocate of non-resistance at the particular time of this great world crisis should welcome the support and cooperation of those who may differ with them on the subject of national pre-

*Dr. Hibben's address was delivered during Wednesday morning's session, but is given a place here to preserve relevance of thought.—ED.

paredness, but who are quite as eager and enthusiastic to proclaim and maintain the cause of universal peace. I deplore the lack of tolerance on the part of certain pacifists in their obvious scorn of those who would temper zeal with wisdom in the effort to prepare against the possibility of war, while at the same time putting forth every effort to secure the blessings of a permanent peace. No cause is ever promoted by a spirit of Pharisaism, and I for one object to being regarded as viewing the subject from a less elevated moral plane because I believe that the policy of preparedness is a matter of pressing national duty. In this great world campaign to establish that universal moral order which is the sole guarantee of peace, no one should repudiate the convictions and efforts of those who with heart and soul seek the same end as himself.

There is no virtue in providing an inadequate defense of our land. There are only two logical positions to take in reference to this question. One is that a country such as ours should completely disarm and offer no defense whatsoever to any foe, and the other that it should plan wisely and systematically an adequate defense. I assume that there is no one at the present time so ignorant of the spirit of the American people that he would not be willing to admit the truth of the following proposition; namely, that if our country is drawn into any war, although against our will and against our desire we will fight to the finish for our national honor and integrity. It would be entirely futile even to discuss the question as to the advisability of our country, at the present time or in the near future, wiping out its army and navy and pursuing the policy of absolute non-resistance. Therefore, if we have an army and navy, which no doubt would be used in the time of a national emergency, what conceivable idea of moral obligation do we violate in insisting that the forces of such an army and navy should be efficient instead of inefficient, should be adequate instead of inadequate? No one, moreover, can deny that our present military equipment, particularly our army, has certain defects which it would seem to be a wise policy to remedy at once. It is well known that we have only 90,000 widely scattered, mobile troops available for defense, of which 60,000 are militia, and it would take thirty days after any enemy landed on our shores to concentrate the forces of the militia. Behind this army, we have no reserves to speak of, and a deplorable shortage of men and guns in our regular field artillery. We possess less than half of the needed military field batteries, and it would require three months training to make those which we have of any avail against the forces of an enemy. In the army reports, it is stated that it would be a year and a half after any foreign enemy landed on our shores before we could provide adequate field artillery, ammunition trains, and ammunition. In view of these facts, the dictates of

common sense certainly would suggest that we should prepare reasonably for an emergency which it might be necessary for us to meet by armed resistance. The only valid excuse, however, for failing to prepare adequately for such a possible emergency is the conviction that it would be wrong for us as a nation to take up arms in any event whatsoever. No one can be so blind regarding the significance of present conditions as to take the position that a grave national emergency is not at least a possibility. I am aware of the fact that there are many who would urge that there is no such thing as preparedness against war, but insist that the military preparedness of a nation gives occasion for war by provoking an aggressive military spirit. I do not believe this. Preparedness does not necessarily mean a nation in arms, or a nation inflamed by the false dreams of a militaristic destiny. This is conspicuously illustrated in the case of Switzerland. They are naturally a peace-loving people. They also love liberty and therefore have prepared themselves to defend their liberty against the world. They love peace, and therefore are prepared to fight that war may not cross their borders. They are in no sense a military nation and I believe that the establishment of a citizen reserve force such as that of Switzerland in no sense leads naturally or inevitably to militarism.

What *is* militarism? It is the madness of a nation. Militarism is not created by the army, but the nature and scope of the army is determined by the policy of militarism. Militarism is essentially a theory of the state. Where militarism exists, the government is a part of the army, instead of the army being a part of the government. With militarism, the idea of war dominates even the pursuits of peace; war becomes a public policy for the expansion of the country's territory and the development of its resources. Militarism is the internal control of the whole machinery of government in times of peace as well as in times of war. It means a military caste and all the pomp and circumstance of insolent power which thinks imperially and prosecutes the policies of an aggressive world domination. Its ethic is the maxim that the end justifies the means; its religion is the idea of a tribal God of battles whose favor is propitiated by the blood of its sons, sacrificed on the high altar of national glory and fame; its inspiration, the love of conquest, the greed of power, and the passion of hate. I insist that all of the traditions of our country are fundamentally opposed to this conception of government and of national destiny. Preparedness for defense on our part can never degenerate into military display and military insolence, so long as our people remain loyal to those ideas which throughout our history have fashioned and directed our national policy.

We cannot command peace merely by raising our voices and summoning it to be and to prevail. We must face the undeniable

reality of things as they are, and endeavor to think clearly and act sanely concerning the actual conditions, both present and future, of our national life. The lack of preparedness to meet any great national emergency which may prove a national calamity does not in itself create peace. It may only serve to intensify and prolong the horrors of war. We secure peace not by seeking it directly, or by invoking it, but by the endeavor to create and maintain those influences which make for peace. I am not in sympathy with the peace propaganda which is being prosecuted in many of our schools, so far at least as it endeavors to quicken the peace sentiment by impressing upon the minds of the young children the horrors or the economical losses of war. Such an appeal never makes any profound or permanent impression upon young minds. It is purely utilitarian, and there is something about youth which is impatient with the balancing of the profit and loss elements in any adventure of life. In my experience in dealing with young men through more than a quarter of a century, I know that there is only one kind of appeal which ever reaches their conviction and commands their resolution,—it is the appeal to their moral sense of right, of justice, of fair play, and of decent dealing, man with man, in all the relations of life. (Applause.)

In an effort to inaugurate an era of universal peace, therefore, we must begin by the endeavor to promote the universal recognition of the fundamental distinction between right and wrong, between good and evil. It should be the aim of the instruction in every school and college in the country "to make certain things impossible, and to make action against them instinctive, with an instinct, like a trained habit, that is above reason." Let us teach our youth that *righteousness* exalteth a nation, and that *sin* is a reproach to any people; that there is *one* law of righteousness for the nation and for the individual; that the obligation to recognize and respect treaty rights is as binding upon a people as contract obligations are binding upon individuals; that the claims of the weaker individual for just and even merciful consideration have no greater validity than those of a weaker nation; that there should be in the minds of every American youth the complete elimination of race prejudice, and in its stead the fostering of an enlarged sympathy with every child of humanity on the face of the whole earth; and withal an ever expanding conception of the being and nature of God, that He is the God not of our country alone, or of any race or any tribe, but the Lord of the world, and that no people are of such superior breed as to claim the monopoly of God. This is the true propaganda of peace! (Applause.)

The nations of the world will be prepared for international arbitration as soon as they have been schooled in realizing the significance of international obligation. It is reverence for law which begets the spirit of peace.

There are two fallacies whose operation in the minds of men tend to obstruct the progress of peace. I do not know whether to characterize them as fallacies of reason, or fallacies of inclination. The one comes to us out of the past, the other is the product of this present European war. The first concerns the idea of national sovereignty. It is expressed in the words, "There is no law above the state." No more damnable doctrine was ever uttered. It is the root of all militarism. This conception of the prerogative of the state is the greatest obstacle today to the consummation of the reign of universal peace. Above every sovereign state there is the immutable law of righteousness and the eternal decrees of God. It will be of little avail for us to depict the horrors of war and the blessings of peace unless we can instruct and inspire the youth of our land to

"Believe truth and justice draw
From founts of everlasting law."

The second fallacy is that this present terrible war has developed certain practices and usages which will revolutionize the accepted restrictions of international law so that hereafter all immemorial obligations of nation to nation in a state of war will be swept away. I am willing to admit that after the closing act of this great world tragedy, there will emerge a new international law, but I will not allow for a moment that the nations of the earth are capable of returning to a barbarous code of international relations. On the contrary, I am persuaded that international ethics will be placed on a higher and more secure plane than ever before.

It is the weakest kind of sentimentalism gone mad to imagine that the cause of peace is in the remotest degree advanced by teaching the children of the public schools to sing the doggrel rhyme beginning with the line, "I did not raise my boy to be a soldier." What does any parent know as to the destiny of his child? How can he possibly say that he did not raise his son for any purpose whatsoever? If he has reared him in the spirit of service and has inspired within him a passion for duty, it is certain that his child can never escape some service of honor and indeed may be nobly doomed to a life of sacrifice and the death of a hero. Two of our Princeton graduates went as medical missionaries to China years ago and were murdered in the Boxer uprising. Their parents might well have said they did not raise their sons to die this horrible death. It might be said quite as well by the parents of another of our Princeton graduates, Dr. Ethan Butler, who is fighting the typhus fever in Serbia, that they did not raise their son for this desperate adventure of service; or by the parents of Dr. Donnelly and Dr. Magruder, who have recently died at their post of duty in that same country and at the same work, that they did not raise their sons to be the victims of pestilential disease.

All, however, reared their sons to recognize the compelling truth that the call of duty is man's sovereign command.

This is not a question of mere academic interest. We as a nation are looking into a future that is dark and mysterious. In the high tension of international hate and international suspicion, the most insignificant accident may chance to precipitate for us a national catastrophe. And in the great emergency, if it should come, let us pay any price which can *buy* peace,—restraint of passion, long sufferance, sacrifice of material wealth or of every personal convenience and comfort. Let us sacrifice it all, everything which can *buy* peace. But let us not forget that there are some things which cannot *buy* peace. If we sacrifice them in order to secure peace the peace thus sought and dearly bought, becomes for us the veriest torment of a living hell. We dare not trade honor for peace; we dare not betray duty in order that we may bargain for peace. We dare not indulge ourselves in the enjoyment of the blessings of peace, while we turn deaf ears to the cry of distress, or to the summons of a righteous cause. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: We are happy in having with us at the conference a man eminent alike as a civil administrator and as a soldier, MAJOR GENERAL LEONARD WOOD, at present commanding the Department of the East. I hope he will say a few words. (Applause.)

PREPARATION AGAINST WAR

REMARKS BY MAJOR GENERAL LEONARD WOOD, U. S. A., *

From some of the remarks here, I have felt that perhaps you did not understand the real mission of the soldier and the sailor in this country. We are simply your trained servants in the conduct of your military affairs. You create the wars; we have to terminate them. (Laughter and Applause.)

Nine out of ten wars are based on trade; the other, perhaps, on race expansion, and in times past upon dynastic influences, but wars arise principally from trade. We have heard much here about the greatly increased interest in South American affairs, as indicated in the enormous increase in the space given by the press to South and Central American matters. If you examine your daily papers with any care, concerning the increased space relative to South American and Central American affairs, you will find that the vastly increased interest is not in the welfare of those countries or in a closer political alliance with them, but

*The remarks of General Wood are printed here, as being appropriate to the topic of the session, although they occurred in the Thursday morning session.—ED.

in the increase of our trade with them. Little or none of this interest appears to be dictated by a desire for closer relations between the different peoples, but the whole increase is devoted principally to a discussion of how we can take advantage of the present situation and capture the South American trade. Not that there is anything discreditable in that. It is the old story, as old as the world, of taking advantage of the situation to possess oneself of available trade or trade routes.

As to this question of national preparedness as a preventative for possible war, I think Mr. Garrison has put the matter to you very clearly. The trouble with so many conferences of this sort is that we do not look things squarely in the face. We are dealing not with conditions in the remote future, but with conditions as they exist today. We refer to Washington and Jefferson and Adams with great glibness when it suits our convenience to quote them for certain pacific purposes; but seldom do you hear, especially in assemblies of this kind, any reference to the advice of Washington or the urgent advice of Jefferson and Adams, to the effect that we must never delude ourselves with the idea that by remoteness we have become removed from the world's affairs or forget that preparedness is the best means of preserving peace. If those opinions were true in the days of the early presidents, when transportation was slow, if they counselled preparation and a good army in days when it took perhaps a month or two months to bring troops across the sea in small numbers, troops equipped with arms of simple construction and of type which made it possible for men to become skilled in their use in a comparatively short period of time, how much more necessary is it today, when all our possible enemies are prepared to the minute, and the sea furnishes to the nation holding sea control, the readiest of all lines of approach, when the great modern ships can bring 10,000, or perhaps even 12,000, troops in a single vessel and land them in five or six days, when the implements of war are so advanced in complexity as to require a long time to manufacture and a long time to acquire skill in their use? In other words, everything is now on the side of the prepared aggressor and everything is against the pacific, unready nation. Improved conditions of preparedness by the great nations throughout the world, rapidity and facility of transportation, have made it absolutely incumbent upon any nation, which would preserve its independence and maintain its rights, to be adequately prepared. If we could always depend upon six months warning, if our possible enemies were not in such a complete state of preparation in every sense of the word—men, material transportation, and plan of operation—it would not be necessary for us to urge the working out of detailed plans and the making of those preparations which, under conditions of modern war, time does not permit of being made after war has commenced.

Nations are so thoroughly informed today as to each other's condition of preparedness that it can be assumed as certain that the prepared is not going to give the unprepared time to get ready, especially where the unprepared has great resources in men and material. You will remember that Light Horse Harry Lee, of Revolutionary fame, said:

"Convinced as I am that a government is the murderer of its citizens which sends them to the field uniformed and untaught, where they are to meet men of the same age and strength, mechanized by education and discipline for battle, I cannot withhold my denunciation of its wickedness and folly."

These words were absolutely true at the time they were uttered, and they are equally true today, and I want to impress upon you, who know so little of war, that those of us, whose business it is to know something of it and its requirements in the way of preparation, are most deeply concerned, not only from the standpoint of military efficiency but also on the broad, general grounds of common humanity, in establishing a system under which our young men may receive that degree of training which would better fit them to discharge with a reasonable degree of efficiency their duties as soldiers in defense of the country in case they are needed, and will tend also to reduce to the lowest possible terms the cost in blood and treasure, and to make such expenditure of life as is inevitable, efficient and of value, instead of wasting them without avail. Our President, in his last annual message, said:

"It will be right enough, right American policy, based upon our accustomed principles and practices, to provide a system by which every citizen who will volunteer for the training may be made familiar with the use of modern arms, the rudiments of drill and maneuver, and the maintenance and sanitation of camps." (Long applause.)

As long as we have convictions, we are going to fight for them, and when we cease to be willing to fight for our earnest and honest convictions, we shall be unfit to exist as a people. (Applause.) Those of us upon whom rests in part the responsibility for the conduct of war, especially in the first stages, are deeply appreciative of the necessity of thorough preparation, because we know much better than you how useless will be the waste of the lives of our people unless such preparation has been made. You talk about war very glibly, as though it were something your men and boys would go into successfully without training. You apparently are planning to send them to war untrained, to be slaughtered without avail, for that is the certain outcome of lack of preparation. If anyone asked you to put them into a life boat on the Jersey Coast in winter, and they could neither swim nor row, you would say that it was murder; and so it is murder to send your boys to war untrained when you have an opportunity to train them. We don't want war—God forbid that there should be any more war—

but we can only judge the future by the past. Last month I had a letter from a very prominent Englishman who said, in substance:

"I note with apprehension that your pacifists are asking the same question that ours were asking Lord Roberts and his associates a year ago. The question was—

'Who are you getting ready to fight?' We have our answer. I pray to God that you may never have yours, but if history is to repeat itself, you certainly will."

All that we soldiers and sailors ask of you, whose professional servants we are, is that you give us an opportunity for a reasonable degree of preparation, and such necessary equipment that when your boys and men come to us, as they will to do their duty towards their country—and they will come if they are patriotic men—we want them to come to us so prepared that the sacrifice may be as small as possible. (Long applause.) Let us, while preserving our ideals and continuing our efforts for world peace, remember the conditions surrounding us—conditions which will surround us for an indefinite period of time—and make wise preparation accordingly. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: Some one has presented the name of MR. NORMAN ANGELL, of London, now with The World Peace Foundation, whom it will be a pleasure to recognize. (Applause.)

THE BUSINESS OF THE PACIFIST

REMARKS BY MR. NORMAN ANGELL*

When soldiers and sailors speak to pacifists, they usually remind us that they know more of war than we do. Well, it is not our business to know war; it is our business to prevent it if possible. Having however, seen this present war from the standpoint of a stretcher-bearer in the trenches during a month or so, I may perhaps be accredited some knowledge of what war actually is.

I think there has been a good deal of confusion in the last two or three speeches, and that there are two distinct efforts that have to be made in our civilization. Here we are standing on the morrow of a great catastrophe; civilization has failed, and it is our job to say: "How did this thing happen? What can we do to prevent it in future? Why did it happen?" And I am afraid there are a great many who say: "It happened because some people were not sufficiently prepared for war." Do you believe that that catastrophe happened because the combatants were not sufficiently prepared for war? I listened with great interest to the eloquent speeches of this evening, particularly because they are precisely the speeches that I have heard so many times in Germany. (Laugh-

*The remarks of Mr. Angell, occurred in the 3d Sess., but are printed here to keep their sequence after those of General Wood.—ED.

ter and Applause.) And nowhere would those speeches be so welcome today as in Germany. (Laughter.) "The reason," says the German, "why we are in the difficult position that we are is that, after all, we were not sufficiently prepared." Nothing can express what I feel with reference to the moral cause for which the German is fighting, but I also try to face facts, and the outstanding moral fact is that the cause for which the German is fighting he believes to be an absolutely just and moral cause. Therefore, in this great tragedy of mankind, both sides, believing themselves right, are prepared to throw their lives away for the right. What shall they do about it? In effect, the militarist says: "Well, to preserve the peace, you must be stronger than your enemy." The enemy says the same thing. So the solution is this: Here are two peoples or nations or groups likely to quarrel; how shall they keep the peace? They shall certainly keep the peace if each is stronger than the other. (Laughter and Applause.) In these speeches that we have just listened to, I have not heard anything which suggests an exit from that terrible dilemma. I am not arguing against force; I accept the need for force, but the question we ask, and the question we have asked, is this: "For what purpose are you going to use that force?" Is it merely for the purpose of enforcing your view as against the other man's view? Is that your view of right? Because, if it is, the other man is entitled to take the same line and again you are at an impossible situation. If your force is to be placed behind right, the problem for us is how shall we establish that right? And I am afraid that the militarist says: "We shall take our own view. We, parties to the discussion, shall decide what is right. We shall be jury, judge and executioner, all in one." It is not the Golden Rule applied to the situation and that is why the situation breaks down. There is only one outlet, and that is to find some means by which the genuine difference of opinion between these two conflicting views of right shall be established. In society, we establish it by the court, or perhaps the tossing of a coin, but it must not be the view of one party as against another, and until you have that solution all your claims rest on force and it merely gives us a situation in which each party is trying to be stronger than the other. That is the situation which faces us, and by all means we must have force, but for what purpose is that force to be used? Is it to be used on behalf of a judgment duly established, or established merely by one party to the case? When we are prepared to say to the other men: "We will not demand anything which we do not as freely accord to you; we are prepared to abide by a judgment by which we ask you to abide," then you may possibly have a solution of this impossible dilemma, and it is precisely that for which we are striving. Just now, for us, the problem of force is irrelevant to the particular problem that faces us.

We are told that man preserves himself by his readiness to defend himself, that conflict is a law of life. That is not true of men. The Indians in this country were struggling with one another five hundred years ago, and did not protect themselves against their real enemies, which are the forces of nature, as well as we do, who have ceased to struggle. In England, when there were half a dozen little nations struggling against one another, the land was supporting with great difficulty, perhaps two or three million persons. When those little nations ceased to struggle with one another, the same territory supported forty or forty-five million people in much greater comfort. Which process—the process of cooperation against the forces of nature, or the struggle of men with one another—gives the better results, in so far as human security is concerned? There is no question; and we are learning more and more that there is another factor in evolution, other than the factor of struggle, and that is the factor of mutual aid. (Applause.)

There is another question of principle which has been touched upon. We are taking men as we find them and taking the world as it is. Now it is of the essence of men that they are what they make themselves; it is of the essence of the world that it is what we make it. If we have progressed a little beyond that society which existed on this spot five hundred or five thousand years ago, it is because we refused to accept mankind as we found him, it is because we refused to accept the world as we found it. (Applause.) We make ourselves; we make the world by our vision. We are not the mere puppets of outside forces which we do not control. The essence of our work as men, as men with minds and souls, is that more and more we control not merely the forces of nature but the forces within ourselves, and that is part of our task.

What really most concerns us, however, is the problem of the League of Peace and the means of realizing it. We in Europe are not optimistic as to the future. Don't let us fall into the trap into which pacifists of the past have fallen—a sort of life optimism. The militarists are right when they say that war, given the temptation and the lack of knowledge that we have about its causes, will probably come. I do not believe, personally that this will be the war that will end all wars. I believe that the situation we will have after this war probably will be a very much more difficult situation than we had before it, but piling up force is not even going to help in a solution of the problem. What are we going to do in the way of contributing to some plan of human cooperation in the future which will make this thing impossible? If you have to use force, well and good, but before force can profitably be used, you must know to what end it is going to be used. How you are going to use it to prevent situations like this which have arisen? It is that task which lies before us. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: We have heard from the War Department and the Army, and I think we ought to hear now from the Navy. I have great pleasure in presenting ADMIRAL COLBY M. CHESTER. (Applause.)

DISARMAMENT AN ILLUSION

REMARKS BY REAR ADMIRAL COLBY M. CHESTER,* U. S. N. RETIRED

The demon of war is rampant in the world today, and the black clouds of desolation coming up in the East from burning homes, steaming ruins, and from lands seeping with the blood of millions of human beings slain in battle, create a fear that this terrible pall may cover the entire vault of heaven, and shut out the rays of the sun of righteousness from our own beloved land. This warns us to examine our preparedness to meet a like catastrophe to that which has overwhelmed Europe and Asia. Theories will not avail at the present time. Action, not words, is needed. And those actions that speak louder than words, such as have glorified your navy in the past are now the order of the day. Let us pray that we may not be called upon to take part in the desperate struggle now going on in Europe, but preparedness is quite as necessary to prevent our joining in the fray, as it is to meet a possible cogency of war. The history of the Navy is quite as replete in preventative war measures, as it is in accounts of participations in war.

That great statesman, Avin A. Ade, the Patriarch of the Department of State, once as its Acting Secretary, wrote to the Navy Department that the Minister of Foreign Affairs for Colombia had requested the good offices of the American Government to bring about peace in that country. Continuing he says: "I have received from the President (Roosevelt) a telegram approving my suggestion as to entrusting such a mission to the commander of the *Cincinnati*. The precedents, in which our naval commanders have lent their good offices to bring about peace in Central America during the past years, will serve to guide Commander McLean in the execution of such instructions as you may deem proper to give him in this regard."

This delicate mission, first entrusted to Commander McLean, was turned over to Admiral Casey upon his arrival at Panama and a treaty of peace between the contending forces was brought about through his instrumentality and was signed on board his flagship, the *Wisconsin*, October 24, 1902. Many such instances might be cited to show you that the Navy is a peace maker.

In my round fifty years of active service in the Navy of the

*Admiral Chester spoke Friday morning, but it seemed fitting that his remarks be printed here.—ED.

United States, I have participated in three wars, and have been given preparatory orders for war service on two occasions when war was confidently expected. The first time was in 1874 when we had trouble with Spain, and the second in 1892 when Chile declined to make amends for the killing of American citizens at Valparaiso. On both of these occasions war was averted only by the mobilization of the fleet within striking distance of the possible foe.

Then the Navy was adequate for the purpose; but is it so now? You know it is not. Many of you ladies have come to General Wood and myself as representatives of our military and naval forces, as thousands of others have done to military men in all parts of the country, and with trembling lips, blanched cheeks and prayerful eyes, have asked for a definition of the signs of the times. "Are we too going to be drawn into this horrible war?" you say. The answer no one can tell. Are we ready? Again we answer, "Ship for ship, and man for man the Navy and Army will be equal for the occasion." But is that enough? No. It is not enough as you have been told over and over again.

I speak no words of hyperbole, when I say to you that you must prepare for the inevitable fate that awaits all nations that attempt to meet the results of the violation of nature's laws by theories. We have pitiable examples of such malpractice in Belgium and China.

The greatest blessing that can come to mankind—universal peace—can not be bought for ten million of dollars when nations are spending a thousand times that amount in warring against each other.

Go on, I say, in your efforts to bring about universal peace, but do not imagine for a moment that the Divine Master of the Universe designed this generation alone, in the comparatively short period of the twinkling of an eye, to accomplish his purpose of regenerating mankind—a problem upon which He has been engaged for two thousand years, and says that the end is not yet. If we follow in the footsteps of the everlasting Prince of Peace and strive to do our fair share in the uplift of man, we shall have performed our full measure of usefulness to the cause, and leave the world a little better than we found it. But when nearly every country in the world is engaged in a purpose to carry out the policy of what is called "their manifest destiny," which means nothing more nor less than the despoilment of others' goods for their own selfish interests, armaments are as necessary to us as the surgeon's knife to the salvation of individuals.

I for one have no fears that the American people will ever do away with its Army and Navy, but there is an element in the movement looking to disarmament that, in my opinion is full of danger to the Republic. This peril lies in the fact that the propa-

ganda that is now being carried on against what is called militarism—a subject that is as little understood as the problem of least squares—has a tendency to destroy that spirit of spartan motherhood that has so ennobled the land in the past—a spirit in the woman that sends her child forth to battle for the defense of his country, his home and all he holds dear in his life, bidding him to “return with his shield or upon his shield.” It would be indeed an appalling catastrophe to the nation, if, in time of dire distress, the women should not come to the rescue of their country.

It seems that already some of our women advocate a policy of doing away even with toy soldiers in the nurseries, that there may be no stimulant for the infant mind towards militarism. Perhaps such a course of procedure would, in time, destroy the dreaded germ of militancy, but it will be after the country ceases to exist as a nation, and in the meantime it will surely have a pernicious effect on the manhood of our growing youth. Unfortunately this influence upon the women of the country is largely exerted by some Christian ministers, who have departed from their calling to preach the gospel of peace as a moral issue, and have engaged in an effort to destroy the only means that are manifestly necessary to maintain peace. All lovers of their country would gladly follow these reverend gentlemen in their endeavors to minimize the causes of war—largely our own wicked natures—but when they would destroy the power provided by our forefathers to protect our inalienable rights “to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness,” they do an injury to their country, to their people, and to themselves by neutralizing their influence as Christian ministers.

One well-known bishop is quoted as saying: “The way to prevent war is not to fight. If you prepare for war,” he says, “it is almost inevitable that sooner or later you will have war.” He might, with an equal measure of logic, have said that the way to prevent disease is not to fight it. If the medical men and bacteriologists, by study and long experience, prepare to meet an attack of disease it is almost inevitable that sooner or later you will have disease.

Disarm the Nation!—Yes, when crime shall exist no more and prisons are turned into school-houses; when the gun-men shall fail to thrive by committing murder for six dollars a head; when these forty-eight sovereign and independent states shall disband their grand army of over two millions of armed men who are required to keep nothing more than order among their peaceful citizens; when all the nations of the earth shall cease to covet their neighbors’ land and grab territory that does not belong to them; when the lion and the lamb and the bear shall lie down together; when envy, hatred and malice shall be no more and love and fellowship and good will towards men shall prevail throughout the

world. Then, and not until then, will this Nation disband its Army and Navy. (Applause.)

"If men were what they boast they be
 "We might send cockleshells to sea.
 "With freights of dreams and fragile things—
 "But men are men, and Kings are Kings.

"If men were tuned in sweet accord
 "We might wear grass blades for a sword,
 "Guard all our loves with faery rings—
 "But men are men, and Kings are Kings.

"While passions sway the reed of life.
 "While envy moves the world to strife,
 "We needs must tend our armorings—
 "For men are men, and Kings are Kings.

"Who plays the game must bide the rules,
 "The wise are shackled with the fools,
 "The worm must crawl to earn its wings—
 "Men are but men, and Kings are Kings.

"To-morrow, mayhap let us dream,
 "The god in us shall rise agleam!
 "But now we dance on puppet strings,
 "And men are men, and Kings are Kings.

"Then let us wear the brightest steel,
 "Lay for our loves the hugest keel,
 "Else we shall die like senseless things—
 "For men are men, and Kings are Kings. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: There are yet a few moments for discussion of the evening's subject under the five minute rule.

NATIONAL SAFEGUARDS FOR THE PROPER PEACE

REMARKS BY HON. CHARLES B. HOWRY*

Some observations have just been made that have induced me to recur to certain thoughts that I have had on the subject of the national defenses and the matter of preparedness and peace. The sole memorandum that I have made with reference to the subject in hand is that there are three classes of peoples who have aligned themselves with the thought of preparedness and peace. First, we have that class that is for peace at any price. Second, we have with us people who are for peace without any attempt, by equality of armament or equipment, to meet the sudden emergencies of war; and third, there is a class for armed peace of such character as to be ready at any time to meet every situation,

*Judge Howry's remarks, although occurring Wednesday evening, are printed here because of their relation to the topic of the session.—ED.

whether of offense or defense. Now, of course, under the third class, the matter of offensive warfare may be necessary to successfully meet the situation of defensive warfare.

I think it is a matter of much idealism to say that we should have peace at any price, and however much people may desire that state of affairs, the sentiment will never prevail in this country. Wars come suddenly. President McKinley, for instance, it is well known, was opposed to the Spanish War. It was brought on by that act of hostility in the blowing up of the Maine, and "Remember the Maine" became the slogan, the war cry throughout the country. Hostilities dissolve treaties. Outbreaks arising from the violent turbulence of people in different localities of different countries bring on a degree of feeling that culminates from time to time in a sudden war. The present war that the peoples in Europe are engaged in may have had its beginning in the underlying causes arising years ago; doubtless it had. Nevertheless it came to those of us who happened to be in Germany at the time, as I was, like a thunderbolt out of a clear sky. Whenever this country ceases to prepare with reference to a possible future state of war, we cannot say to any nation, "We will hold you to a strict accountability." (Applause.)

International law is in the process of evolution and change. From Grotius, sometimes called the Father of International Law to one of his illustrious successors, the Hon. John Bassett Moore (Applause) we had well defined and well regulated rules of visitation and search at sea. Sir William Scott, afterwards known as Lord Stowell, laid down certain famous rules which the United States Court, of which I have had the honor to be a member, carried out from Lord Stowell's first enunciation in the matter of resistance to search. What has abrogated these rules? The submarine and the flying machine, especially the former, is the present contention. The use of the submarine, one party to this great conflict insists, has practically superseded the matter of the protection of the neutral. It says that we cannot, in the evolution of the sciences of war, refrain from the use of the submarine and yet protect the neutral traveling the high seas. A short time ago, it was legitimate and lawful in international law that food might be carried to the civil population of the belligerent enemy. England says that she will starve out Germany and the people of Germany, because the military will reap the benefit of the shipment of provisions to the civil population. So I say that I am not such an idealist that I can forget that wars have come suddenly and will come suddenly again, and, for my part, I believe in a thorough preparation for every war. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: The Conference stands adjourned until tomorrow morning at 9:45.

Fifth Session

Friday, May 21, 1915, 9:45 A. M.

The CHAIRMAN: The first general topic this morning is Possibilities of International Cooperation in Avoiding Occasions for War. The first speaker whom I have the pleasure to announce is Hon. SIMEON E. BALDWIN, Judge and lately Governor of Connecticut, Professor of Constitutional and Private International Law, Yale University. (Applause.)

AVOIDING OCCASIONS FOR WAR

ADDRESS BY HON. SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL.D.

The most frequent occasions of war, as of human disputes in general, are misunderstandings. So far as peoples habitually think along the same lines, they incline to view questions of differences between them in the same light. So far as a public opinion of the world can be cultivated which approaches the level of the public opinion of the most advanced nations, so far there is created an assurance of submitting all controversies between nations to decision by the same rules. Occasions of war are avoided by giving such instruction in our schools and homes as will tend to inculcate respect for the rights of others, reverence for authority, and forms of courtesy in speech and demeanor.

These doctrines are in large part what has kept China in existence so long. While desiring to keep apart from foreign intercourse, she has emphasized the importance of maintaining the amenities of intercourse in ordinary life within her own borders. A people civil among themselves are little likely to be uncivil to such foreigners as they may meet abroad or receive at home. They may entertain secret distrust, but they will not transgress the rules of politeness.

A similar effect attaches to the cultivation of the Christian religion. The religion of the Bible is, of course, something different from the religion of Christ. There is no extravagance of the spirit of war that cannot find its sanction in the Old Testament. That collection of literature finds its chief value as an historical introduction to the Christian era. The act of Christendom in dividing the Bible in two and basing its teachings principally on the smaller fragment, is one of the witnesses to the authoritative preference of books mainly making for peace to books mainly making for war.

I am far from suggesting that religious influences are always pacific. To fight in a just cause may be a Christian duty. To avoid fighting in a just cause may also be one, if peace can be honorably maintained. Every attempt to guide public opinion in that direction is promoted by the spirit of Christianity.

So that spirit, again, may help powerfully to stop a war already begun. Christianity is a world religion. It emphasizes human brotherhood. It makes for the identity of mankind. Great Britain surprised the world, last fall, in sending a special envoy to the Vatican. It was the recognition of the power of the Pope to influence public opinion throughout the world. Because he had it, the British Government was, to use their own phrases, "anxious to put themselves into direct communication with him for the purpose of demonstrating the motives which have governed their attitude since the first moment that the normal relations between the great Powers of Europe began to be disturbed, and of establishing that his Majesty's Government used every effort to maintain the peace of Europe which His Holiness's predecessor had so much at heart."* Here is a sort of international appeal to the forces of religion. No one man in the world represents these forces as fully as the Pope. England's course is not the journey of a penitent to Canossa. It is the recognition by a great Power of the moral influence of a high church dignitary upon those over whom his ecclesiastical authority extends. It is also an expression of the conviction, on the part of that Power, that religion is a strong cause of public opinion and, in our day, has its foundations in a sense of justice which, making allowance for a difference in view points, pervades all Christendom.

It is not improbable that this diplomatic incident had its inspiration in part in the knowledge of the British foreign office that the declaration of a holy war against Great Britain, Russia and France was soon to be made by the head of the Mohammedan church. The appointment of Sir Henry Howard as an envoy to the Vatican was made November 24, 1914. Within three days Sheikul Islam issued his proclamation. Any action taken in anticipating it makes the position all the stronger that the modern world knows the value of religious statement and religious authority as an active cause in promoting or discouraging the institution of war.

A bitter word, from someone high in place, or perhaps a writer of literary eminence, which reflects on the course of a government or the character of its public men, often sinks deep, and poisons the sources of international good feeling. This is especially true if it comes with the weight attaching to official utterances, or to those approved by bodies of a public or *quasi* public character.

*American Journal of International Law IX, 206.

Recent factors in world-politics, of which mention must be made in this connection, are the philanthropic associations striving to promote the interests of peace, of which this Conference has for twenty years been one. Two have the support of large endowments. The World Peace Foundation, with its fund of \$1,000,000, and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, backed by funds of \$12,000,000, are new features of modern civilization. They bring us great possibilities of good; some dangers. An instance has already occurred in which the greatest of them has given deep offense to an Eastern nation. The Carnegie Endowment undertook in July, 1913, to investigate the causes and conduct of the Balkan wars of that year and the year preceding. It created an "International Commission of Inquiry," for this purpose. It procured the participation in it of citizens of Austria, France, Germany, Great Britain, Russia, and the United States. The report was published in a bound volume in 1914. It has the tone of an authoritative pronouncement. It explains (p. 212) its incompleteness in one particular, as "owing to the lack of aid from the Greek and Servian governments," but in some other matters acknowledges official assistance from Bulgaria and Greece (p. 233). It finds that many of the rules of international law were violated by each of the belligerents. It says that "coercion, intolerance and anti-social management" have given to Greece and Servia "a bad name before the world" (p. 271). As to the levy of contributions on territory occupied by an enemy, it states that in Bulgaria the Hague Convention (Articles 48-52) was violated by Servia and still more by Greece (p. 230), though both had adhered to it.

A Servian newspaper denounced the inquiries of the Commission as an infringement of Servian sovereignty, saying that, having had no consent from the government to make them, it was an inadmissible act of international arbitration.

The Commission itself suggests that such an investigation would be more satisfactory if prosecuted by a body of men appointed by public authority, and observes that if its work led to any such proceedings it "would find there a recompense for the ungrateful task undertaken at the risk of re-awakening animosity and drawing down upon itself reproaches and attacks" (p. 233).

That such animosity was in fact re-awakened by its report is only too plain. That document is dated February 22, 1914. On June 1, 1914, came a counterblast, issued at Athens, in the French language. This is a volume of 320 pages, entitled "The Bulgarian Cruelties in Eastern Macedonia and Thrace," directed especially against the conclusions of the Commission. "Under those," said the anonymous author of this reply, "it hopes to bury the ruins and the corpses which testify all too plainly to the exploits of its *protégés*." And he adds: "These transatlantic advocates

of the Bulgarian cause but resort, after all, for their defense, to the desperate argument of every wrongdoer caught in the act, 'I am not the only one. My neighbor has done the same or worse.' "

Another book, prepared or circulated under the auspices of the Carnegie Endowment, is Professor Dunning's "British Empire and the United States." This contains quite a number of rather rough characterizations of utterances by our public men in directing the course of our foreign affairs. Positions taken by our Secretary of State, in regard to the Venezuelan question, for instance, are referred to as resting on "audacious and arrogant dogmas," and expressed in a manner "somewhat coarse and repulsive."

Such epithets have a double force when appearing under the stamp of approval of a vast and world-wide agency for the promotion of peace between nations, having its seat in the country whose official attitude towards another is thus sharply criticised.

Still more, of course, is language of this kind out of place in diplomatic dispatches. A government that would avoid occasions of war, when communicating with foreign Powers, should measure its words, for they are the words of all its people. It should measure them by sincere consideration for those to whom they are addressed. It should measure them by standards of idealism—the idealism of courtesy and of good faith; the idealism of justice, that is, of justice to all, of which justice to its own land is only a part. There is an idealism of force; but, as Bergso has said, it can best be met by the force of idealism. The expression of idealism should harmonize with the thought that it sets forth.

The courtly phraseology familiar in general diplomatic usage is, in itself, no small cause why most international disputes are peaceably settled. "A soft answer turneth away wrath." A civil warning from a foreign office is a better preventative of war than a rough threat. I have quoted Professor Dunning's characterization of terms used by Secretary Olney in the Venezuelan boundary dispute between the United States and Great Britain. Let it be compared with that of Secretary Hay, when a not dissimilar incident occurred a few years later in our relations with Germany. The German Empire was understood some years ago to have in contemplation the acquisition of an island off the Venezuelan coast. Our State Department informed our Embassy at Berlin that, in view of the long declared and widely known policy of the United States, any attempt on the part of Germany to acquire such an interest in American waters "would be a source of concern to this Government, if not tending to the embarrassment of the cordial and frank relations between it and the United States."*

The Monroe Doctrine was thus courteously introduced under

*Moore's Int. Law Digest, VI, 583.

a veil, with much more effect than if it had been thrust forward with a more blunt indication of all that it implied.

So when the Ambassador of Germany recently sent to our Department of State a protest against American sales of materials of war to Powers with which she was contending, so strong that it might perhaps have been taken as charging a wilful breach of the obligations of neutrality, the note in reply of our Secretary is in this quiet tone: "I regret to say the language which your Excellency employs in your memorandum is susceptible of being construed as impugning the good faith of the United States in the performance of its duties as a neutral," and "takes it for granted that no such implication was intended."

The relations between peoples are mainly governed in war, as in peace, by international law, public and private. Some of the rules of international intercourse are accepted by all in the same sense. They are those settled by long practice or defined in identical terms by state papers (including, in these, judicial decisions) which are entitled to unquestioned respect. The more we multiply such rules, the more we avoid occasions of war. Every convention, proceeding from an international congress of a diplomatic character, which adds to the number of agreed principles, whether of international public law or international private law, works towards this end.

The distinguished chairman of this conference, in a recent address delivered as President of the American Political Science Association,* indicates some sympathy for the opinion that *ex parte* decisions for war are survivals of the instinct of peoples imperfectly civilized which leads them to appeal to their gods for victory, and to victory granted by way of favor rather than because justice required it.

To rely on might rather than right is easy for a nation confident that among its properties is a divine force always ready to fight on its side, because it is its side. There is no stronger hope than that founded on "Trust in God."

A people entertaining superstitions of this character is not likely to seek an agreement with other peoples on rules for the decision of international controversies. It feels that it possesses something better in the shape of divine favor.

The modern world has come to the conviction that there is no such thing as a "chosen people." This once granted, it is easy to admit the political equality of nations, and the desirability of agreed rules as to their conduct toward each other.

There is a form of organization by which every nation governs itself. There can be a form of organization by which many nations shall in many respects govern their mutual relations with each

*Am. Political Science Review, IX, 1, 12.

other, and even in some respects their relations to other nations outside of the circle of agreement.

Dr. Dernburg, formerly Colonial Secretary of the German Empire, has recently suggested that the high seas should be neutralized. They are now, of course, in the normal course of affairs. He means, it may be presumed, that no merchant vessels can be seized as prize on the ocean, which are not actually approaching and in close proximity to a blockaded port. This principle, if adopted by general international concert, would undoubtedly avoid many occasions of war. It would prevent such measures as the Berlin and Milan decrees of Napoleon, the British Orders in Council by which they were met, and the similar pronunciamientos of Germany and Great Britain during the present year.

Still more would a universal policy of free trade avoid what is now an ever present occasion of war, by putting an end to international preferences through special commercial privileges. The most-favored-nation clause in treaties would no longer be calling for daily application. The difficulty would be to make that a universal policy, which would be so contrary to traditional economic beliefs of modern finance.

It is to be remembered that the world has already done something towards the protection of neutral rights, while stopping short of a resort to war. In cases of this description we have, for instance, a treaty with Germany dating back to 1785. It forbids either power to make prize of the ships of the other on the high seas, although carrying contraband goods. Under that treaty the German Government has this spring frankly acknowledged its liability to us for the sinking of the *William P. Frye*.

But we have another and wider treaty with Germany, still better calculated to avoid occasions of war. It is the Hague Convention of 1907 for the pacific settlement of international disputes. Germany gave notice to our government May 11, that if we and they should fail to agree on the facts involved in any case where an American ship might be sunk in the war zone, which Germany has marked off on the sea as "strategic area," Germany would unite with us in referring the matter to an International Commission of Inquiry, persuant to chapter three of this Hague Convention.

This Conference, created for the promotion of international arbitration has cause for substantial encouragement in these acts of a great military Power, during a war involving half of Europe, by which it has twice in its recent dealings with the United States manifested its recognition of the binding force of treaty obligations. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: The next subject is "Democracy and Peace," on which we are to have the pleasure of hearing from HON. MR. JUSTICE WEIR, of the Superior Court of the Province of Quebec. (Applause.)

DEMOCRACY AND PEACE

ADDRESS BY HON. WILLIAM A. WEIR, B. C. L.

I would not have been bold enough to accept the invitation to address this conference, were it not that there are one or two things which should be said here, and which the modesty of the majority of the members might leave unsaid; so that the duty of saying them falls naturally to the lot of someone, whose home is outside the boundaries of the great Republic under whose flag the conference assembles.

The first of these considerations has reference to the neutral attitude of the United States in the present disastrous conflict of nations.

The declaration of war paralyzed for a time the mighty fabric of international trade and finance and its effects were felt almost as seriously here as in the countries at war. Your exchanges shut down; your bankers tightened their hold on their money reserves; your foreign debtors delayed payment of their obligations; exports and imports declined; the rules of war, rightly or wrongly interpreted, seriously affected the marketing of your great cotton and other crops; the sources of many of the supplies, requisite for your great manufacturing and industrial enterprises, were suddenly cut off; the ranks of your unemployed grew in alarming proportions; distress and anxiety affected the whole nation—and all this happened through causes for which you were not responsible.

No one would have been surprised if the citizens of the United States had become a little grumpy and sensitive over this state of affairs. But your good nature and your optimism triumphed, and were scarcely ruffled even when your Congress added \$100,000-000 of taxation to make up for the lost revenues.

Several times in the past eight months, the interests of the United States necessitated diplomatic protest and intervention to safeguard your rights as a neutral, but such diplomatic action, while always strong and dignified, has ever been fair, courteous and in accord with the rules of international law, and showed due consideration of the unparalleled conditions of the present mighty struggle. The actions of your government have been sustained by the intelligent judgment of the mass of your printed publications and of your citizens. In fact, if there be one thing that has caught the attention of the thinkers of the world more than an-

other in these unhappy months, it is the clear, critical, intelligent comprehension by the citizens of this Republic of the causes and incidents of the calamitous events that are taking place in Europe, and the calm wisdom of your government in its relation thereto. But if your heads have been clear, your hearts have surged with a tumult of pity, love and sympathy, and the passionate desire to help the millions of innocent victims of this cruel war.

History recounts no nobler deeds than the instantaneous action of this great Republic and all classes of its people to succor the wounded and the dying, the suffering and the afflicted in Europe, regardless of race, creed or condition. The gratitude of the stricken hero-soldier, of widowed mothers and famished children, in every section of blood-stained Europe, creates a new halo around "Old Glory" that the coming centuries will never dim.

But the main purpose of my remarks is to support briefly the proposition that the spread of democracy is the first step necessary for the diminution or prevention of wars; that the leadership of the nations by their nobility, their military classes and their materialistic plutocrats, has failed to advance the cause of peace or the happiness of the peoples; and that such leadership must be changed or strongly controlled before international arbitration and law shall reign.

In Europe, direct oppression of the people ceased in great part through the dismay among crowned heads and their *entourage*, created by the mighty demand of the French Revolutionists for liberty, equality and fraternity, and the attention everywhere given to the new doctrine.

The organized opposition of the European leaders produced the great reaction, and at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, the map of Europe was remade with little regard to the principles of nationality or democracy. But in spite of the experience and traditional power of the European oligarchies, these principles survived and the history of Europe for the last hundred years, in spite of numerous congresses, conventions and treaties, is the story of the struggle of democracy to free itself from the shackles forged by a subservient diplomacy. Belgium and Italy achieved their independence; France became a Republic; Greece regained her liberty; Norway separated from Sweden; the people of the Balkan States have repeatedly fought against over-lordship; the Poles struggled heroically but are still suppressed; the people of Finland are protesting, and the inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine have long been pulling at the bit. Secret treaties and conventions have for a century disturbed the progress of the continent and constant preparations for warfare have occupied the attention and energy of the European nations.

In the present war, prepared and launched by caste and privilege, whichever side may be the victor, the peace and happiness

of the masses are far from assured. Should the central European powers succeed, there may follow, apart from the penalties to be inflicted on the defeated nations, serious interference with the rights of the people of the Balkan peninsula and an attempt to control in the interest of German industrialism the great markets of India, China, Africa and South America. The expansion of German commerce in South America has been very large in recent years and its further extension by a dominant military and materialistic empire would be carefully planned. Sooner or later its methods would bring it into conflict with the Monroe doctrine and further calamitous contests would ensue. Canada might then become the Belgium of the Western Hemisphere.

If Great Britain and her allies succeed, the world will have to face the possibilities resulting from the growth and predominance of Russian autocracy, whose control by her people is still a dream of the future, in which, it is true, appears the promise of sunrise.

If the issue be a stalemate, preparation for future wars will doubtless follow a precarious truce.

Who will deny that the diplomacy of oligarchy has signally failed?

But happily, as Emerson says: "Rotation is nature's remedy—The soul is impatient of masters and eager for change." And here let me interject, in answer to a note of pessimism that has been sounded in this conference, in regard to the inadequacy of any effect on the peace and happiness of nations arising from the spread of democracy, that at least it must be admitted that, hitherto, the great warring nations of the world have given but small opportunity to democracy to show what it can do in international affairs. Almost every other remedy has been essayed and failed. It should also be remembered that the noblest fruits of human genius were given to the world by the civic democracies of ancient Greece in times that were not the most unhappy in the story of mankind and that it is quite possible, as has been aptly said, that for any ills arising from democracy in the world today the best cure is possibly more democracy. Democracy is learning especially that war with enemies abroad is one of the means adopted by the enemies at home to stop the wheels of social reform.

The huge cost of modern armaments is the main reason given for the postponement of reforms in the domestic arena. But surely the hour of democracy to act has come, when millions of dollars of money needed for the uplift of the submerged masses are daily being engulfed by this cruel war, brought about by the unhallowed ambitions of a few men.

The burdens of future taxation, as a result of the war, will rouse many to thought and action, who hitherto have done little more than submit to be governed by powerful and selfish classes.

Likewise, the unparalleled shock to the elaborate credit system

on which modern international trade and finance is based will in all probability unite the business leaders of the world against future wars, and their efforts will be supported by the growing strength of national and international labor organizations, whose growth is a marked feature of the age. This class furnishes the largest number of victims in war; and in peace, suffers most from the unhappiness resulting from the inhumane and materialistic characteristics of our boasted civilization. Small wonder, then, if they are eager for a change in national and international policies.

There is another appalling fact that is claiming the attention of the thinkers of the white races of the world. I refer to the steady lowering of the birth rate, which in time will mean a heavier death rate among progressive peoples. The excess of the death rate among the poor of our great cities is already equivalent to the slaughter of perennial war and loudly calls for organized efforts for the conservation of the race, but the lowering birth rate, in greater or less degree, is evidenced in all classes of Western peoples.

This phenomenon is probably due in the main to economic causes which the world has not yet been wise enough to control, but it is also traceable in part to the terrible slaughter of youthful manhood in the wars of so-called civilized nations.

Mankind may not for some time be bold enough to grapple with the economic causes, but it can and must, in the interest of self-preservation, devise means to stop modern warfare, as well as the colossal waste of life in the slums of our great cities.

Contrary to the rules of law in some land, the word democracy includes women as "persons;" and their numerical superiority in many countries, which will be increased by the devastation of the existing war, will in time wear down the opposition to their having rights with men in the control of national institutions and policies.

There can be little doubt, when that day comes, that women, as the more spiritual and emotional portion of humanity, will throw their weight in the balance on the side of a more humane civilization. The fear of such a result, entertained by materialistic capitalism, is probably the real source of the opposition to the proposed reform in woman's status.

For many years, science and culture have overpassed national boundaries and there has been a gradual widening of sympathies and common interests among the learned of all nations. As Principal Eliot has said: "Good-will among men results from all teaching which can be called world-wide."

And although it be true that societies grow by regular organic stages reached at different periods in the various countries, so that the days of world-unity still seem far afield, yet many nations seem ripe for the abolition of oligarchical control of their destinies and for the establishment, through political and economic associa-

tion, of a group or league of democratic nations, each freely contributing to the life and welfare of the whole, and determined by united effort to prevent the horror of recurring wars. The people of Great Britain, during recent years, by a long chain of legislative achievement for the betterment of the masses, have been qualifying for membership in such a group. In preparation therefor, the mighty genius of the French race is also enlisted; and by its work in the political arena, as well as through the drama, in philosophy, history, and poetry, is promulgating fundamental principles of human action that reach the hearts and minds of men wherever the torch of intelligence is lighted. With these lands, may be grouped the liberty-loving peoples of Scandinavia, of Holland, Belgium, Switzerland and Italy, and the deeply educated subjects of the Kaiser. Among these latter, the marvellous development in recent years of the social democrats is sufficient proof that the cause of the people has made great progress there, and though the suddenness of the war and the great power of authority in the German Fatherland found them unready, it is impossible to ignore their vital power and desire for the progress of democracy and peace. It will not be long before they give the schoolmaster liberty to be a philosopher, instead of being only one of the instruments in the hands of the drill sergeant.

A notable characteristic of the existing war is the importance attached by all the combatant nations to the good opinion of the people of the United States, and it is another evidence of the great influence which the mere existence of the democracy of America has exercised for over a century on the peoples of Europe. Add to this general effect the splendid work of your publicists, professors, authors and travellers, and it cannot be denied that your influence upon the uplift of liberal ideas in Europe and elsewhere in the world has been, and will be great and permanent in effect.

The American Republic has travelled far since it received Washington's last message, warning it to avoid European alliances, and the conditions in Europe have also greatly changed since then.

"New occasions make new duties." The United States signed the Hague conventions, notwithstanding Washington's message, and it is for the American people to say whether they are ready to propose, or accept membership in, a league of progressive nations, whose aim shall be the prevention of war and the advancement of the welfare of the human race by the promulgation and enforcement of international law. Some such organization, as has been ably demonstrated at this conference, is greatly needed and much will depend upon the attitude thereto of the North American Republic. A nation, no more than an individual, can live unto itself alone. It must choose the path of duty and of loving service, realizing that the welfare of each nation or individual, is the basis for the welfare of all. Such a spirit must replace the existing

dominant materialism and pride of power before wars shall cease.

It is close on nineteen hundred years since the soul of Jesus looked through saddened eyes upon the discords and quarrels of humanity and sought to bring peace on earth by announcing the great truth of the common Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. Alas! The lesson has not yet been truly learned. But in these days, when men's hearts are softened by calamity; when scores of thousands of our brothers are lying in shallow graves on the battlefields of Europe, or deep below the surface of the moaning seas; when each day the setting sun hastens beyond the horizon to escape from the sobbing and sighing of millions of broken hearts; surely the time has come to curb the power of the great and mighty, the rich and powerful rulers of the earth who have brought these sorrows upon us, and to seek to hear the voice of God, the Father, in the murmurings of the vast multitude of His children, our brothers. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: The third paper this morning is to be on "War and Political Associations." It will be presented by MR. JOHN S. EWART, of Ottawa, Member of the British Counsel, North Atlantic Fisheries Arbitration at The Hague, 1910. (Applause.)

WAR AND POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS

ADDRESS BY JOHN S. EWART, K.C., LL.D.*

In taking for my subject the second part of the prescribed general theme; namely, "Possibilities of International Cooperation in Avoiding Occasions for War," I assume that the word "occasions" is to be understood as meaning "causes," for if it is to be taken in its usual sense as contradistinguished from causes, all that could be said upon the subject is that there is no possibility of international cooperation in avoiding occasions for war. International action could not have prevented the blowing up of the Maine, even if it could have avoided the predisposing causes of the Spanish-American war; nor could it have prevented the assassination of Franz Ferdinand, even if it could have avoided the causes of the present war. Whether international cooperation can avoid, or help to avoid, causes rather than occasions of war, and, if so, by what means, are the points to which I invite your attention. And I exclude from consideration all schemes relating to settlement of disputes, whether by judges or arbitrators, for my subject is, not the settlement of disputes, but the possibility of avoiding them—prophylaxis and not remedial action.

*Although Mr. Ewart's address was delivered in the 4th Session it is printed here because of its application to the subject under discussion.—ED.

Although the causes which we wish to avoid are many, they may, for the purposes of a shorter paper, be reduced (if we omit wars of personal ambition) to one; namely, reasonable dissatisfaction with existing conditions. The requisite for social tranquillity is that men are satisfied with, or at least that they unreservedly accept, existing conditions (inclusive of conceptions of right) with reference to what they are and what they possess; and the same rule applies to international relations. Grounds of social discontent are removed from time to time by corporate action. And what we have to ascertain is whether international cooperation can internationally perform the same function.

History supplies us with very little upon which to found hope of favorable reply. We run over the wars of the past in order to ascertain whether their causes could have been avoided by international cooperation, and are met with the preliminary difficulty of discovering and defining their respective causes. Indeed, lapse of time appears to prove that those circumstances which at the moment appeared to be causes, were, in reality, nothing but occasions for outbursts due to the secular operation of causes of a developmental character.

The Thirty Years' War (1618-48), for example, we are told commenced with rival claims to the throne of Bohemia, but "was primarily a religious war, and * * * at the same time, political and feudal quarrels were interwoven with the religious question"*

Nobody can yet separate these factors or adequately define them. And any one who looks at the map as settled by the treaty of peace (Westphalia, 1648) can now very easily see that its arrangements provided no security for the permanence of peace. It did not establish conditions with which the nations could be satisfied.

Wars which appear to have commenced with the loss of Jenkins' ear and a dispute about the succession to the throne of Austria are now described by Professor Seeley (a most competent historian) in this way:

"I point out now that the great triple war of the middle of that century (the eighteenth) is neither more nor less than the great decisive duel between England and France for the possession of the New World. It was perhaps scarcely perceived at the time, as it has been seldom remarked since; but the explanation of that second Hundred Years' War between England and France which fills the eighteenth century is this, that they were rival candidates for the possession of the New World, and the triple war which fills the middle of the century is, as it were, the decisive campaign in that great world-struggle."

"In the earlier wars of William III. and of Anne other causes are more, or certainly not less, operative, for the New World quarrel is not yet at its height."

It would be difficult to suggest any way in which international

*Ency. Brit. vol. 26, p. 852.

cooperation could have avoided the cause of the wars of foreign empire, at a time when the cause itself was undiscovered.

Coming to later periods the Crimean war (1854-6) may be attributed to the fact that, as Mr. Spencer Walpole tells us,

"The vast Power which frowns over Eastern Europe * * * has only a difficult and imperfect access to the ocean, the common highway of mankind."*

International cooperation did its best to keep the peace, but it could not eradicate Russia's dissatisfaction; and the treaty of peace "did not permanently arrest the irresistible advance of Russia; it merely set back the clock for some fourteen years."†

The Italian war against Austria in 1859, and Italian assistance to Prussia against Austria in 1866, were avowedly based upon Italian dissatisfaction with the existence of Austrian control in what Italians regarded as Italian territory.

Dissatisfaction of Prussia was the cause of the Schleswig-Holstein War of 1864, and Bismarck has told us that "from the very beginning, I kept annexation steadily before my eyes * * * "‡

The Austro-Prussian War of 1866 was due to Prussia's dissatisfaction with her position—both geographical and political. And the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 was welcomed if not caused by Prussia as a means of uniting the German states.

Further specification is unnecessary, and probably no one will dispute the statement that international cooperation for the purpose of avoiding causes of war really means cooperation for the purpose of changing conditions in such manner that they shall become reasonably satisfactory to the nations interested. In his *Reflections and Reminiscences*, Bismarck, referring to the year 1886, said: "Eternal peace with the Roman Curia is, in the existing state of affairs, as impossible as is peace between France and her neighbors."§

"The existing state of affairs"—that was, and is, the European difficulty. Can international cooperation improve it?

Dissatisfaction exists with reference both to European and non-European conditions. In Europe, Italy, Servia and Montenegro make huge claims against Austria; Austria-Hungary asserts the necessity of dominating Servia; Roumania seeks union with her race, at the expense of Austria-Hungary and Russia; Bulgaria insists upon reversion to the treaty of Bucharest at the expense of Servia, Greece and Turkey; Russia is pursuing her traditional march to the sea; Finland seeks her independence, and Poland her resurrection; Denmark and France want restitution from

*Walpole: *Hist. of Eng.*, vol. VI, p. 1.

†Ibid, p. 65.

‡*Reflections and Reminiscences*, vol. II, p. 10.

§Vol. II, p. 148.

Germany; Italy has not forgotten Savoy, Nice and Tunis; and the aspirations of Greece, Montenegro, Persia and Armenia must not be forgotten.

Were all these conflicting claims satisfactorily adjusted, there would still remain dissatisfaction with oversea conditions, with regard to which a basis for finality is still more difficult to find. I must not be taken as asserting that laws regulative of contentions must be formulated prior to the establishment of tribunals to deal with them. But I may safely assert that there can be no practical cooperation, and no judicial tribunal, in the absence of some generally accepted view upon fundamentals. For example, at the Lake Mohonk Conference of 1914, Rear Admiral Chadwick, after referring to the partition of Africa during the last thirty years, said:

"I think it also may be laid down as axiomatic that no stronger country has a right to fence in such regions, which in a way are the world's commons, as their own special commercial reserves. Were the United States, China, Japan, and I think I may add Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Holland and Austria consulted in the partition of Africa? Was any country outside their own conspiracy (for it was a conspiracy) considered by England, France and Spain in the question of * * *. * Morocco? Can the inherent right of every country to go and trade in such regions on equal terms be taken away by such conspiracies, or by any other international arrangements in which all the countries have not a voice? I say, No."

Whether that conclusion be right or wrong, I do not stop to argue. All that I desire to say is that there is no generally accepted principle of law or ethics applicable to the solution of the question. Nor has any one as yet successfully formulated the rights associated with the suzerainties, the spheres and other webs of influence in which the speedier spiders have entangled the helpless flies. For such cases are there any rules but those of the primeval forest? Has one hunter a right to cut in upon the chase of another? Would interference in the present Persian process, for example, be unfriendly? How can such causes of dispute be avoided?

For the rearrangement of European territorial boundaries, no one would suggest, in time of peace, the summoning of an international conference. Everybody recognizes that until such changes are made as will produce reasonable satisfaction among the nations, causes of war—the principal causes of war—will remain. But no nation will willingly surrender what it has, and no nation would enter a conference charged with the duty of investigating titles and settling proprietorships. Schleswig and Holstein, Alsace and Lorraine, Trieste and Trentino, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Transylvania and Bukowina, Adrianople and Salonika, Poland and Finland, will not be dealt with by plenipotentiaries during any period of peace.

Questions relating to oversea interests are of two kinds—in legal phraseology they may be called corporeal and incorporeal.

So far as European ownership of foreign territory is concerned, I see as little scope for international cooperation in avoiding causes of war as in connection with alleged wrongful ownerships in Europe. Whether Rear Admiral Chadwick be right or wrong, the nations who have enclosed the commons will not willingly level the fences. Upon the other hand, an international conference might well endeavor to formulate some rules for international observation with reference not only to future acquisitions, but also to the rights which ought to exist in cases of suzerainties, protectorates, and spheres of influence. Personally, however, I do not anticipate the convocation of such a conference. The Have-nots would like it, but the Haves would not agree. They have not as yet sufficiently completed their exploitations.

Upon the whole, then, we are compelled to say that the world is not ready to agree to the removal of those causes of international dispute which usually lead to war. And I have chosen, perhaps ungraciously, to sketch the difficulties which peace conferences must face, rather than to join either in platitudinary expositions of the value of peace, or in condemnation of the frame of mind which European antagonisms inevitably produce. Not long ago at one of the conferences, it was said:

"When international conferences meet to discuss general treaties and conventions, they are still dominated by the spirit of diplomatic rivalry. There is a balancing of nation against nation. There is a certain apprehension and fear of general rules."*

That is perfectly true, but the reason is that general rules, if enforceable and enforced, would not only condemn too much of everybody's past†, but would make the existing situation unchangeable; and nobody in Europe is quite satisfied that it should remain as it is. Many would protest their perfect satisfaction, but they are all looking forward—all, from the one who has the most and wants more to those who have lost the most and want it back again, with a little addition by way of compensatory emolument.

Affirming, as I do, that the prerequisite of peace is satisfaction with, or at all events, unreserved acquiescence in, existing conditions, I admit no exception in the case of popularly-governed communities, and I take issue with the statement (made at a recent peace conference) to the effect that "a popular government must necessarily stand on the side of the rule of law. Any other posi-

*Proceedings of the Am. Socy. for Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, 1912, p. 101.

†The United States would share in the condemnation. See an article by Brig. Gen. Crozier in the North American Review, June 1914, p. 857; and an article by Capt. Mahon in the North American Review, July 1911, p. 124.

tion would be self-negative. Force in such a system can be applied only in the support of law.”*

The principal criticism of popular government is not its dishonesty, but its ignorance, and its bias. Of all the millions now engaged in war, I think it probable that not two per cent could give a fair account of its causes. Without knowledge of the politics and diplomacies as far back (at least) as the date of the San Stefano treaty, nobody can make such a statement; and the most hopeless features of proposals for democratic solution of international disputes are (1) the impossibility that the crowd should ever have such knowledge; (2) the impossibility of freedom of the crowd from overpowering national and racial bias; and (3) the susceptibility of the crowd to national and racial appeal. For my part, I would trust rather the British Government than the British people, and President Wilson rather than the best of democratic mobs.

And is there, then, no relief or prospect of relief for Europe? Allow me to lead your thought in another direction. Throughout the Roman Empire there reigned the *pax Romana*. Throughout the United States there reigns the *pax Americana*. And throughout the British Empire there reigns the *pax Britannica*. There is internal peace, too, throughout Russia, Germany, France, Austria-Hungary, China and Japan. In the eleven most populous states of the world, there are about fourteen hundred out of the total of seventeen hundred millions of people, and within the boundaries of each of these vast areas there is (I speak of course, very generally) the best security for peace; namely, satisfaction with existing conditions. Look back at, say, Germany in 1814, and you will find a perfect welter of hundreds of kingdoms, principalities and other trumpery dukeries and knighthoods, all dangerous to one another and incitements to foreign invasion. Look back at Italy and her quarrelsome city-states. Look where you like and you will find proof of the fact that political incorporation means internal peace. It means peace in the sense that political incorporation cannot exist (save in the rare case of rebellion) in the absence of peace; and in this sense also, that, by the reduction of several conflicting international interests to one interest, the only remaining occasions for quarrel are those which may be disposed of by courts of law. In other words, political incorporation produces within the territory of the state, the establishment of that satisfaction with existing conditions which is the prime prerequisite of the continuation of peace. And, in thus operating, it reduces not only the number of causes of war within the terri-

*Proceedings of the Am. Soc. for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, 1912, p. 95.

tory of the union, but the chances also of embroiling other peoples in the quarrels.

The political incorporation of which I have been speaking includes unitary states, federations, and empire states; but even such looser unions (Austria-Hungary for example) as are more properly denominated confederations, either provide (as in the Germanic Union of 1815) some method of settling inter-state disputes, or at the least, produce a sympathetic attitude in which disputes are apt to dissolve and disappear.* Peace between Austria and Hungary, for example, during the last forty-eight years would probably have been impossible had they not formed a confederation in 1867.

The two theses of this paper may now be stated. They are (1) that the prerequisite for the maintenance of peace is satisfaction with, or at the least unreserved acquiescence in, existing relations, and (2) that the establishment of comprehensive federations, of even confederations, is not only a strong guarantee for the cessation of war within the united territory, but a reduction in the number of causes of war among other nations. And I desire to point out that if these assertions are true, then the line of international cooperation in avoiding causes of war becomes apparent.

Substantial rearrangement of the map is not, as I have said, possible during periods of peace. War has effected many changes in it, and on some occasions, either because of the number of nations involved, or because of the intervention of other states, the settlement has been the work of what might be called international cooperation. The treaties of Westphalia in 1648, of Utrecht in 1713, of Vienna in 1815, and of Berlin in 1878 were of this character; and another opportunity for similar cooperation is about to present itself. Of the suggested arrangements then to be made, in the event of the defeat of Germany and her allies, let me refer to three.

First, there is the proposal that the United Kingdom, France, Russia and Italy, in permanent union, should regulate themselves and the rest of Europe. Only those unfamiliar with history and human nature can imagine that such an union would survive a decade, and I pass the proposal with the remark that it is one for the suppression of causes of war, and for that reason has no relation to my present subject.

Secondly, some people contemplate an international police, acting under the direction of an international committee or an international court. But as that means the obliteration of separate national forces and promised submission to outside authority,

*The various Confederations of ancient Greece secured, to a large extent, temporary peace between otherwise warring cities. See Freeman: Hist. of Fed. Govt.

the suggestion remains impracticable until the United Kingdom can be induced to destroy her fleet, until the United States can be induced to promise to conform to European and Asiatic requirements, and until some mutual confidence in the rectitude of those who never have provided any very good reason for such confidence has been created. Moreover, that proposal, too, is not within the purview of the present paper.

The only suggestion which has in it the possibility of avoiding, or reducing the number of causes of war is that at the close of the war such rearrangements shall be made as shall supply the greatest probability of their permanent acceptance as fair and reasonable.

What those rearrangements ought to be I do not know. Probably no man knows. They can be ascertained only after consultation between men with large and accurate information as to present conditions. The problem is most complex, and an approximation to the best solution is all that can be expected. But the broad principles of procedure are very clear; namely, (1) that territorial adjustments must be based upon the will of the peoples particularly interested; (2) that reduction in the number of states—combination of several in one—produces peace within the united territory and, for that reason, reduces the causes of wider conflagrations; and (3) that the federal system provides a method by which unassimilable peoples can be joined together in happy union.

From the international conference which shall, at the close of the present war, arrange the terms of peace, we have a right to expect that it will take warning from the failure of previous conferences. For we can now see the futility of endeavors to impose upon sovereign peoples the limitation of the exercise of sovereign rights. We now understand that the forcible annexation of the territory of antagonistic populations breeds lasting hatred and eventual revenge. We now know that peoples and lands do not belong to kings, and that the validity of dynastic claims is not the ground upon which unions and separations can be justified. We believe that only upon principles of justice and righteousness can either personal or international relationships be safely and satisfactorily settled. And, for the sake of the world's future peace, we must hope that the coming conference will give to us such terms of settlement as will offer the best assurance of eventual acceptance by the now warring nations of Europe.

My reason for the omission of all reference to the Americas is probably sufficiently obvious. In Europe, the conditions out of which wars may arise may be described as territorial, racial, commercial, hegemonic and dynastic. Of these, only one exists in the Americas; namely, the racial, and that when uninflamed by others is comparatively innocuous. If my subject had been the adjustment of difficulties, I should necessarily have had to con-

sider the hemisphere in which we live, but, fortunately for us, we are all sufficiently satisfied with our existing international relationships. No dynastic rivalries disturb us. No greed of foreign possessions excite us. No commercial antagonisms breed enclosures of the world's commons. No state claims or covets territory in the possession of any other state. The conditions are such as make debatable the practicability of a league of peace.

In Europe it is far otherwise, and many decades, if not generations, must pass before suggestions can profitably be made to the United Kingdom that she should depend for her security upon a league or treaty—upon "a scrap of paper"—as sufficient substitution for the British navy. When the normal condition of Europe is one of general satisfaction with existing conditions, when the nations have learned to trust one another, when through long experience, they have become well assured that in international councils will always be found reasonableness and unselfishness, then, and not till then, will the United Kingdom be disposed to consider such proposals as have been suggested at this conference. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: I now desire to announce as the next speaker HON. FREDERICK N. JUDSON, a prominent lawyer of St. Louis. (Applause.)

THE EDUCATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

ADDRESS BY FREDERICK N. JUDSON, LL.D.

I wish I could share the optimism of the distinguished jurist of Canada in believing that more democratic conditions will, of themselves, tend to prevent wars. I fear that what we are now witnessing in the world hardly justifies such a belief. I know it is a common thing to say that wars are brought about by the classes and not by the masses, and that the rule of the masses would mean the inauguration of a reign of peace. I venture to say, from all the evidence that I can gather, that if we had a referendum under the most improved methods of our advanced political thinkers in each of these warring countries, it would have resulted in an approval of war. So while I heartily welcome improved political conditions, I cannot but recognize that democracies may be mad with passion as well as rulers. At the present time in the history of the world, we have governments more responsive to public opinion than ever before in the history of the world, and certainly they are far more responsive to public opinion in their respective countries than they were in the time of Frederick the Great or in the time of Napoleon. However, I would not be understood as saying that improved political conditions with political training of the masses may not, in time, lead to the development of a public opinion that will prevent wars; but

that is another question. Certainly we must have something more than the mere reign of the people to prevent war. It seems to me another fallacy has been exploded by actual results, and that is that to be prepared for war will prevent war. If the experience of the past year teaches us anything, it is that the nations which have acted on that theory the most persistently and the most consistently, and which have taxed themselves to the greatest extent to build up great armaments, are precisely those that are involved in this desperate war; and the spirit of aggression seems to have been in proportion to military reparation. (Applause.) I do not share the views of those who talk of abolishing armies and navies; we need them for protection, if nothing more—and we value too much the heroic work of those of our own army and navy to utter any word of depreciation—and yet, who can shut his eyes to that most impressive lesson—I think the most impressive in the history of the world—the preservation of peace between the United States and Canada for 100 years by a simple treaty or agreement that has prevented the existence of armaments on these great inland seas? (Applause.) Will any man venture to say that if that treaty had never been made, and if these great inland seas had been covered with vessels of war, we would not have been in constant danger of collision and of war, when, happily, through the providence of God, we have preserved peace for now a hundred years? That is a most impressive lesson for mankind in this present crisis of the world's history. Though we are overwhelmed with the horrors of this gigantic conflict, there is, to me, a most encouraging sign in the crisis, and that is the distinct appeal by all the warring nations to the public opinion of the world. Certainly warriors in past ages, and even in the past century, have never thought it worth while to issue white books, and red books, and green books, and yellow books, and books of all colors addressed to the justification of their position before the public opinion of the world. There is a distinct recognition of the fact that there is a public opinion of mankind, "the decent respect" to which was invoked by the framers of our Declaration of Independence—a public opinion that is more powerful to-day in the world than ever before—and that that public opinion is worth appealing to. In other words, they may believe they are right, but they want to convince the rest of the world that they are right. That is the most distinct and most encouraging phase of the situation through which we are now passing.

We had a most impressive illustration of the result of that appeal to the public opinion of the world here in this assembly last evening, in the spontaneous tribute to the distinguished gentleman* from the country of Belgium. (Applause.) That meant

*Senator LaFontaine, whose address is printed in the 6th Session.

the pronouncement of public opinion upon that phase of the history of this war, and I venture to say that that spontaneous tribute paid here last evening is the tribute that will be paid by history—by mankind in all coming time. (Applause.)

I heartily concur in these suggestions that have been made for removing the causes of war; that is, by providing for the rule of reason instead of the rule of force. It is not many years, certainly not in the part of the country from which I come, since it was distinctly understood that while a man could appeal to the courts of law for redress of injuries to his property, it was rather unbecoming that he should go to law for the redress of wrongs to his person or to his family; and that notion is not entirely extinct yet. It evidences the survival of that period in the history of mankind when private wars were common and every man's hand was against his neighbor. It is only a step in advance to carry into the settlement of the controversies of nations what we have carried into the settlement of private disputes. That is the whole thing. And what is the great agency, greater than arbitration courts, greater than all military preparedness? It is the cultivation and inculcation of the principle of peace. Therefore, I say, high among the roll of the peacemakers who receive the divine benediction are those gentlemen who, like our host, have labored in season and out of season for years in cultivating and cherishing these ideals of peace. (Applause.)

The formation of leagues of peace, the organization of the public opinion of mankind, is, after all, the fundamental work, and that which alone can bring about the solution of these perplexing problems; and I can only say in conclusion, that I think the American people have reason to thank God that they have in the Presidential Chair a man who is not afraid or ashamed to publish his belief in maintaining the loftiest standards of peace for the benefit of mankind. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: The second general topic of the morning is, The Possibilities of International Cooperation from the Point of View of Industry and Finance. The HON. MARCUS M. MARKS, President of the Borough of Manhattan, New York, will address the Conference on the Relation between Industrial and International Peace. (Applause.)

RELATION BETWEEN INDUSTRIAL AND INTERNATIONAL PEACE

ADDRESS BY HON. MARCUS M. MARKS*

Since I was here last, I have been studying the Borough of Manhattan—a very interesting island—with nearly 2,600,000 people living in it, nearly 6,000,000 people counting those that come from the surrounding sections, trying to make a living in it. There is something very interesting to which I would like to call your attention in connection with this Island. It has representatives from almost every nation in the world and there are nineteen languages spoken on the Island. The Germans, many of whose fathers, brothers and other relatives, are in daily struggle with the English, French and Russians, are living side by side in the Borough of Manhattan, in a state of peace and good will. I say this with a feeling of deep joy, and there is a valuable lesson in the situation. If all the nations of the world, a little cosmos, can live in this state of peace and good will, notwithstanding their feelings and their difference in traditions and languages and race sentiment, why can't the same conditions prevail in the larger cosmos of the civilized world? (Applause.) We must study the causes that bring about this wonderful result. One undoubtedly is the fact that all live under the same democratic government, having the same flag, the same sentiment of patriotism for the Stars and Stripes. The second is that we have an established system of courts to settle any differences that may arise, and a system of police to assure us that the edicts of the courts will be carried out. Now we have the whole world right in Manhattan. If the people in New York are disturbed (and now I come to my text), if they are out of work, if they are not getting good wages, if they are in a state of industrial unrest, dissatisfaction and unhappiness, it will take very little to cause them to be aroused to a state of war with any other people, and that applies also to the rest of the world. If the people of the world are in a state of industrial unrest, if they are aroused, inflamed, discontented, it will take only a little spark to make a great conflagration (a wily and ambitious ruler can divert their passion by declairing war); whereas if they are happy, if they are calm, if they are in a state of contentment, it will take more than a small matter to cause them to rush forth and sacrifice their lives. It is for that reason that I believe we should pay more attention than we do to provisions for the preservation of industrial peace. We have a great army and a great navy, both of which, the cry now is, should be greater, but, already we have a tremendous expense for army, navy

*Mr. Marks' address was delivered in the 2d Session but is printed here because of its relevance to the subject under discussion.—ED.

and pensions. How little, on the other hand, are we doing to preserve industrial peace without which international peace is always endangered! We have in a few States Industrial Conciliation Boards, but they have very slight appropriations and they are not as a rule, looked upon as really serious institutions. I think that the people of all countries should bend their minds upon the establishment of more machinery for industrial peace preservation, that the questions underlying industrial peace should be carefully studied and that everything should be done that can possibly be done to eliminate the causes which provoke the people into industrial strife. Strike settlement is difficult and often unsatisfactory. The settlement of a strike does not prove a principle; it only proves which side is the stronger. But strike prevention is what I refer to; that should be studied. The prevention of the disease is so much easier than the cure, and it is the same way with the nations. The prevention of war is much easier, much more important, much simpler than the settlement of war. Now what are the causes that underlie industrial unrest at the present time and which make it easier for nations to be drawn into a state of war? The first is that in the last fifty years we have advanced more in popular education, through the distribution of books, papers, through the public schools, colleges and general instruction in all directions, than we have in all time, it is said, up to that fifty year period. Popular education creates new standards of life and new desires on the part of the people—they want more recreation, they want better homes, they take note of the changing styles in garments, they want more variety in food, they know what is going on all over and have the ambition to be on the same basis as others—all of which require money. In addition to that, each item that contributes to living has been raised in cost. Put these two things together and you must have a very large advance in wages; but we have not had this corresponding advance in wages, and hence the discontent; the employer and employee are at odds, they don't get together enough, they don't understand each other, they don't know where the differences are, and so they don't cure those differences in time and we have trouble. In Canada they have at least attempted to study industrial conditions in advance of strikes. They have an Act which was passed eight years ago whereby no public utility or mine may be closed by the employer; nor may the working people in those mines or public utilities strike, without a thirty-day notice to the Government. Time is the essence of peace. The thirty days are used by the Government for investigation and for adjustment of the differences. *Ninety per cent* of all the threatened strikes, which came before a board, such as the Canadian Act establishes, during the past eight years, have been prevented. (Applause.) Can anyone figure out what that means? How

much life and property have been saved, and more than all, how much passion has been soothed by these conciliations and these adjustments?

Now I am going to talk to you about the City and its employees. There are thousands of employees who constitute quite an important part of the population and who should be happy and contented. I am sorry to say they have not always been so because the City, while it should be a model employer, often fails to be so. I will tell you about something that I tried to do to keep the citizens in calmer disposition. You know citizens come into a public office and the official receives them sometimes in rather a lordly way and says: "What is it you want?" and the citizen gets very much excited. We don't want anybody excited. Excitement is one of the phases of human nature that tends towards war. So I said to each one of the employees—we have two thousand in the Borough coming under my jurisdiction—"Every man and every woman that comes into the door to see one of you, please receive that man or woman with this understanding, that he or she is the one that is paying you and me our salaries." (Applause.) I said: "Remember that these people are not working for us, but we are working for them." This seemed to have a good effect.

At this time we have our employees in the Borough at least in a very happy and contented frame of mind. We have a committee on welfare, made up of their own members and running under their own direction, which is looking out for every little comfort of those employees. We have a suggestion box in each department, so that the employees can talk to me every day; if they have a complaint or a grievance, in it goes; I want the gases of discontent to escape a little every day and not get all together to explode. (Laughter and Applause.) And that is what I would like to see our Government help us to have—industrial discontent escape a little every day and not be bottled up, and the misunderstandings adjust themselves so that we will not have great strikes or other industrial explosions. So we have the suggestion boxes and every day a bulletin goes up with the suggestions, and their answers. The bulletins are in every department. Then come the excursions, when we all go out together and spend a whole day in the country, all on the ground floor, no difference between a commissioner and a public building cleaner. All get together and have a good family party.

In our Bureau we did something which I want to tell you about, because it is the first time it has been done in Government anywhere. We established "joint trial boards" for employees. Formerly an employee in our department would be dismissed for two years by a commissioner on a hearing and could not get a position in any other department of the great City of New York for those two years, that being the civil service rule. That's a pretty severe

penalty and it is a serious proposition for one man, who might possibly be prejudiced, to have that power. So I said: "From now on no man is going to be heard by one commissioner; there are going to be two commissioners or a commissioner and an assistant commissioner or engineer or secretary, two men representing the Government or Administration, and two men on the same Trial Board selected by lot from among their fellow employees." Now these four men—two from the employees and two from the Administration—hear the complaint and the excuses and say what shall be done. We have had thirty such trials within the last ten months. Those who opposed the plan—and it was not easy to get it started—said: "Why, the men will always side with their own; they will let everybody off. I said: "I know better; it is not so; when men are placed in the position of judges, they will rise to the occasion and be just. I have as much confidence in the working people's sense of justice as I have in their employer's." And it was found so. The second thing they said was: "It will destroy discipline. The commissioner will do all in his power to avoid bringing an employee up before a joint board for fear he will get off." The fact is that the thirty different boards that have thus far acted have, in every single case, been unanimous in their judgment and have dismissed fourteen out of the thirty, and in each case these two working men who acted as judges have gone back to their department and have said: "Boys, we have had a square deal: if we are guilty, we are punished; if we are innocent, we get off." The discipline has been improved and the people are contented. They know that there is every assurance of absolute justice, and that is what people want. (Applause.) We must try to keep people contented, and the only way to do that is by getting together frequently, and on an equal basis. The first word I say to these four men is: "You are here to judge your fellowmen, but you are here on an equal basis; you two men who are cleaners in a public bath are today on the same basis as the commissioners; you have got to depend on the evidence and judge by the evidence and nothing else; it is a sacred matter." And they go ahead proud and happy and stand for both discipline and fairness.

This morning I was not altogether in accord with the criticism of the song "I didn't raise my boy to be a soldier." I don't say that men should not be soldiers, that my sons should not go to war if the call comes and is absolutely necessary; hard as it is, they must go to the front and fight for their country, but I will never raise them to be soldiers. (Applause.) I will raise them to help humanity, to help in social service, science, art—anything that is useful for human beings, to make them happier the world over. That is the American spirit. We fight when we must fight, but we are not raised to fight. I am sorry to say that I recognize

that we are still not civilized. This European war has opened my eyes to that fact. We need defense, we need soldiers, and I am proud of our army and our navy, but heaven forbid that all of us should be compelled to rear our sons to be food for the cannon and go out to kill people. That is what the soldier, unfortunately, must do. Let us try to see whether, by the spread of education, by the spread of good will, by the spread of all methods of prevention of war, by the spread of humanity, we cannot push the day a little bit nearer when no woman will need to rear her son to be a soldier, when the world will be better than it is today and more civilized, substituting justice for brute force, when brotherhood will extend everywhere and the whole world be a greater Borough of Manhattan with Germans and English and French living side by side in peace and harmony. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is MR. GEORGE BURNHAM, JR., Director, Central National Bank and Merchants Union Trust Company of Philadelphia. (Applause.)

THE BUSINESS MAN AS A PEACE FORCE

ADDRESS BY MR. GEORGE BURNHAM, JR.

In addressing you on the subject of War and Peace, I am expected to speak from the point of view—or what I conceive to be the point of view—of the business man. Instinctively, the man of business is opposed to war, because war is the great disorganizer of business. Never has there been such a demonstration of this and on such a colossal scale, as we have witnessed since the present war began.

The sudden dislocation of foreign exchanges at the outset, with disastrous effects in all countries engaged in commerce; the total destruction of Germany's vast carrying trade and the consequent phenomenal rise in ocean freights; the general business prostration in the great states of South America, so dependent upon European capital; the check to our own growing industries; the complete paralysis of all industry in Belgium, Northern France and Western Poland are but a few of the most salient and well-known effects of the present war on commerce and industry. It is significant that even in Germany, which is generally conceded to be the nation in which the military spirit is the strongest, the business men of Berlin strongly opposed the arbitrament of war in the days when the question still hung in the balance.

There is, it must be pointed out, a countervailing side to this. Business concerned with furnishing munitions of war is vastly stimulated, as we see today in our own land, but however great proportions this has attained, and is likely to attain in the near future, it is negligible as compared with the industrial and com-

mercial disaster that has pulsated through the civilized world as a consequence of the unprecedented war now under way.

The interesting side of this matter is what is the business man going to do about it. What is he going to do, not about this war—that is beyond his control—but about future wars, or rather, about the prevention of future warfare? Wars have been recurrent ever since history began, and doubtless the great majority of men have come to look upon them as unavoidable, inevitable. But why should we consider war inevitable? It is not a natural phenomenon, like an earthquake, or a cyclone, uncontrollable by human effort. It is distinctly a human product and has its origin in men's minds. The world-mind has changed in its attitude towards human slavery; why should it not change in its attitude towards war as a court of last resort?

Business men in the broadest sense of the word are doers, makers, creators. To the doer the world seems plastic. He is always trying to shape things to his practical ends, sometimes succeeding, sometimes failing. Because they are doers, makers, I do not believe that business men will always accept the age-long dictum that war is inevitable, but that sooner or later they will insist that means must be found to do away with it.

I can imagine no greater impetus to this mental attitude, not only of business men, but of all men and women, than the war now in progress. Where a few voices were raised in protest against the irrationality of war as a means of settling international disputes a year ago, thousands upon thousands are now urging by tongue and pen that some better means must be found of settling such disputes. Even the belligerents themselves are claiming that the war was foolish and unnecessary, but that it was forced upon them by the other fellow.

Never before have there been so many people demanding, as the issues of this war, not merely a temporary peace, a respite from the horrors and destruction of this particular war, but some distinct advance towards a permanent peace, if not its final achievement. (Applause.) That this should be the case is largely due, I believe, to the efforts of the workers for peace the world over, culminating in the two world conferences at The Hague. That a proposition for a World Court for the settlement of even a portion of the disputes that might arise between nations, should have actually been deliberated by the assembled nations of the world and accepted by them in principle, was not only a tremendous encouragement to peace lovers everywhere, but a guarantee that their hopes for a final organization of the world in the interests of peace were not visionary but had a practical basis.

While The Hague conferences failed to tide the world over the critical period that everyone knew was at hand, it is absurd to

say that those conferences were failures. After this war has ended, they will, it seems to me, loom large in the public mind, as forming the one sure basis for any attempt that may be made towards a better world organization in the future than has obtained in the past.

Now I have said that business men, as primarily doers, makers, constructors, want to "do some thing about it," as the phrase goes. What can they do? No one has, or can have, at this time, any definitive plan upon which all the peace forces of the world can unite. All sorts of divergent and tentative propositions have been made, many of them doubtless worthless, but some having features of value. Thank God that they *are* being made, that they *are* appearing in magazines, newspapers and the spoken word in many places and in many tongues, and that we are not all taking refuge in that cyclone cellar of constructive thought, the *non-possumus!*

Before we can see any light on this question, we must get together, and business men could most usefully expend their energies at this time in helping to organize the peace forces of the world. There are peace societies everywhere that are considering these momentous questions. Let business men everywhere join them, help them. If they find them impotent and visionary, let them help to make them strong and practical in their work. If a number of business men want to carry out some great project—a railroad, for instance, through the Alps—they first get together and discuss the question; they call in experts for the technical information needed; and they finally evolve a plan.

When the projectors of the Atlantic Cable first assembled it was as men determined to do a certain thing but not at all sure of the best way to do it. They had no tested plan but were willing to invest their means in a try-out if a promising plan could be devised. They did not go ahead blindly but secured the best experts they could find, and doubtless considered many plans before starting their venture. As you remember, they achieved success for a few weeks and then their cable ceased to work. Being determined men, however, they refused to accept defeat. The difficulties were overcome and now ocean cables encircle the globe. My point simply is that, if we really want to help in the great enterprise of world organization, our first duty is to help in every way possible in organizing and consolidating all the forces working towards this end. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: It gives me much pleasure to announce that the resolutions adopted by the delegates present from business organizations will be presented to the Conference, at this time by MR. L. M. CUTHERBERT of Denver, Colorado. (Applause.)

REMARKS BY LUCIUS M. CUTHBERT, LL.B.*

It is Milton, I think, who says: "He also serves who stands and waits." The idea thus presented suggests a cause, perhaps a great and important one; the devotion and activity of others; and the impressive figure of one who stands, silent and keenly alert, but also serving.

In this body there is such an element; and like all powerful and effective agencies, here as elsewhere, it is more or less silent. In the deliberations and discussions of vital and far-reaching questions, its voice is not often heard; but its influence, counselling moderation in times of peace and restraining passion in times of war, is none the less powerful and beneficent. This Guardian upon the Watch-Towers of our State is the business man and the business interests of the country.

One of the distinguished speakers of today said that it is the people who create wars and the function of the soldier to restore peace. By a singular, but, to my mind, happy coincidence, the able speaker who immediately followed emphasized the danger of conflict arising from the efficiency and over-preparedness of the soldier and his equipment. And, as is frequently the case where a serious question is presented from various viewpoints, we were able to appreciate much of truth in both statements. But we *do* know that whatever and whoever may be the cause of conflict, ultimately and in the last analysis, the sinews of war are supplied and the bills are paid by the business man and the business interests of the country.

It is an historical fact of the greatest significance and of inspiring import, that, whatever may be the record of other nations, whenever this country has been at war, whether with foreign countries or amongst ourselves, and whatever opinions they may have entertained as to the necessity or occasion for the conflict, never have the business men of this country failed in their patriotic duty to supply the means for preserving the integrity of our Government and maintaining the honour and dignity of the nation.

We have listened with interest, and have been inspired with sentiments of hope for the future in hearing, the addresses delivered at this conference concerning international cooperation, the settlement of differences between nations through the agencies of arbitral courts and international courts of justice, the problem of armament and the beneficent and salutary principle of Pan Americanism. But we appreciate one vitally important and absolutely essential fact—that no movement or principle, no institution or organized effort of national or international importance, however meritorious or desirable it may be, can or will be success-

*Mr. Cuthbert's remarks were transferred from the 6th Sess. and printed here because of their connection with the preceding papers.—ED.

ful unless it has back of it, as a foundation as well as an advocate, a strong and enlightened public opinion, approving those plans for the avoidance of war and the maintenance of peace that are sound and well-matured, and demanding the formulation and establishment of such principles into effective and permanent organization. And that public opinion, essential and necessary for the accomplishment of the hopes of this Conference for the preservation of peace and order between the nations and, perhaps, for the safety and integrity of our country, will, in the future, as in the past, find its main support and vital strength among the business men of the country. (Applause.)

At this conference there are representatives, not only from the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, but also from chambers of commerce and commercial bodies of sixteen states of the Union. I have the honour, on behalf of that body of business men and at their request, to present the following:

DECLARATION OF DELEGATES* PRESENT FROM BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS

The delegates appointed by business organizations to attend the Twenty-first Annual Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration declare their belief that disputes between nations can and ought to be justly settled through the proceedings of international tribunals instead of through war, with its attendant horrors and waste.

Men engaged in manufacturing, mercantile and financial business realize fully the derangement of industry and commerce resulting from the present great European War, not only affecting the non-combatants of the warring countries, but also the people of all neutral nations. They realize that this derangement of business is causing immense hardship to the great bulk of our people and to the inhabitants of all countries. They realize that the enormous cost of carrying on this war and the paying for its results will be a gigantic load upon an enfeebled posterity; and that the burden must be shared ultimately by all the people, however remote and however innocent.

They believe that the great end of international endeavor should be the establishment of justice among the nations. That, as a powerful agency for the creation and dissemination of public opinion, essential and necessary to the establishment of an international condition whereby struggles between nations may become impossible, nothing is more useful or effective than a universal and general international system of arbitration, cooperation and agreement between all the nations, great and small; and,

*See list immediately following—ED.

therefore, they heartily endorse the efforts of this Conference and all other movements that seek the promotion and accomplishment of that object.

They believe in the formation of a code of international law through the action of international conferences; in the establishment of a permanent international court of justice to settle disputes between nations; and in providing some international means to execute, if necessary, the decrees of the court.

They believe that great difficulties stand in the way of the accomplishment of this program, but they also believe that it is bound to come; that it may at last come suddenly; and they hope it will be the immediate outcome of the present terrible war.

They believe, however, that it is the part of wisdom at present for the United States to be fully prepared to defend itself from possible injustice and aggression, and therefore they advocate the strengthening of the military and naval forces of this country so as, effectively, to protect its coast.

Realizing the unspeakable sufferings of thousands of their fellow beings, attributable to the horrors of this war, and appreciating the great benevolence, charity and generosity of their fellow citizens throughout these United States in their efforts to alleviate that suffering and distress, they urge, for the many worthy and efficient organizations seeking to accomplish that object, the continued sympathy and support of all citizens.

Whilst deprecating the use of force except as a last resort to defend the rights of their countrymen and humanity, and appreciating to the utmost the delicate and trying position in which the President of the United States is now unfortunately placed, they desire to do all that lies in their power to uphold and support him in his patriotic and humane efforts and they earnestly bespeak for him the cordial and hearty sympathy and assistance of all citizens, regardless of section or party. (Applause.)

DELEGATES OF BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS PRESENT AT THE CONFERENCE OF 1915

NATIONAL

Chamber of Commerce of the United States.....	A. B. Farquhar, York, Pa.
National Association of Manufacturers.....	A. B. Farquhar, York, Pa.
National League of Commission Merchants.....	A. W. Patch, Boston, Mass.
National Wholesale Dry Goods Association.....	Calvin M. Smyth, Philadelphia, Pa.

COLORADO

Denver Chamber of Commerce.....	L. M. Cuthbert.
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CONNECTICUT

New Haven Chamber of Commerce.....	Frank J. Linsley.
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LOUISIANA

New Orleans Association of Commerce.....	George Summey.
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MAINE

Portland Chamber of Commerce.....	Charles A. Strout.
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MARYLAND

Baltimore Merchants and Manufacturers Association.....Summerfield Baldwin.

MASSACHUSETTS

Massachusetts State Board of Trade.....Frank D. Howard, Chicopee Falls,
Worcester Chamber of Commerce.....Charles T. Tatman.

NEW JERSEY

Camden Board of Trade.....Alexander C. Wood.
Elizabeth Board of Trade.....Elias D. Smith.
Newark Board of Trade.....A. V. Hamburg, Pres.

NEW YORK

Amsterdam Board of Trade.....	C. A. W. Platt.
Auburn Business Men's Association.....	Allen Macy Dulles.
Binghamton Chamber of Commerce.....	L. M. Wilson.
Bronx Board of Trade (New York).....	J. Harris Jones, ex-Pres.
Kingston Chamber of Commerce.....	John B. Kearney, Pres.
Merchants Association of New York.....	J. Crawford McCreery.
New York Manufacturers and Business Men's Association, Brooklyn.....	Robert J. McFarland.
New York Produce Exchange.....	Welding Ring, ex-Pres.
Poughkeepsie Chamber of Commerce.....	Elmer D. Gildersleeve, ex-Pres.
Rochester Chamber of Commerce.....	Daniel B. Murphy.
Syracuse Chamber of Commerce.....	Edward P. Bates.

OHIO

Cincinnati Business Men's Club Co.....	E. P. Marshall.
Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce.....	E. P. Marshall.
Greater Dayton Association.....	Edwin L. Shuey.

PENNSYLVANIA

Erie Board of Commerce.....	Clark Olds.
Philadelphia Board of Trade.....	Wm. R. Tucker, Sec.
Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce.....	Howard B. French, V.-Pres.

WISCONSIN

Oshkosh Retail Merchants Association.....	Edward H. Smith.
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CANADA

Montreal Board of Trade.....	George F. Benson, Pres.
Toronto Board of Trade.....	Herbert Langlois.

The CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is MR. EDWARD A. FILENE, of Boston, National Councillor of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. (Applause.)

AMERICAN BUSINESS AND THE WAR

ADDRESS BY MR. EDWARD A. FILENE

It is with a good deal of hesitation that I take part in this discussion of a question which is the most difficult of all the questions the world faces at the present time. The causes of the war lie so deep, are so varied, so intertwined with the thought and action of the world, that a final and fundamental solution would require well-nigh the combined wisdom of the world.

We have been hearing from the experts, whose business in life it has been to study the causes and the forces that lead up to war, and to study the methods that have been tried in the past in order to mitigate or do away with such causes. A business man, because of the very nature of his life work, cannot make such fundamental studies. Nevertheless, it has been said in the discussions

of this conference that "nine out of ten wars originate in trade rivalry." On the whole, with certain reservations, I agree.

In the last ten years, I have been devoting an important part of my time to organizing business men so that they might have better mutual understanding and fewer differences, national and international. In fact when the war broke out, I was in Brussels helping to direct the sending out of the first referendum on business questions that has ever been sent out internationally. That was the referendum of the International Chambers of Commerce, which is made up of all the important chambers of commerce in every important country of the world. That first referendum dealt with the question of disloyal competition, or, as we call it, unfair competition. The type of referendum that it might be fairly expected would come in time is indicated by the fact that in the biennial meeting in Boston in 1912 a resolution was passed favoring the submission of international disputes to arbitration.

The work of this referendum was stopped by the war. We believe confidently, of course, that it will be taken up again at the end of the war, but how effectively this can be done will depend upon what kind of settlement of the war there will be. If the settlement is of the type which has been ineffective in preserving peace in the past, this plan and all business plans will suffer greatly. A bad settlement will leave Europe an armed camp and its energies will be used up in preparing armaments for the next war. If there is a bad settlement, there will be added to the high cost of living prevalent before the war throughout Europe, as well as America, the enormous cost of the present war and the extraordinary cost of increasing armaments.

Under such conditions, the nations so burdened will be bad markets for the world's products. Bad business will result in all the nations which depend on exports to Europe, such as the South American countries, China, and Japan. Thus not merely our market in Europe but possibly also our business in those other countries will be reduced. The development in those countries will be checked by the failure to secure European capital and by the increased cost of capital.

Under these conditions the United States will be relatively the best market the world affords; and the European countries, whose prosperity depends on exports and who have war debts they must pay, must and will sell their products in this country, regardless of cost. What I mean is that they will sell at the best price they can get; that is, at a price almost certainly lower than our business men can profitably make. Because of the prices they will have to make, our European competitors will readjust the wage scale of their employees and their own scale of living. It will be possible for them to do this, because in each of those countries obtaining this foreign trade it will be looked upon as a patriotic duty, a

fundamental necessity for the upbuilding of the country. The result will be great industrial and commercial disturbances in this country; and the outlook is that these disturbances will not be temporary, but will last for many years and be dependent for their fundamental solution not so much on factors within our own country as on the finding of conditions which will bring prosperity and peace to Europe. Our difficulties will be heightened by the increased cost of capital, from which we will directly suffer.

With this outlook, we ask ourselves: What can we business men do? What can the United States do to bring about the right settlement of the war? It is through such questions, perhaps, that we business men earn the right to be in a conference such as this. If we can aid at all, our greatest usefulness will be along the lines of indicating practical methods. What are the proposals that have caught the attention of the business world. I would place them perhaps in this order:

First, an international council of conciliation and a world court; second, a means of putting some definite sanction behind that council and that court; third, the "Open Door." The first two are more important. I will say what I have to say about the third briefly.

It has been said that the present war is but a continuance of the commercial war that has been going on very intensely between the nations for the last twenty-five years. It is the belief of the leading Germans—I was so told by leading men in Germany last October—that the Entente powers were attempting to limit her markets more and more. This was the way in which Germany interpreted the Morocco incident, and the German colonial policy was largely an attempt to make sure of new markets or rather to make sure that new markets would not be closed against them.

From this it has been concluded in some quarters that general free trade is necessary for lasting peace between the nations. I do not believe that such a proposal has any possibility of being even considered at the settlement of the war. It would be too serious for the exhausted nations to collect by direct taxes the revenues that have come to them hitherto from tariffs. More than this, in almost all the countries it would mean a great readjustment of their industries—a thing quite impossible in their present condition. There would also be made necessary in most of the countries political readjustment on a scale that would be full of fundamental dangers.

Free trade is impracticable, if not impossible; yet I believe the cause of more lasting peace can be largely helped by an international agreement of the "Open Door" order—by an international agreement to do away with preferential tariffs. What I mean is that while each country would retain the right to make its own tariff, it would agree that every other country should have the right to

trade with it on equal terms. I believe that such an agreement is practically possible and that it would go a long way towards meeting one of the fundamental causes of war.

Now as to the question of a council of conciliation and a world court, it would seem that the most expert men, the men of best international experience and wisdom, are practically agreed on the necessity of these things as foundations for more lasting peace. This terrible war strongly emphasizes to us the need for them internationally, and therefore the compulsion to bring them about is greater. As business men, we do not feel competent to decide which matters are justiciable or which are non-justiciable. We leave that to the lawyer and the statesman, whose life work it is to try to determine such questions.

But I believe that on one point you will find practical agreement among business men. We are not interested in any council or world court that has not behind it a definite sanction. Our business experience and our knowledge of innumerable broken international agreements and treaties makes us unwilling to trust to any agreement the breach of which does not involve a definite penalty. In this we are upheld by the best authorities in international relations.

The most practical sanctions presented for our consideration are force, and non-intercourse or some economic penalty. An international police force, if you will so call it, may be necessary; but that there are great dangers and great difficulties involved in this sanction no one, I imagine, would deny. However that may be, we think that we shall have general agreement in our belief that any other sanction that can be employed, making the sanction of military force less often needed, will be welcomed with open arms by all concerned.

Among such possible non-military sanctions, I believe non-intercourse to be the most practical and most desirable. By non-intercourse I mean, of course, a refusal not only to furnish munitions of war, food supplies, or any other kind of exports, but also a refusal to furnish financial aid to any nation which goes to war without first submitting its contention to the council of conciliation or the world court. As business men we know that this method of non-intercourse may cause large loss of profits to many of us, but those losses could by fitting national organization be evenly distributed. I firmly believe that even if this were not so, as business men, we are ready to meet losses if by so doing we can help to prevent such terrible wars as the present one. Moreover, the net results of wars are loss and not profit to any nation, even to a neutral nation.

As business men, we are most concerned in the practical methods of getting the sanctions adopted. Any propaganda for that in the warring countries is impossible at present. We in the United

States, however, are free to push the propaganda. We believe that by definite hard work we can get the public opinion of this country instructed and strongly supporting such a method.

When once this work has been done and public opinion has become enlightened and determined, then we believe the time will have come to make the attempt through a conference of neutral nations for an international agreement. When the conference of the warring nations meets to determine the terms of settlement, if there is in existence a definite strong force of opinion among the peoples of the neutral nations, or better still, a definite agreement among the neutral nations for an international council of conciliation and a world court backed by the sanction of non-intercourse, there is good reason to believe that this will be of great influence in determining the terms of the actual settlement of the war and in helping to make it a settlement productive of more lasting peace. In any event, it will be entitled to a definite hearing and definite respect, because it represents not only a general desire for more lasting peace, but a readiness and agreement to make definite sacrifices for such peace; that is, although we are neutrals, we are ready to pay our share of the price to secure more lasting peace.

May I, in closing, point out one more way in which we business men may be of use? In business we, as a rule, distinguish sharply between planning and execution. We believe that different kinds of abilities are needed for each. Therefore, while we believe that the very difficult plans for a council of conciliation and world court should be worked out largely by statesmen, diplomats, and international lawyers and experts, we also believe that there will be more hope for the actual accomplishment if the getting of the plans accepted in this country; that is, the putting the united forces of this country back of the plan; is left largely, if not wholly, to a picked group of our most successful business men. We believe that if the experts would agree on the best plan practically possible and then entrust its propaganda to a group of our most successful business men, there would be reason to hope for a successful unification of public opinion in this country behind such a plan. I have in mind such men as Schwab, Hill, Forgan, Wheeler, Wanamaker, Rosenwald, Paterson, Simmons, Carnegie and Hammond. The reason I venture to suggest this is that such great business executives are accustomed to succeed. They will not allow themselves to be stopped easily even by the enormous difficulties involved in these plans.

We business men do not believe in panaceas. We see underlying this great war not only the most important business questions, but, also the fundamental questions of democracy and justice. Therefore, we see that the next practical step is this proposal that the United States shall do pioneer work towards substituting law for

war. We see in it a great adventure which appeals to all that is best in us, and I think we should be ready to pledge ourselves to work for it. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: Owing to the fact that the exercises this morning have carried us up almost to the hour of twelve o'clock, we will defer any discussion under the five minute rule until this evening, when there will be ample opportunity. The conference will now adjourn.

Sixth Session

Friday, May 21, 1915, 8 p. m.

The CHAIRMAN: The exercises of the evening will open with an address by REV. FREDERICK LYNCH, Secretary of The Church Peace Union. (Applause.)

RELIGION THE BASIS OF PEACE

ADDRESS BY REV. FREDERICK LYNCH, D.D.

A lawyer friend of mine said to President Eliot after his remarkable address last night,* "This is a clergyman's job after all." I think that fundamentally it *is* the province of religion to put the foundation under all of these structures which we are now rearing at this Conference. This Conference assembles at the most critical moment in the world's history for many years. Here we are meeting in this room when civilization has practically fallen in large areas of Europe, when our own country is perhaps threatened with a lapse into the same condition, and surely the church must have something to say in the face of this awful calamity. It is fortunate that God has made us only partially capable of realizing what is happening in the world; otherwise we probably could not smile again.

There are four things without which I do not think your world courts or your leagues of peace or your arbitration treaties or your procedures of any sort will have any permanent usefulness in the world.

First, so long as civilization is based on force and on force alone, there can be no operation by world courts or leagues of peace. The civilization of Europe for the past forty years has been based largely upon force. The nations have said that the way to keep the peace of Europe is by armaments, and for forty years have been in a competitive race in armaments, until the point has been reached, as an English friend said to me last summer in Europe, "when it will go off by spontaneous combustion." I was in Germany when the war broke out, and I had it borne in upon me more than ever that when armament reaches a certain point, it is absolutely impossible to keep nations from plunging into war. There were the Hague Tribunal and the peace machinery; yet, however hard Mr. Grey, the Kaiser and others tried to

*See address of President Eliot in this Sess.

keep the peace of Europe, it was absolutely impossible to do so when all about was nothing but armament and force piled up to those vast heights. Somehow or other the church, religion, has got to convince the world that civilization must be reared on something finer and more enduring and more peace-productive than force. It must be reared upon great moral values, upon mutual understandings and goodwill; it must be based upon humanity rather than upon nationalism; on a great fellow-world-feeling rather than upon a narrow patriotism, on great and fundamental moral and ethical verities, if even the institutions we are creating here and in other parts of the world are to work and to have effect. There was a missionary in China who had been trying for many years to convert a high Chinese official to Christianity. Finally he heard that this mandarin was going to make a tour of Europe and he said to him, "I hope, Sir, that while you are in Europe, you will observe very keenly the highest products of Christian civilization." When the mandarin came back to China the missionary ran to meet him and said, "Now tell me, what was the most conspicuous fruit of Christianity that you observed in Europe?" With a twinkle in his eye, the Chinaman said, "Guns." (Laughter.) You who have been in Europe know that guns are everywhere, so that in three days all Europe is plunged into war and all your peace machinery cannot stop it unless we can substitute something greater, nobler and higher than materialism and guns as the basis of our civilization.

The second point I want to ask you to consider is whether it is ever going to be possible to have peace in the world, to get even justice or righteousness, which are after all the same things, so long as we, who call ourselves Christians, allow a double standard of ethics to persist in the Kingdom of God and to underlie all our relationships. We are today living under two systems of ethics, Christian for individual relationships, and pagan, absolutely pagan, for nations. We say it is a crime for a man to steal, we have not until quite recently said that it is a crime for a nation to steal; indeed those nations that history praises most are the nations that have been able to steal the most. We have said that it is a crime for a man to kill his brother man; we have not until very recently said it is a crime for nations to destroy other and weaker nations in the world and we do not fully believe it yet. We have said that it is a crime for a man to settle his disputes with his brother man by guns or even by his fists; we have not said it is criminal for nations to settle their disputes by brute force and by fists of iron and steel. We have said it is beautiful and gentlemanly for a man to forgive and to try to love his enemy. But who expects that of a nation, who expects that a nation shall ever think of forgiving or of reason and Christian charity? Now the time has come when we must rid ourselves of that double standard of ethics.

I am glad that Dr. Eliot pressed it so far last night. We have also said that to be a gentleman and a Christian one must keep his word to his fellow men. If we go on and say that nations shall not be bound by that same eternal obligation; that the nation which breaks its word and its treaty, can be a gentleman and recognized in society, we have a double standard of ethics under which it is absolutely impossible ever to have a lasting peace, however many world courts or leagues of peace we form. Now the time has come when every religious man should insist with all his force that this double standard of ethics must end; that nations must come up to that same high plane of citizenship and Christian relationship which already exists between individuals.

The third point I wish to make is this: The great message of the church should be that nations must live upon the same doctrine of duties as that on which all gentlemen, all Christians, live. I have not any friends who live on a doctrine of rights. My friends live on a doctrine of duties—the Christian doctrine—accepted by individuals throughout the world. We, as individuals, are no longer concerned about our rights; we are concerned in establishing the rights of others; and the good man everywhere is the man who has passed over to that high conception of life, where he looks out upon the world as one who has been sent with a mission to maintain the rights of others and to live by duties himself. Even if now and then we feel we must get our rights, as decent men we will not insist upon them if, by so doing, we harm others. Who, in any community, unless he be the very worst thug in that community, will go out and insist upon avenging his honor, or upon getting his rights, if in doing that he is going to menace the lives of others in the community? Where is the nation that has reached so high a standard that it believes itself to be in the world to stand not only for its rights but also for its duties? If we cannot bring nations to that high point, surely the time has come when no nation in this world has a right to stand for its own rights or avenge its own honor if it is going to plunge all the rest of the world into misery. We have got to bring the nations of the world up to that standard to which individuals have come. No nation in our complicated world of today can wage war against another nation without waging war against all humanity. I am glad that Mr. Taft, at the dedication of the Pan American Building in Washington, uttered that memorable sentence in which he said: "The time has come on this American continent, when, if any two nations have a dispute and proceed to go to war about it, the other nineteen nations shall step in and say, 'Here, you must settle this peaceably; we will not allow you to plunge the northern and southern continents into war over this thing.'" I hope some of those who are very eager just now to have our nation plunged into this war, no matter what the issue at stake, will think for a

moment and see if there isn't some better way. I am absolutely sure that if our nation does go into this war a dozen other nations will be in it after us.

The last point I wish to make is whether perhaps, in that upward progress of the world, in which I believe nations have a share as well as individuals, in spite of the awful things that have come upon it, the time may come when some nation may stand out as the great prophetic nation of the world and step up onto an international plane which no nation has ever reached before, but onto which all nations will follow it. Some say now throughout our own land that the immediate duty of the United States is to avenge its honor. My friends, the honor of the United States is not at stake. The honor of Germany may be at stake, or of some other nation, but the honor of the United States is not at stake. No one can hurt your honor except yourself. (Applause.) Others are saying, "I hope the United States will stand for its rights." Is that the highest duty our nation can conceive for itself? I am putting the emphasis, not on "rights" now, but on "its"—for *its* rights, *its* rights alone. Cannot we say as did our great President quietly in New York last Monday, "The duty of America at this moment is not to think of itself, but to think of humanity"? (Applause.) I am hoping that our nation at this time may take such a high Christian course that it may not only stop this war—that is the minor thing after all—but that it may somehow or other lead the nations up to a plane where not only international law will not be violated and not only the rights of neutrals will be protected, but all the world will see that the time has come to put this business aside forever, and will come, as individuals have long ago come, into that sweet Kingdom of God where justice and good will and brotherliness and humanity prevail and where strife is no more. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: I have the pleasure to announce that Miss MARY E. WOOLLEY, President of Mt. Holyoke College, will address the Conference. (Applause.)

WHAT CAN EDUCATION DO TO FURTHER THE POSSIBILITIES OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION?

ADDRESS BY MARY E. WOOLLEY, LL.D.

In the face of the crisis through which we are passing, to speak of education seems like talking at long range. This is primarily the time for action, for determining what can be done *now* most wisely, rather than for discussing the training of the future.

But, from another point of view, this is also the time for education,—a time when men and women and children need to be train-

ed to think, a time for education through every possible agency. We are living in an age of destruction on a scale more colossal than anything that the world has ever seen or dreamed—and not a small share of the responsibility for these awful forces of destruction which have been let loose upon the world must rest upon the teachers who have been defending and promulgating what Dr. Gulick calls "absolutely unhuman international ethics." If "modern Germany is the work of the schoolmaster" of the last thirty years, within the next ten, the schoolmaster can work out a very different ideal of civilization. Education has clearly marked out for it the path which it should follow. "This is the way, walk ye in it" rings in our ears as distinctly as if the fearless prophet of old were in our midst preaching, "In quietness and in confidence shall be your strength." May it not be true of us as of ancient Israel, "and ye would not!"

The agencies of education are many and in this critical time the resources of old should be utilized,—church, home, school, public platform, club, educational, social and religious organizations, periodical and, last but by no means least, the press, rightly called the Great National Educator. Many a reader of the daily paper must wonder why it does not always improve its unmatched opportunity for shaping and guiding public opinion along constructive lines, as in some of the critical periods through which we have passed in our relations with Japan, by substituting for the snapshot judgments of hot-headed writers, who understand neither people, country nor conditions of which they are writing, a clear-cut expression of opinion by a man like Dr. Gulick, who knows whereof he speaks. The newspapers of the country have an appalling opportunity viewed in the light of the responsibility which goes with it, for forming public opinion aright.

A year ago many of us would have said that an understanding of the waste of war—a waste of material resources, of the achievements of civilization, of human life itself—would deter nations from plunging into its awful vortex. But the incredible has happened, with mad squandering of wealth and treasure and life so vast that our imaginations cannot grasp it. No, the education of the present and of the future must be based not on expediency alone, although all the teaching of expediency is an unanswerable argument against war. "After all, the passions of men are the strongest force in the world," said the wife of a naval officer to me a fortnight ago, "and therefore war is inevitable." Human passions are strong, so strong that merely practical considerations are often as powerless before them as a dyke in the pathway of a tidal wave. Within the last fortnight, we have been appalled at the strength of the passions of hot indignation that have swept over us because of the ruthless disregard of the obligations of civilization and the rights of humanity.

The only plane on which education can educate today is the highest—in the realm not of expediency but of ethics. The most effective blow that can be directed against the destruction called war is the blow aimed at the destructive forces which are the interwoven roots of war—ruthless ambition, jealousy, distrust, fear, suspicion, hatred and all the ugly train that undermine character and make life a travesty upon the thought of man created in the image of God. Education should emphasize the *constructive* not the *destructive* in life. The worst side of the proposed military training in our universities and colleges—we are not facing that contingency in our colleges for women, indicating that there are still some advantages in being a woman—is in the emphasis which it would place on the wrong side. We cannot serve both the constructive and the destructive, prepare our students for the killing of their fellow mortals and at the same time make marked impression by the preaching of the doctrine, "Ye all are brethren."

History marks the growth of the conception of human relationships—the family, the tribe, the nation. A new stress upon the *international*—a higher conception of what human relationships may and ought to be, bounded not by the family or the social circle or the community or the nation or the race, but world-wide—this is now the province and the mission of educators. The failure of the different nations to understand anything about one another's point of view, President Hadley called the pathetic thing about the European crisis.

"Before war, arbitration; before arbitration, conciliation; before conciliation, concord," said Count d'Estournelles de Constant. It is a great and inspiring task that is presented to the educational forces of the world, the task of leading in the understanding of other nations and races; replacing fear and distrust and hatred by sympathy and cooperation and the spirit of kindliness; expanding the theory of personal ethics into the theory of national and international ethics, nay more, showing that any system of ethics which does not include the larger view, is only half-ethical, that "righteousness and good will apply to nations as well as to individuals;" aiding in the development not only of an "international mind," but also of an international conscience, an international heart and an international soul.

"Happy art thou, O Israel" might well be applied to this people in its leadership today. An idealist for our President? Yes—fortunately, for where there is no vision the people perish—but also a leader whose platform of peace by every possible means is the only practical one for a civilized age. The issue is clean-cut. Shall the slogan of this country be "Might is Right," or "Right is Might"? The world is having a tragic object lesson as to the working out of the first. Does it appeal to thinking

men and women as a success, a step onward in civilization, a progress from any point of view, material, moral, spiritual? Is the world a better, happier, more useful, more beautiful place to-day because of the practical application of that theory? Shall we follow blindly in the wake of a theory that would make brute force the dominant power in the world? War is an anachronism in this age when all the forces of civilization—improved methods of transportation and communication, common interests of business education, philanthropy, social betterment—are combining to draw the nations of the world together.

Granted that it is difficult in this time of strain and stress to find a way out; there are few things worth accomplishing that are not difficult, and the very difficulty should serve as a spur not as a deterrent. We have been told today by a business man, that business men do not stop in the promotion of big business because there are difficulties in the way. Surely this is big business, the biggest that civilization has ever had before it, and the solution of the problem is a challenge to every thinking man and woman.

I do not need to remind this audience of some of the practical measures possible—a future world peace league; as a present measure, non-intercourse, diplomatic and commercial, with a recalcitrant power; the utilization of the coming Pan American Congress for concerted action on the part of neutral nations; and an effort to support and help by every possible means the womanhood of the civilized world, the women of the warring as well as the neutral nations, who, in the midst of their heart-rending calamity, have shown a solidarity in their protest against war never before experienced in the history of the world.

There are psychological moments in the life of nations as in the life of individuals, and the United States is facing such a moment not only as to its action in the present crisis but also as to its policy for the future. Shall we follow in the footsteps of the theory responsible for a calamity unparalleled in history, or strive to realize the ideal of a "powerful nation really Christian in its international relations"? (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: We shall now be glad to hear from DR. S. C. MITCHELL, President of Delaware College. (Applause.)

PIECEMEAL PROGRAM OF PEACE

ADDRESS BY SAMUEL CHILES MITCHELL, PH.D.

How often in these dark days we have recalled that remark of Thomas B. Reed, "Wrong is never so weak as in its hour of triumph." We are now told by General Bernhardi that "war is a biological and moral necessity." We recall that in Charleston, in 1860 Alexander H. Stephens said: "Slavery is a positive good,

the cornerstone of our civilization." It was just at the moment when witchcraft was disappearing from the earth that John Wesley remarked, "Give up witchcraft and you give up the Bible." Just at the time dueling was doomed, William Wilberforce stated that but for dueling, personal honor would vanish.

Some six or seven different projects, wise, constructive, luminous, have been presented here in the interest of peace, and, in addition to these, many effective arguments. Now the point I would like to make is that when we go down from this mountain, we shall not value the experiences here by the faith that we put in any one of these particular measures or devices, but that we shall appreciate the fact that often constructive forces originate in obscurity; that there is a tidal movement in the mind of man, and that that is our great encouragement even in this particularly dark day.

Mr. Lecky, in his History of Rationalism, says that society advances by sloughing off evils, not by argument, and not by particular devices. Did some man get on the peak of the Alps and announce an argument which exploded the fallacy of witchcraft? Not at all; mankind simply outgrew it and sloughed it off, as the snake at this season is sloughing off its outworn skin.

Sir Horace Plunkett said that for eight years he sat in the House of Commons listening to the debates on Ireland. It dawned upon him one day that for centuries England had applied political remedies to Ireland's economic wrongs, and failed; he wondered how it would do to apply economic remedies to Ireland's economic wrongs. So he left his seat in Parliament and went to Ireland and began establishing cooperative dairies and promoting better agriculture and sweeter home life. You know full well the transformation in the social conditions of Ireland and the results as regards political attitude, and so forth, which followed his practical labors. Now there was a force, not spectacular, not strident, but nevertheless effective; and it was a thing born in obscurity.

Let us take another instance. Our own Constitution was worked out with great care and marvellous wisdom, but there was a higher wisdom than the fathers themselves realized. They nowhere foresaw the fact that the Supreme Court was to become the center of gravity of the American Nation; and that factor slipped into our national life as the result of the teaching of a man by the name of George Wythe. In 1779, John Marshall dropped out of the ranks of the Revolutionary Army and went to school one year at William and Mary College to this teacher, George Wythe, whose hobby was that in the American system a court had a right to set aside any law that was in conflict with the fundamental charter or constitution. Wythe hammered that idea into the head of this young fellow Marshall. We have a decision from Wythe when he acted upon one occasion in 1783 as the Chancellor

of Virginia, and in that decision he went out of his way to state in the most explicit language that great principle of American law, and underscored it, as you will find in Minor's Report in the case *Cato vs. Commonwealth*. Twenty years from that date his great pupil, John Marshall, handed down his first decision from the Supreme Court in the case of *Marbury vs. Madison*, upon which he had meditated for two years and in which he embodied that great principle learned from his old teacher. That famous decision changed the centre of gravity of the American nation, and determined the issue of Appomattox.

As one crosses the Potomac, one may see a sign on the south bank, "Virginia State Line." The old fellow in ages past who drew the charter of Maryland, determined in that line the "more perfect union" that we happen to have in the present nation. Instead of making the south boundary of Maryland the current of the Potomac, he made it the south *bank* of the Potomac. Accordingly, under the articles of Confederation, when George Washington pushed his boat from his wharf at Mt. Vernon, loaded with tobacco for Liverpool or London, the Marylanders kindly said: "You must pay tariff upon that to us," and Washington replied: "This is not going to touch Maryland soil." "But you are within Maryland's jurisdiction," and Washington paid. Then the generous Virginians, when they would find a ship for Baltimore, would halt it at the capes and collect a tariff. The Marylanders said: "This ship is not going to touch Virginia soil;" but the Virginians replied, "You are in Virginia's jurisdiction, you know." Those tariff barriers made the Articles of Confederation a rope of sand. How did they overcome them? There was in 1785 at Alexandria a little gathering of Commissioners from Maryland and Virginia who tried to do away with those tariff barriers; and next year at Annapolis they widened the scope of the Conference which called the Philadelphia Convention of 1787. The more perfect union we have in the American Republic today is unquestionably due to knocking down those tariff barriers between the States. Now it was not realized at the moment that such a constructive force was working in obscurity, but working for large and wholesome ends in an infallible manner.

You know for hundreds of years they sought political unity in Germany, and failed. They had 400 repellent parties, and there was no way to bring them together. But in 1818 the thrifty Collector of Customs for Prussia, finding he had an immense border upon which to collect the customs and that he was paying out more for the salaries of his officials than he was receiving in revenue, found a little state almost enclosed within his boundary, and he said to the ruler: "You do away with your customs officers and I will do away with mine, and we will throw one line across the neck and divide the proceeds according to population." It

worked like a charm, and then another state came into the tariff union and still another came in, and in that way we got the North German Confederation and out of it sprang the German Empire. Maassen in a real sense was the Bismarck of the situation because he laid the basis for the after political union.

Now I think Joseph Chamberlain realized finely how the economic bond can give stability to political union. He left the British Cabinet and became, as he said, a drummer for imperialism. He tried to indicate that in order to hold the British Empire together, it was necessary for them to have free trade within, though they might have a tariff against countries without; that is to say, he appreciated how free trade is a unifying factor politically. National selfishness is at the heart of every tariff system. (Applause.)

Take the situation that confronts us today. Reference has been made to the fact that all the warring nations have wooed America, as a lover does his lady, and that it is the moral unity of judgment here that has given us such power. Suppose President Wilson were to say in this terrible crisis, by way of assuring the American people and the world that whatever steps we take in this crisis shall be only after consultation with the assembled wisdom and seasoned experience of the whole country, "I am going to do away with all party lines and am going to call about me the elder statesmen—men like Root, Governor Baldwin, Taft, Olney and Choate, so that whatever step is taken shall have the backing, the reinforcement of the collective wisdom of America." (Applause.)

You will remember when Naaman dipped in the Jordan, he hesitated a little; he thought the prophet should bid him do some big thing, but all the man of God bade him do was to dip seven times in the Jordan. Naaman's servant had to call him down and say, "If you had been told to do some big thing, you would readily have done it; why not do the little thing?" He did it, and lo, the seventh time his flesh was as white as that of a child! Suppose that we, greatly helped by these luminous ideas that have been thrown out, try in our obscure, homely way to advance this cause.

There is hardly a more commanding fact in the mind of our people today than the unfortified Canadian border. It is the longest boundary line on earth and yet for almost a century it has been without a fortress or battleship. Strange to say the forces that led to this achievement escaped detection at the time of their origin. Almost a century had elapsed before the significance of the fact transpired. We made elaborate plans for the celebration of the Treaty of Ghent, but nothing so spectacular as a treaty marked the beginning of the plan to leave our Canadian border without protection. It puzzled some of us to learn just

how so creative a fact came into being. There was the simple agreement between Rush and Bagot that the Canadian border should be without forts and without navies. The matter began without comment. Yet perhaps the Canadian boundary furnishes an example of how all boundaries between neutral nations will one day be without fortresses and fleets. "Nothing great as great begins".

In working in an obscure and homely way, each one is advancing this cause, for it is the moral eminence of America to which the whole citizenship contributes that is going to enable us to count most in bringing to an end this war. So far as we advance the moral judgment of our own country, we are helping in the solution of these great questions.

You remember that Persian prophet, who was here three years ago—a man who lay in a Turkish dungeon for quite a while for conscience sake. The substance of the address he delivered here, interpreted by his spokesman, was this: "From the earliest Hebrew times we have been emphasizing the ideal of the unity of God." Isn't it time for us to turn that around and begin to emphasize the complementary truth of the idea—the unity of man? And so you and I have faith to believe that in this very day when civilization has broken down, when the shock to the conscience of man is indescribable, that this tidal movement of progress, these constructive forces working in obscurity, this divine striving of the human spirit are moving directly toward the achievement of the aims that dwell in our hearts.

I wish to add that in this closing hour of the Conference it is impossible to express to Mr. and Mrs. Smiley our deep gratitude and appreciation for all their kindness and hospitality and for the faith that sustains them in continuing these conferences in the spirit of their noble founder, whom we think of gratefully and tenderly tonight. I thank you for your kind attention. (Applause.)

PRESENTATION OF THE PUGLSEY* PRIZE

*The Pugsley prize of \$100 for the best essay on International Arbitration by a man undergraduate student of any college in the United States and Canada was offered in 1914-15, for the seventh time under the auspices of the conference. The judges were Charles F. Thwing, LL. D., President Western Reserve University, Rear Admiral Colby M. Chester, United States Navy Retired, and James L. Tryon, Ph. D., Director New England Department American Peace Society. The winning essay, by Mr. Brown, has been published in pamphlet form. Sixty-four essays were submitted.—ED.

Rear-Admiral COLBY M. CHESTER, U. S. N., as one of the judges and on behalf of the donor, Mr. Chester DeWitt Pugsley, presented the Pugsley prize for the best essay on International Arbitration, to the winner, MR. ROBERT W. BROWN, a junior in the University of Arkansas.

MR. BROWN gracefully accepted the prize, with a word of thanks to Mr. Pugsley, and expressed his belief that the interest created among young men through the contests was decidedly worth the investment and that in his own case there was stimulated to a large extent a natural desire for further study of history and political science which has made him feel confident that all things pointed to a future "international political organization which shall have its limits coincident only with the limits of Christendom."

The CHAIRMAN: Sometime ago there was appointed a committee of this Conference to consider the question of securing the treaty rights of aliens. The report of that committee will be presented now by Ex-GOVERNOR BALDWIN of Connecticut, Professor of Constitutional and Private International Law, Yale University. (Applause.)

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON THE PROTECTION BY THE UNITED STATES OF THE RIGHTS OF ALIENS

BY HON. SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL.D.

To the Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration:

The special committee of the Conference appointed in 1910 to consider the question of the proper protection by the United States of the rights of aliens, respectfully present the following final report.

That aliens are entitled to the proper protection of their rights, and that they have not always received it in the United States, are both indisputable.

Normally it is the business of the States to afford such protection. Commonly it is afforded. But occasional instances where that duty is neglected present possible occasions of war. The nation whose citizens are thus wronged will be likely to treat the incident as a grievance to itself, and ask through diplomatic channels for reparation or for the punishment of the wrongdoer. The claim must be presented to the United States, for foreign nations can have no dealings of that nature with any particular state of the union, even though the fault lies wholly at its door. In such case, the United States cannot escape responsibility by replying that the state only was to blame. The nation must answer for it as the sole authority in matters of international concern that can speak for the American people.

But, as things now stand, it often happens that the United States cannot themselves do justice. If money will satisfy the claim, Congress can appropriate it, or resort perhaps may be had to the contingent fund of the State Department. But there are

claims, such as for acts of unlawful violence, which can only be met by the institution of criminal proceedings. At present, such proceedings must ordinarily be brought in the state courts and decided there without appeal.

President Harrison, in speaking of murders of foreigners who were entitled to protection by treaty, used this language some twenty years ago in a message to Congress:

"It would, I believe, be entirely competent for Congress to make offenses against the treaty rights of foreigners domiciled in the United States cognizable in the federal courts. This has not, however, been done, either for the protection of a foreign citizen or for the punishment of his slayers. It seems to me to follow, in this state of the law, that the officers of the state charged with police and judicial powers in such cases must, in the consideration of international questions growing out of such incidents, be regarded in such sense as federal agents as to make this government answerable for their acts in cases where it would be answerable if the United States had used its constitutional power to define and punish crimes against treaty rights."

Your committee believes that that doctrine thus clearly stated is sound, and that legislation in the direction suggested ought not to be longer delayed.

In 1911, on a preliminary report from this committee, the following resolutions were adopted by the Conference:

"Resolved, That, in the opinion of this Conference, it is the duty of the federal government to assure the protection of all aliens within the territory of the United States and to secure to them so far as may be possible the rights to which they are entitled by treaty or otherwise, and further

"Resolved, That the committee of this Conference appointed May 20, 1910, to report to this Conference in 1911, as to the best method of carrying into effect the recommendation of successive Presidents of the United States that the United States government be vested with the power to execute through appropriate action in the federal courts its treaty obligations, and, generally, to furnish adequate protection to alien residents in the United States, be continued and is hereby instructed to use every proper effort to secure the speedy enactment by Congress of legislation vesting in the courts of the United States adequate jurisdiction for the said purpose."

Your committee subsequently made some endeavors to secure Congressional legislation, but they were unsuccessful.

In 1914, on a further report from this committee, the following article was inserted in the platform of the Conference:

"We call renewed attention to the necessity of such legislation as shall place all matters involving our relations to aliens and to foreign nations under the direct and effectual control of the federal government and the jurisdiction of the federal courts. Foreign governments can deal only with our national government; and the respective responsibilities of the States and of the nation should promptly be so readjusted as to terminate the anomalous conditions under which our friendly relations with other powers have repeatedly in recent years been menaced."

Since this conference first took cognizance of this important subject, there has been a gratifying increase in public interest in

the matter. At a meeting held in New York City on June 5th, 1914, it was decided to form a "Citizens National Committee for the purpose of securing legislation for the protection in their treaty rights of aliens resident in the United States" and a provisional committee, having that object in view, was thereupon organized under the chairmanship of Honorable William H. Taft. Subsequently Mr. Taft, as President of the American Bar Association, laid the subject before that important body and a special committee of the Association was appointed to take the matter under consideration and to cooperate with the Citizens National Committee. It seems, therefore, that this Conference may properly entrust the further prosecution of this important undertaking to these powerful and representative organizations and discharge your committee from the duty entrusted to it by the resolution of 1910.

This Conference is not so constituted that it can appropriately frame drafts of proposed statutes. We append, however, to this report three draft statutes, simply to show that the task has been attempted by others and at least presents few or no technical difficulties.

This Conference has been constituted for the study of international arbitration. It fully recognizes that the resources of diplomacy should be exhausted before resort to such arbitration. It must equally agree that diplomatic settlements of controversies are often best attained by opening the way to judicial proceedings.

Mr. Baldwin then submitted resolutions, on behalf of the Committee, which were unanimously adopted by the Conference.

(For copy of the resolutions, see page 10.)

APPENDIX

1. A bill to provide for the punishment of violations of treaty rights of aliens.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that any act committed in any State or Territory of the United States in violation of the rights of a citizen or subject of a foreign country secured to such citizen or subject by treaty between the United States and such foreign country, which act constitutes a crime under the laws of such States or Territory, shall constitute a like crime against the peace and dignity of the United States, punishable in like manner as in the courts of said States or Territories, and within the period limited by the laws of the United States, and, upon conviction the sentence, executed in like manner as sentences upon convictions for crimes under the laws of the United States.

(N. B. This bill was introduced in the Senate of the United States in 1891, and favorably reported, but not adopted.)

2. An Act to enforce treaty provisions for the protection of foreigners against acts of violence.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled:

Section 1. If any act of violence shall be committed within any State or Territory of the United States against the person or property of any citizen or subject of a foreign government, between which and the United States there exists a treaty at the time, and such act is one which would constitute a crime or misdemeanor at common law, but is not an offence prohibited, or the punishment whereof is otherwise specially provided for by any statute of the United States; and if the party committing said act is not arrested and held for trial within six months after its commission, under the laws of such State or Territory; then, should the minister or other accredited diplomatic representative of such foreign government complain to the Secretary of State of the United States that said act or the omission to hold for trial the party committing the same was an infraction of such treaty, the President of the United States may, if he be of opinion that there are grounds for such complaint, direct criminal proceedings to be instituted against such party, in the proper courts of the United States, holden within said State or Territory.

Section 2. In any proceeding so instituted by direction of the President, the act committed by the party accused shall subject him to the same punishment as that prescribed by the laws, in force at the time of the commission of such act, of such State or Territory, for such acts; and if said laws prescribe no punishment therefore, then said act shall be punishable in said proceeding as at common law; and no subsequent repeal of any such State or Territorial law shall affect any prosecution for such offense in any Court of the United States.

Section 3. The institution of such proceedings in a proper Court of the United States shall operate as a bar to any future proceedings of a criminal nature against the defendant therein in any State or Territorial Court.

(N. B. This bill was considered by the Committee on International Law of the American Bar Association, in a report made to the Association in 1892, which opposed its adoption. See Reports of the Association, Vol. XVI., p. 325.)

3. A Bill for the better protection of aliens and for the enforcement of their treaty rights.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States be authorized to direct the Attorney General, in the name and behalf of the United States to file a bill in equity in the proper district court of the United States against any person or persons threatening to violate the rights of a citizen or subject of a foreign country secured to such citizen or subject by treaty between the United States and such foreign country; and that this provision shall apply to acts threatened by State officers under the alleged justification of a law of the legislature of the State in which such acts are to be committed. The aliens whose rights are affected may be joined as complainants with the United States in such equitable proceeding, and jurisdiction is hereby given to the proper district courts to maintain such action. The costs in such case, if awarded against the complainant and the United States, shall be paid by order of the Secretary of State out of the contingent fund of the State Department.

Section 2. That whenever an action, civil or criminal, is brought in a State court against a citizen or subject of a foreign country to enforce an Act passed by the legislature of such State, which is deemed by the President to violate the rights of such citizen or subject of a foreign country, secured to him by treaty between the United States and such foreign country, it shall be

lawful for the Attorney General of the United States, on behalf and in the name of the United States, and with the consent of such citizen or subject of a foreign country, party defendant, at any time before a hearing or trial upon the merits in such State court, to file an intervening petition for removal of said cause to the proper district court of the United States.

Upon the filing of such petition removal shall take place in accordance with the procedure in other cases for which removal is provided in the statutes of the United States, so far as the same is applicable, except that the Attorney General shall not be required to file a bond for costs. The district court of the United States is hereby authorized to make an order for costs against the United States in case the cause shall prove to have been improperly removed, to be paid by the Secretary of State, as in section one of this Act. Upon the filing, in the proper district court of the United States the cause shall duly proceed to trial, and the United States as intervenor shall be permitted to submit evidence and to be heard by counsel duly authorized, and the cause shall accordingly proceed to judgment, and shall be subject to review as other cases arising under the laws and Constitution of the United States.

Section 3. That any act committed in any State or Territory of the United States in violation of the rights of a citizen or subject of a foreign country, secured to such citizen or subject by treaty between the United States and such foreign country, which act constitutes a crime under the laws of such State or Territory, shall constitute a like crime against the peace and dignity of the United States, punishable in like manner as in the courts of said State or Territory, and within the period limited by the laws of such State or Territory, and may be prosecuted in the courts of the United States, and, upon conviction, the sentence executed in like manner as sentences upon convictions for crimes under the laws of the United States.

Section 4. That the President of the United States is hereby expressly authorized to use the marshals of the United States and their deputies to maintain the peace of the United States when violated by the commission of such acts as are denounced in the preceding section; and should, in his judgment, the circumstances demand it, he is empowered to use the Army and the Navy for the same purpose.

(N. B. This bill was introduced in the House of Representatives in 1915, and was House Resolution 21073.)

The CHAIRMAN: The report of the Platform Committee will now be presented by its Chairman, CHANCELLOR BROWN of New York University. (Applause.)

DR. ELMER ELLSWORTH BROWN: We have endeavored to do what we understood to be the function of the Platform Committee in this unique organization. It is not our business to throw out a document to be the basis of discussion, but rather, at the end of the discussions of the conference, to endeavor to gather up what has been said and, as well as possible, to present a statement of those things upon which the conference is agreed. That makes it a short and unpicturesque document, and leaves out many things we would like to say.

Dr. Brown then read the Platform which was unanimously adopted.

(For a copy of the Platform, see page 9.)

The CHAIRMAN: The next subject on the program is that of the organization of the forces working for peace. This subject will be discussed by SENATOR HENRI LAFONTAINE, of Brussels, Belgium, Secretary-General of the Union of International Associations. (Applause.)

ORGANIZATION OF THE FORCES WORKING FOR PEACE

ADDRESS BY SENATOR HENRI LAFONTAINE*

I thank you very much for your kind and cordial reception, but I take it not for myself; I take it for my unfortunate country to which you have been so generous. Without this help from America my compatriots would perhaps be starving. I want to tell you how thankful we all are for what you have done and what you are doing and what you will, perhaps, be obliged to do, long months after this, until the war is over.

The question which is brought before you seems to me a very important one. There is no doubt that since February the forces working for peace not alone in the United States but also in the belligerent nations began to gather and to try to find a way out. In Great Britain more than fifty new organizations have been started, all trying to find the way to a lasting peace. Also some weeks ago in Chicago an emergency committee was organized for a like purpose. In Europe the International Peace Bureau at Bern of which I am the President, tried to formulate a program by which questions can be solved which will arise when the war is over. This program is perhaps the most elaborate of all, because it aims to eliminate the most obvious causes of the present war.

There are of course, as you know, some deep economical causes—questions of colonization, of trade, and of the inadequate political and judicial organization of the world. On the latter question we have had here some very interesting solutions proposed.

A League of Peace is perhaps one solution about which it would be useful to go into further details to show the difficulties before which we are placed. The propositions made are widely different. Certain persons propose that the League of Peace should be formed by the eight big powers and by some small civilized or progressive powers. Another proposition advocates that at the beginning such a league should group all the American powers and could subsequently be called the Pan American League. Others speak of a League of the neutral powers only. Each of these schemes is exclusive of the others. For instance the proposed Pan American plan would include *all* the American powers, but the persons who

*Although Senator La Fontaine spoke in the 4th Sess., his address is printed here, it being considered more fitting for the closing session.—ED.

advocate the first League of Peace think a great many of the South American powers should not be admitted. The third proposition, which advocates the grouping of only neutral powers, is supported by two groups—the one wishing that only the United States and some of the most civilized neutral powers should enter the league, the other willing to include all the neutral powers, the South American States, as well as China, Persia and Siam. In my opinion, the new constitution of the world ought to be built on the bases adopted by the two Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1907 which were certainly the two most important gatherings of the world. The first one, if you remember, was only composed of delegates from twenty-six nations, all the South American States and the Central American States being left aside. But in 1907 all the States were invited and forty-six and out of the forty-nine were represented. I think if we wish indeed to promote a drastic solution of the problem here exposed and to secure the formation of an effective and powerful League of Peace including the greater part of the States in the world, it is our duty to advocate the convocation of a third Peace Conference. This solution was adopted by the International Peace Bureau at its last meeting at Bern, and is being aimed at in most of the propositions and programs drafted by different groups. This is the first question which, in my opinion, should be solved, by a common agreement if a common program is to be framed.

The second question which seems to me and to my friends to be important, is the right of the peoples to dispose of themselves, and that no annexation or no change in territory should be made without the acceptance by the populations living on that territory or in that country. This principle was the main cause of the two Balkan wars, and even, we can say, of the war now raging. If the direct cause of this war were the conflict between Austria and Servia, it was certainly because Servia was discontented that Bosnia and Herzegovina were taken over by Austria.

A third question which should be placed on such a common program is the question of what was called by some of our friends in England the democratic control of diplomacy. You, fortunately, here in the United States, have started to some extent a democratic control of foreign affairs. In France, also, a special parliamentary commission has the right to interfere and to know what happens in the foreign relations between France and other countries. Such a control should be embodied, if possible, in an international agreement, in order that no convention should be valid without the acceptance of the convention by the parliaments of the countries concerned, or by some special body selected by three parliaments.

Then comes a fourth question, no less important—the question of immigration. It seems to me that it should be solved in the

manner you have solved it here in the United States. You have certainly had some deceptions and some hardships with aliens, but there is no doubt that in the United States the doors are largely open to them, and that citizens from all countries can gather here and live together and share in common ideas as they can do nowhere else in the world. For aliens coming into the older countries many difficulties are placed in the way. Some liberties, which are as necessary as food to each man who lives in this world, should be granted by the public law of all the countries. It is certainly possible for the states by a general agreement to adopt some principles embodying what could be called the international rights of men.

Such are the main outlines of the general program which seems to me acceptable by all groups and persons working for a lasting peace. But another difficulty exists more pressing than all the others. Some understanding should be arrived at by the groups now existing in the different countries. An attempt was made by our friends of Holland and they organized what was called an Anti-war Society. That society is not a peace society in the ordinary sense of the word; it is a society composed of men and women of every possible standing and opinion, who are willing to work for a lasting peace after the war is over. In Australia, also, an alliance for peace was organized in the same spirit; there, also, women's organizations, educational institutions, working men's and business men's associations have united. If in all the countries such central organizations could be formed, no doubt they could adopt some common policy. What was advocated here by many speakers is also advocated outside in many countries and the principles and remedies proclaimed and proposed could be easily introduced in a general program. We ought to prepare for peace in time of war as the men who were in charge of the armies in the different countries have prepared for war in time of peace. Probably elections will come very soon after the war is over in most of the countries and it will be necessary that the question of a lasting peace be placed on the ticket, as you say. It is absolutely necessary that we know exactly what we can do and what we can obtain and how far we can go. Therefore, I ask you if it would not be possible to form here in the United States a sort of emergency committee, who should try to unite not the peace friends alone, but all the men and women wishing a lasting peace after this war, and frame a general and common program. There is no doubt that the men who were willing to have war—the journalists, the navy and army leagues' members, the militarists, the business men who own big factories for the manufacture of guns and rifles—all those who, alone in this time of misery and depression, make money as they did never before—will be after the war stronger and have at their disposition more means and

resources than ever. At the end of July next the warring nations will have expended \$18,000,000,000. Think how many rifles, how many guns, how much ammunition are bought everywhere in the big concerns in Europe and in the big concerns here in the United States and elsewhere. The managers and the shareholders will be very anxious that their business should go on when the war is over, that new armaments should be started and new guns bought. It is against such a big force, that we should unite; we should not work each in our own small group without any understanding between us. Men coming from all possible domains of human activity are aspiring to a lasting peace. Such forces must be grouped, and can be grouped only by a committee or by a central office formed by their delegates. I wish that as soon as possible these delegates will come together, and frame some definite program, and create for the army of the peace-mongers a staff and headquarters. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: The next address is to be made by one who needs no introduction beyond the mere mention of his name, PRESIDENT ELIOT. (Applause.)

HOPES FOR THE FUTURE

ADDRESS BY CHARLES W. ELIOT, LL.D.*

I am going to speak to you—rashly—at the request of the Executive Committee made this afternoon; and I must ask your indulgence, because I have only had half an hour since I received this invitation in which to think over what I am about to say. I feel strongly the responsibility of speaking without adequate preparation on this most solemn and almost desperate subject, the peace of the world.

I came to the Conference this year because, having thought and written much about this subject ever since last August, I hoped that I might get from the scholars and men of affairs who were announced to speak here, some fresh hopes for the progress of civilization. Like all the men and women who have from time to time attended these annual conferences, I have experienced since last August a heavy shock to cherished hopes and confident expectations concerning the peace and progress of the white race. You doubtless have all had the same experience; and now under these intensely adverse circumstances, we want very much, if we can, to encourage each other in clinging to some, at least, of the hopes we have cherished for more than twenty years.

*Because of its character it seemed appropriate to print Dr. Eliot's address as a part of the closing session, instead of the 4th, in which it was delivered.—ED.

I have not been altogether disappointed in what I have heard here. I have received from speakers who have addressed this meeting some new inspirations and some fresh encouragements; and I am very grateful for these leadings. This entire assembly feels gratitude to the men who have pointed us to some hopeful way of future action.

I just now wrote down a list of six hopeful things that have been mentioned here. The first is the development of international law. Now international law is not law in the ordinary meaning of that word. What we call international law is simply a series of agreements or conventions made in the course of centuries by and among the different nations of Europe and America. This body of agreements has been a slow growth, but a hopeful and promising growth. It really has little to do with what we ordinarily call law, and in particular it has no sanction behind it, and never has had. Therefore, the development of international law to which we now look forward is something different from, something better and stronger than anything which the world has known before under that name; and we may reasonably entertain some hope that such a better development may prove to be possible. This is one chance or hope for the future. The second is that sense of international obligation which was treated so well by Mr. Marburg in the second paper before this Conference,—the increase in the sense of international obligation throughout the civilized world. You observe that both of these hopes depend upon the adoption of new or further agreements between or among nations. Another paper which interested us all was that which presented the possibility of effective cooperation among nations, and particularly cooperation among nations of the American hemisphere. That possibility again affords a new hope, not only for peace, but for great advances in commerce and trade, and in the national industries of the nations which are imagined as co-operating. But again cooperation among nations depends absolutely on the possibility of making international agreements which turn out in practice to be binding. The fourth item on my list is the international federation or league based on common interests and common laws. That we heard of with satisfaction and anticipation of good—a federation or league among the nations of Europe. But still again the possibility of building such a structure in the near future depends on the possibility of making among nations a binding agreement. The fifth was the League of Peace. With what pleasure we listened to the address on that subject, the possibility of creating a league of peace—comprehensive or partial, so that it be a strong union of nations leagued together to maintain peace and prevent war! Sixthly, in Professor Clark's paper we heard developed with great persuasiveness, an argument for a league of peace based on the existing alliances.

That looked more possible than any other league we had heard of—a league of peace that might grow out of the present alliance between Great Britain, France, Russia, and Japan. These are the six items on my list, not alike, yet resembling each other; and all dependent upon the possibility of making among nations, many or few—but if few, then very strong nations—a league, international agreement, or federation which will hold and prove effective.

This survey brings me to the most discouraging fact of these terrible ten months, the fact which we must face and look at squarely and resolutely; namely, that there is at least one strong nation in Europe today that says, and says in act as well as in words, "We regard no previous agreement as binding on us in the face of an immediate military or naval necessity." *There* is the most fearful fact which has been brought to the knowledge of the world within the last ten months. You perceive instantly that none of the six proposals I have alluded to is available for the purposes of humanity, unless an agreement among nations can be made and kept without regard to changing circumstances, until a new agreement is made by the same parties to meet the changed circumstances. This doctrine that new conditions abrogate treaties and contracts is the great new evil to which the civilized world is now exposed. How can we meet it? How can we overcome it? Only by a process of education through suffering, by dire experience of the consequences of violating the sanctity of a contract, of disregarding the sense of international obligation, of failing to speak the truth and keep good faith. How long may this process of education or training be? Years, decades, generations, before the sense of international obligation and the sense of the sanctity of contract can be universal in the civilized world. Is this too despairing a statement? Must we endure the present condition of Europe, until all its nations come to realize that there can be neither safety nor peace, unless built firmly on the general sense of truth, of obligation, of the sanctity of an agreement?

I find in the question of armaments, and of the means of reducing armaments, another hope for the future, when this war is over. Has not this terrible catastrophe possibly taught all the nations in Europe that the method of competitive armaments followed inevitably by gigantic war is not available for the white race as a means of settling international disputes? Is it not conceivable that this war may teach as much as that out of all this suffering, out of this hideous destruction not only of property but of life? May we not hope that the conviction will spread over Europe that war on the scale which is now possible, and with the modern means of destruction, is not an available means of settling international disputes? The fact that the armies are now conscript armies, putting into the field every able-bodied man of proper

age, will help to spread that conviction; because if the war goes on another year on the present scale, every family in Europe will have had brought home to them the consequences of resorting to war as the arbiter in international disputes. Suppose that conviction to be generally accepted; are there any means in sight of persuading the different peoples that they can be safe with reduced armaments? That is the real question. At present no nation in Europe would feel safe if it reduced its armaments; and armaments can not be reduced unless the nations feel safe against invasion after the reduction.

I remember pointing out in this room several years ago in the course of an active discussion from the floor, that there were two fears from which nations must be relieved, before lasting peace could come. One was the fear of invasion; the other was the fear of having cut off supplies of food and of raw materials for the national industries. That remains true to this day; and so far as anybody can see, it will always be true. No nation will risk invasion, sudden as it is today—with hardly a day's notice—unless it sees somewhere within reach the means of security. How can that security against invasion be obtained for the larger part, at any rate, of the nations of Europe? There is only one way; namely, the creation of an international legislative and executive council, or other political body, backed by an international force.

We have heard at this Conference and at many preceding conferences, that the force of public opinion will prevent the invasion of a weak nation by a stronger, that discontinuance of commercial intercourse may be used as a weapon to prevent aggression on the part of a strong nation on a weaker; but there is not a single nation in Europe today that will trust itself to either one of those methods of protection. And would they not really be insane to trust to either one of those methods, in view of what we have seen in the last ten months? I have heard many a time in this room demands for the immediate reduction of armaments by the nations of Europe, without any security whatever against invasion. Where would the freer nations of Europe be today if any of those projects had been entertained by them? Where would they be? Dominated by the less free nations.

I regard, therefore, the reduction of armaments, first, as necessary to the prevention of the continuance of competitive armaments and therefore necessary to the prevention of war; but secondly, I believe that the only way to the reduction of armaments is through the creation of an international force strong enough to prevent aggression on the part of the strongest of the individual nations. Now, nations cannot be expected to change their habits—habits in which generation after generation has been confirmed—suddenly, or in a year, or on the exhortation of philanthropists, or lovers of the human race. They need time for such transitions.

Can we see any mode of gradually altering the martial habits of the European nations? There is one little nation in Europe that has shown that way—the model republic of the world. It is divided into provinces or cantons, as we are divided into states, and among those cantons four different languages are spoken and two different forms of Christianity are ardently loved. Switzerland has shown the way to keep a strong national force without maintaining a standing army and, therefore, without creating a military class. (Applause.) This Swiss system affords a means of transition from the armed camps of today to national forces strong for defense but weak for aggression.

Here we may discern a hope for the future of Europe, and not far away; because it is conceivable, as Professor Clark pointed out so clearly, that a strong league of likeminded nations—nations in which a large degree of public liberty already exists, capable of combining together in a durable league for the suppression of war, of holding together, and of keeping sacred an agreement once made—should be the outcome of the present awful convulsion.

In all the proceedings of this meeting, I have discerned no other hopes but those I have now enumerated. Is that a reason for profound discouragement? Is that a reason for giving over the effort to bring peace about in the methods described? On the contrary, it seems as if we must all agree that we should continue to advocate strenuously the prevention of war, but that we should do so by the practical methods I have ventured to describe. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: We will have the pleasure of hearing a few words from Hon. A. B. FARQUHAR, of York, Pennsylvania, well known at Lake Mohonk as well as elsewhere. (Applause.)

WHY NOT TRY THE EXPERIMENT OF CHRISTIANITY?

REMARKS BY HON. A. B. FARQUHAR, LL.D.*

I was particularly interested in what President Hibben said, and told him that if I had his gift of eloquence I would not leave a shred for him to hold to, in his argument that questions of honor must be settled by war. Of course we agree with what he said of militarism generally. It was admirable. But his claim that questions of honor could only be settled by war strikes me as a self-evident absurdity. Excited mobs cannot settle questions of honor; it is an axiom that they can best be settled by honorable men. Washington said that militarism was inauspicious for any nation, and especially inimical to republican nations. I agree

*Mr. Farquhar's remarks are printed here to keep their sequence after the address of Dr. Eliot.—ED.

with him, and all history proves that over-preparedness induces war. No nation admits that its preparation for war is in order to destroy the lives of its neighbors or rob them of their property, but the rulers should reflect that over-preparedness can only be regarded by their neighbors as an insult to their own civilization, or as hypocrisy.

We have had several wars in this country during the past century, all our own fault. There was no occasion whatever for the Spanish war. I was visiting Mr. Cleveland a few weeks before he retired from office. He was a warm personal friend. While I was there a senator called, telling him that Congress was about to declare war against Spain over Cuba and that conditions were intolerable. The President said to him what he had already said to me, "There will be no war with Spain over Cuba while I am President." The senator said with some excitement that the Constitution gave Congress the right to declare war, to which the President replied: "Oh yes, but I am Commander in Chief of the army, and I will refuse to mobilize it. Cuba can be purchased from Spain for \$150,000,000, and the war will cost vastly more." President McKinley felt the same way about it. When the Maine was blown up by some crank—the Spaniards disclaimed all knowledge of its cause and were ready to make any proper reparation—we could have settled the matter readily without war, but we preferred to fight, lost a number of valuable lives mostly from sickness, have increased our pension roll, have the Philippines on our hands, and except for the magnificent management of General Wood in Cuba and Mr. Taft in the Philippines would have had serious complications aside from the vast expenditure of money.

Many plans for avoiding war have been proposed by gentlemen present. Some have claimed that it is impossible to have permanent peace under all conditions. I believe that it is entirely possible by following the directions given us by One whom we pretend to follow but do not, who lived 1900 years ago in Palestine. The late Chinese Minister, Wu Ting Fang, and I discussed religion some years ago and he admitted that Christianity was the highest form of religion, but said that it was better to live up to the tenets of Confucius, as the Chinese did, than merely to pretend to be Christian. He went on to say that we were less Christian than the people of China; that rather than kill their enemies, they preferred to build up a great wall to separate them. He said you would find more signs of the essential teachings of Christ—love and peace—through the interior of China than you would in many Christian countries. I am inclined to think Minister Wu was right, and that to try the experiment of Christianity would do away with war; and I do not believe we will do away with it until we *do* try it. Last August when in Constantinople, trying to get out of the war zone, I had an in-

teresting conversation with Ambassador Morgenthau while sailing on the Bosphorus in his longboat. He said that Jesus had been the greatest influence for good of anyone who had ever lived, and agreed with me that the only possible means of doing away with war was to follow His teachings. Other shining lights of his great race—our fellow conferees, Messrs. Oscar Straus and Marcus M. Marks—would agree with him. Cardinal Gibbons, while lunching with me in Baltimore some time ago, with our friend Mr. Marburg, expressed the same view, and I am sure our friend, President Eliot, would agree, since every rational man knows that if we love our neighbors as ourselves we would not wish to shoot them, and we must learn to love our neighbors instead of hating them—in other words, follow the Golden Rule—if we wish to abolish war.

There are some instances related of the power of Christian feeling shown in this dreadful conflict. On Christmas day, at the request of the Pope, hostilities ceased on the right wing of the opposing armies in France. The soldiers became so friendly that the next day they found it necessary to move the troops, as the men did not wish to fire at each other. I heard of another instance. A German, with his arm shot off and the fingers of the other hand mangled, was asked how he managed to get away without bleeding to death. He replied that his life was saved by a Frenchman, who had been shot through the body, and who, although dying, took off the necktie he was wearing and bound it around the German's wrist, stopping the flow of blood, at the same time telling him to put on his coat and someone would probably carry him off the next day, and observing that there would be no war in Heaven. The German added: "If I go to Heaven, that Frenchman is the first man I want to meet." The following is still another case. A French officer, after a fight in the trenches, noticed a German boy, probably about 15 years old, turning over and over near the French trench. When carrying off the wounded, they had evidently left him for dead, and he had been there all night. The officer took the boy in his arms and carried him to the German trenches. A German officer took off his iron cross and put it over the Frenchman's neck, telling him he could return in safety to his own ranks.

I am 77 years old, have seen a great deal of this world, have read and studied a good deal, and I believe the only possible way we can ever end war, or indeed make the best success of life, is to follow the teachings of the Founder of religion. I do not say our religion, but of religion, because he was the first one who taught that the foundation of religion is love and peace, and he was just as much the founder of religion as Aristotle was the founder of science, or Socrates of philosophy, or Newton of the laws of astronomy. Let us try the experiment of Christianity. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: Mr Smiley has just received a telegram from a gentleman who was invited to be present at this conference, but who, to his regret, has found that he was unable to attend. Because this telegram breathes that broad, catholic, humane spirit without peace is but an illusion and a dream, I will read it:

Cambridge, Mass., May 18, 1915.

Daniel Smiley:

Never were the efforts for international arbitration of political disputes and international control of the means for preserving peace more timely than now when national passions have been unloosed in an unprecedented manner and are threatening to throw Europe back into the conditions of the thirty years' war. I therefore deeply regret that official obligations prevent my attending your conference. May it lead to action which will reestablish the reign of reason.

KUNO FRANCKE.

Mr. Francke is a Professor, as you probably all know, at Harvard University. (Applause.)

MR. DENYS P. MYERS of the World Peace Foundation will speak on the subject of "International Administrative Development." (Applause.)

INTERNATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE DEVELOPMENT

REMARKS BY MR. DENYS P. MYERS

There is one stone wall against which sooner or later people who are working for peace always butt their heads—the stone wall of state sovereignty. State sovereignty invests the modern state with a medieval theory. If the extreme theory of sovereignty had not existed, last July, measures would have been possible that would have stopped this war. Sovereignty lays a stress upon the state's rights and lays no stress at all upon its duties. Now before we make much advance, some change must come.

I think that International Administrative Bureaus, of which there are in the world today almost fifty, offer one of the most promising solutions. I mention the Universal Postal Union, the Radio Telegraphic Union, the Telegraph Union, the Union of Weights and Measures, etc. None of us realizes that together they form a very large body of international cooperation, for each one works in a separate sphere. Nevertheless, they represent, collectively, a very significant movement. In fact, about six years ago there was worked out a plan to coordinate and in a measure to consolidate the various International Bureaus so that they would become a central International Administrative Union. Such a union would consist in a number of departments, which might be made up of the following: public law, private law, commerce, science, health and morals, agriculture, land transporta-

tion, marine transportation and telegraph, money, literary property and industrial property. You can see by the subjects that there is a considerable amount of international administration already, in existence, and it is worth while to note, that most of the separate institutions are operating despite the war. The titles given are simply subjects; they do not give an idea of all of the bureaus. As an illustration of what one of the departments would consist of, I may mention that of health and morals. There is an office of public hygiene, there is a regime controlling opium, there is a regime controlling spirituous liquors in Africa and another relative to the suppression of the slave trade.

Suppose those several bureaus were brought together, and given a home. You would immediately have an international centre performing public business, to which great accessions in many lines could very easily be made. For instance, such a central bureau could immediately take charge of all international treaties. It could publish international statistics. It could serve as a bureau for the preparation of additional conferences. If a new idea occurred, it could be expeditiously realized. For instance, after the Titanic tragedy a call went up for better regulations, for the safety of life at sea. It took a matter of two or three years to realize that. If a general bureau existed, it would immediately take care of that idea, prepare a program and within a very short time, with little or no effort, a conference could be held, the rules worked out and another phase would be added to international administrative lines.

Now, as I conceive, the significance of this idea is that we need in every way possible to develop the international mind and international organs. There will be difficulties of a sovereign character relative to the Hague Court, the world court, to anything that has a political nature. The administrative developments grow naturally. As they grow naturally, they emphasize the international system under which we live and, by that emphasis, they break down the prejudice against political international organizations. This idea has been made public to a considerable extent in Europe. It has been deposited with the various countries of the world; that is, in their ministries of foreign affairs, and a considerable correspondence has been conducted upon it with public men in many countries. Most publicists realize that the idea contains something of value and it has received very large support from the Union of International Associations, still at Brussels but not now in operation. It is an idea that I should like to leave with you because it offers an opportunity to develop that international life for which we are striving. I thank you. (Applause.)

At this point, Mr. Robert Underwood Johnson, formerly Editor of *The Century*, upon request read impressively his original poems, "The Peace Palace at The Hague," and "The Call to the Colors."

General Horatio C. King then responded to a call from the Chair, with happy expression of appreciation of Mohonk and, with reference to raising boys to be soldiers, in commendation of raising boys to be ready for *duty* in whatever form.

The CHAIRMAN: This brings to an end the addresses and the presentation of reports, and I have but one word to add. It relates to a subject which was mentioned very briefly but very appropriately by Dr. Mitchell at the end of his remarks, and that is the splendid hospitality and elevated philanthropy exhibited in these conferences. Although it has not been my good fortune to attend many of them, my duties and engagements elsewhere having prevented me from so doing, I had the happiness to be here on one or two occasions in the earlier years of the conferences, and can recall, as one of the pleasantest recollections of my life, the generous and loyal cooperation of our honored host and his elder brother, who has since gone to his eternal reward, in carrying out their beautiful conception of human brotherhood and good will, which our meetings here are designed to exemplify and to advance. In alluding to these things, and particularly in assuring Mr. and Mrs. Smiley of our deep appreciation of their unfailing kindness and care, I know that I but echo the thoughts and feelings of all present. (Applause.)

It is a good custom of this Conference, dating back, I believe, to the first gathering, to close each annual meeting with a hymn conveying a touch of sentiment and of piety. Let us now join in singing the hymn, "God Be With You Till We Meet Again."

The Conference sang the hymn, after which the Chairman declared the Twenty-first Conference adjourned.

MEMBERS PRESENT AT THE TWENTY-FIRST CONFERENCE

The asterisk (*) following the name of a gentleman indicates that he was accompanied by his wife.

The obelisk (†) following the address of a gentleman indicates that he represented some business organization (see complete list of delegates, pages 130-1).

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BROWN, JOSEPH G., President Citizens National Bank, Raleigh, N. C.
BROWN, HON. PHILIP MARSHALL, Professor International Law and Diplomacy, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
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CLARK, REV. FRANCIS E., D.D., * President U. S. C. E., Boston, Mass.
CLARK, JOHN B., LL.D., * New York, Professor Political Economy, Columbia University; Director Department of Economics and History, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
CORWIN, EDWARD S., PH.D., * Professor of Politics, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.

- COWAN, COL. ANDREW,* President Society of the Army of the Potomac, 421 W. Main St., Louisville, Ky.
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- DICKERSON, J. SPENCER, Litt. D., Secretary Board of Trustees, University of Chicago; Associate Editor *The Standard*, Chicago, Ill.
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APPENDIX A

SPECIAL MEETINGS HELD AT MOHONK IN CONNECTION WITH OR DURING THE TWENTY-FIRST CONFERENCE

BUSINESS MEN'S MEETINGS

The official delegates* from business organizations, and other business men present, held a number of special meetings on May 19th, 20th, and 21st, as a result of which they prepared and adopted the declarations* presented to the Conference at the fifth session.

INTERCOLLEGIATE PEACE ASSOCIATION ORATORICAL CONTEST

The Ninth National Oratorical Contest of the Intercollegiate Peace Association was held May 20th, at 4 p. m., and, by invitation of the Association, most of the members of the Conference listened to the orations. The six contestants represented 24 states, and each had been successively the winner in a local, a state and an interstate group contest. They received prizes in the following order.: Frederick W. Wennerberg, Boston College (North Atlantic Group); Wilford Booher, University of West Virginia (South Atlantic Group); N. Earle Pinney, University of Michigan (Central Group); Roy Painter, Washburn College, Kansas (Western Group); W. W. Isle, University of Oklahoma (Southwestern Group); Clarence J. Young, Reed College, Oregon (Pacific Coast Group).

Particulars of the contest and information concerning the valuable work of the Intercollegiate Peace Association may be obtained from its secretary, Professor S. F. Weston, Yellow Springs, Ohio.—ED.

*See remarks of Mr. Cuthbert in fifth session; also list following his remarks, and data in Appendix D.

APPENDIX B

A FEW EVENTS OF 1914-15

The following chronological lists have been compiled pursuant to the plan inaugurated in 1914 in response to numerous requests for such a reference. They do not purport to cover all the events affecting international peace, and are prepared with special reference to American readers.—ED.

Abbreviations: A., *American Journal of International Law*, Washington, D. C.; R., *Review of Reviews*, New York.

1. THE WILSON-BRYAN PEACE TREATIES

The following list is a record of Wilson-Bryan Peace Treaties signed between May 5th, 1914, and April, 1915. Such treaties provide that all controversies be submitted to investigation by a standing International Commission before war shall be declared. Copy of the first "Wilson-Bryan Peace Treaty" was published in the conference report of 1914, pages 222-223.—ED.

1914

- July 14. United States and Peru† (A. 8:892)
- July 14. United States and Chile* (A. 8:893)
- July 15. United States and Uruguay† (A. 8:893)
- July 24. United States and Argentina* (R. 50:294)
- July 24. United States and Brazil* (R. 50:294)
- Aug. 29. United States and Paraguay† (A. 9:223).
- Sept. 15. United States and Great Britain† (R. 50:418).
- Sept. 15. United States and France† (R. 50:418).
- Sept. 15. United States and China* (R. 50:418).
- Sept. 15. United States and Spain† (R. 50:418).
- Oct. 1. United States and Russia* (R. 50:545).
- Oct. 13. United States and Greece* (A. 9:225)
- Oct. 13. United States and Ecuador* (A. 9:225).
- Nov. 13. United States and Sweden† (A. 9:228).

*Ratified by the Senate, as were also treaties with the following countries that were signed during 1913-14: Honduras, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Persia, Salvador, Switzerland, and Venezuela.

†Ratifications exchanged, as of the treaties (signed during 1913-14) with Bolivia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Guatemala, Italy, Norway and Portugal.

2. OTHER TREATIES

- May 23. Japan ratifies the arbitration treaty with the United States. (R. 50:38)
- June 9. Both Houses of Colombian Congress ratify by large majority the treaty with the United States relating to the Republic of Panama and the Panama Canal. (R. 50:38)
- Aug. 5. United States and Nicaragua. New Nicaraguan canal treaty signed. (A. 8:894)
- Aug. 21. United States and Salvador. Ratifications exchanged of the agreement of May 13, 1914, extending duration of the arbitration treaty of Dec. 21, 1908. (A. 8:896)

- Sept. 14. France and Italy. An arbitration treaty which expired December 24, 1913, prolonged for a further period of five years from that date. (A. 9:223)
- Nov. 12. United States and Costa Rica. Agreement extending the duration of the arbitration convention of Jan. 13, 1909, for a further period of five years. (A. 9:227)
- Dec. 16. United States. The Senate consented to and advised the ratification with amendment of the International Convention for Safety of Life at Sea, signed at London, Jan. 2, 1914. (A. 9:228)

3. MEXICO

1914

- May 20. Delegates from the United States and from the Huerta Government in Mexico, together with the Brazilian Ambassador to the United States and the Ministers from Argentina and Chile, meet in conference at the Clifton Hotel, Niagara Falls, Canada, to adjust the differences between the United States and Mexico and to prepare a plan for the pacification of Mexico. (R. 50:39)
- May 28. It becomes known that the peace negotiators at Niagara Falls have agreed upon a plan providing for the retirement of General Huerta as Provisional President of Mexico, and the substitution of a temporary government of five cabinet members. (R. 50:39)
- June 2. Mexican delegates to the Peace Conference at Niagara Falls announce that General Huerta is prepared to withdraw as Provisional President of Mexico if the country shall be politically pacified and if the government succeeding his shall inspire confidence. (R. 50:38)
- June 11. The peace conferees at Niagara Falls announce that they have agreed on the transfer of authority in Mexico and the establishment of a new government. General Carranza, leader of the revolutionists in Mexico agrees to send representatives to the conference. (R. 50:39)
- June 16. The United States delegates to the peace conference confer with the representatives of the Mexican constitutionalists at Buffalo to obtain information regarding an acceptable provisional president. (R. 50:39)
- June 18-19. Statements are issued by the Mexican and American delegates to the peace conference outlining the differences of opinion which seem to make impossible the selection of a mutually satisfactory provisional president of Mexico. (R. 50:39)
- June 24. Three articles of a peace protocol are signed and made public at the conference at Niagara Falls, providing mainly for a settlement of pecuniary claims and for the recognition of the proposed new government, sessions are suspended without formal adjournment pending possible conferences between the representatives of the Mexican government and the revolutionists. (R. 50:165)
- July 1. The conference at Niagara Falls—initiated by Argentina, Brazil and Chile and participated in by representatives of the United States and the Huerta faction in Mexico—designed to establish order in Mexico —comes to an end without positive result. (R. 50:166)
- Sept. 15. President Wilson orders the withdrawal of United States soldiers from Vera Cruz, internal conditions of Mexico rendering their further presence unnecessary. (R. 50:418)
- Nov. 13. Bryan announces that the United States troops will be withdrawn from Vera Cruz on November 23, all factions in Mexico having given the guarantees requested. (R. 50:673)
- Nov. 23. The United States troops are withdrawn from Vera Cruz, Mexico, after occupying the city and administering its affairs since April 21; the battleships Minnesota and Texas remain in the harbor. (R. 51:27)

4. PANAMA

1914

- June 9. Both Houses of Colombian Congress ratify by large majority the treaty with the United States relating to the Republic of Panama and the Panama Canal. (R. 50:38)
- June 10. Senate adopts Simmons-Norris compromise amendment-tolls-repeal bill, affirming that the United States does not relinquish any rights under the treaties with Great Britain and with Panama. (R. 50:37)
- June 11. Senate passes amended bill repealing the tolls exemption clause of the Panama Canal Act. (R. 50:37)
- June 12. Amended bill accepted by House. (R. 50:37)
- June 15. President Wilson signs the bill repealing the tolls exemption clause of the Panama Canal Act to which Great Britain had objected. (R. 50:39)
- Aug. 15. Panama Canal is formally opened to the commerce of the world; the Panama Railroad Steamship Ancon passes through from the Atlantic to the Pacific in ten hours. (R. 50:294)
- Sept. 2. A treaty is signed at Panama under which the United States is given control of the harbors of Colon and Ancon. (R. 50:418)
- Dec. 8. The National Assembly of Panama ratifies the treaty granting to the United States control of the harbors of Colon and Ancon. (R. 51:27)

1915

- Jan. 6. It is learned at Washington that Panama rejected the adjudication of its boundary dispute with Costa Rica arbitrated by Chief Justice White of the United States Supreme Court. (R. 51:154)
- Feb. 11. United States and Panama. Boundary convention between the Republic of Panama and the United States of America. (A 9:509).
- Feb. 20. The Panama Pacific International Exposition at San Francisco is opened with simple ceremonies; 215,000 persons enter the ground. (R. 51:417)

5. EUROPEAN WAR

1914

- June 28. Archduke Franz Ferdinand (heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary) and his wife are shot and killed by a Bosnian at Sarajevo, Bosnia; the assassination is believed to have been the result of a political conspiracy. (R. 50:165)
- June 29. Many anti-Servian outbreaks occur in the vicinity of Sarajevo, Servians being popularly held responsible for the assassination of the Austrian Crown Prince. (R. 50:165)
- July 23. Austria demands of Servia the punishment of accomplices in the murder of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the suppression of anti-Austrian societies in Bosnia, and the official disavowal of Servian connection with the anti-Austrian propaganda; an answer is demanded by 6 p. m. on July 25. (R. 50:291)
- July 24. Russian Cabinet Council held. The Austro-Hungarian demands on Servia were considered as an indirect challenge to Russia. (A 8:893).
- July 25. Servia agrees to all the demands of Austria-Hungary except that which stipulated that Austro-Hungarian officials should participate in the inquiries; the reply is rejected as insufficient. The Russian Government lets it become known that it will not permit Austria-Hungary to make war on Servia on a pretext. (R. 50:291)
- July 26. A semi-official statement at Berlin indicates that Germany has warned other powers not to interfere with Austro-Hungarian plans to discipline Servia. (R. 50:291)
- July 27. Sir Edward Grey announced in House of Commons his proposal for a conference of France, Germany, Italy and Great Britain. The proposals were accepted by France and Italy. (A. 8:893)

- July 28. Austria declared war against Servia and Servian vessels were seized in the Danube. (A. 8:893)
- July 31. Germany peremptorily demands that Russia cease its menacing mobilization (begun July 28). An imperial decree proclaims a state of war throughout the German Empire. Holland, Belgium and Switzerland order general mobilization of their armies in order to protect frontiers and maintain neutrality. The New York Stock Exchange closes its doors for the first time since the panic of 1873; all other world markets had previously suspended as the flood of selling orders from Europe threatened American values. (R. 50:291)
- Aug. 1. Germany declares war on Russia, following the refusal of the Russian Government to stop mobilizing its reserves. The French Cabinet Council orders a general mobilization of the French Army. (R. 50:291)
- Aug. 1. Italy, Sweden and Norway announced their neutrality. (A. 8:893).
- Aug. 2. German troops enter the neutral duchy of Luxemburg and advance toward the French frontier. Germany demands to know whether Belgium would permit the free passing of troops across Belgium; Belgium refuses permission. (R. 50:291)
- Aug. 3. Germany informs Belgium that she will carry out by force her plans to approach the French frontier through Belgian territory. King Albert of Belgium appeals to King George of England for diplomatic intervention to safeguard the neutrality of Belgium. (R. 50:291)
- Aug. 3. The German Ambassador to France and the French Ambassador to Germany were handed their passports. The German Ambassador stated that Germany considered that a state of war existed between Germany and France. (A. 9:222)
- Aug. 3. German troops invaded Belgium. (A. 8:894)
- Aug. 4. Great Britain declares war on Germany upon the summary rejection of the demand that Germany respect the neutrality of Belgium. The German Ambassador at Brussels informs the Belgian Government that a state of war exists between Germany and Belgium. (R. 50:291)
- Aug. 4. Germany formally declared war on France. Great Britain formally declared war on Germany. The United States announced its neutrality in the war between Germany and France and Russia, and between Austria and Servia. (A. 8:894)
- Aug. 5. The United States issued a neutrality proclamation designed to cover wireless telegraphic communication. The President of the United States tendered the good offices of the United States for the settlement of the war. The United States announced its neutrality in the war between Germany and Great Britain. (A. 8:894)
- Aug. 5. President Wilson, as official head of one of the powers signatory to the Hague convention informs the rulers of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia, France and Great Britain that he should welcome an opportunity to act in the interest of European peace either now or at any other time. (R. 50:291)
- Aug. 6. Austria-Hungary formally declares war on Russia. (R. 50:292)
- Aug. 7. Montenegro handed passports to the Austrian Minister and stated that Montenegro considered that a state of war existed between Montenegro and Austria. (A. 9:222)
- Aug. 7. United States announced its neutrality in the war between Austria and Russia. (A. 8:894)
- Aug. 8. The Portuguese Government announces that it will actively support Great Britain in accordance with an old treaty. (R. 50:292)
- Aug. 9. Servia handed the German Minister his passports. (A. 9:222)
- Aug. 9. Belgium and Germany. Germany forwarded through the Netherlands Government a proposal for the evacuation of Belgium, so soon as the state of war would permit. The proposal, which was similar to the ultimatum issued to Belgium, on Aug. 2, was refused. (A. 9:503)

- Aug. 9. Great Britain issued list of contraband of war. (A. 8:894)
- Aug. 9. Servia declared war against Germany. (A. 8:894)
- Aug. 10. Germany issued a list of contraband of war. (A. 8:894)
- Aug. 10. The French Government recalls its Ambassador to Austria-Hungary because of insufficient explanations regarding the sending of Austrian troops into German territory near the French frontier. (R. 50:292)
- Aug. 11. The United States issued a statement dealing with the questions of neutrality, etc., raised by complaints to the Dept. of State. (A. 8:894).
- Aug. 12. Great Britain severs diplomatic relations with Austria-Hungary and declares that a state of war exists. Montenegro formally declares war on Germany. (R. 50:292)
- Aug. 13. France declared war on Austria. (A. 9:223)
- Aug. 14. The United States announced its neutrality in the war between France and Austria. (A. 8:895)
- Aug. 15. Russia promised autonomy to Poland for loyalty of the Poles during the war. (A. 8:895)
- Aug. 15. Announcement made that the United States Government would look with disfavor on loans made by American bankers to any nations engaged in the European war. (A. 8:895)
- Aug. 16. Japan demands that Germany shall immediately withdraw her warships from Japanese and Chinese waters, and deliver to Japan without condition or compensation the German possessions of Kiau-chau with a view to their eventual restoration to China. (R. 50:292)
- Aug. 17. England and Japan gave assurance of the limitation of fighting in the Far East. (A. 8:895)
- Aug. 18. Russia promised a grant of civil rights to the Jews of Russia. (A. 8:895)
- Aug. 18. The United States announced its neutrality in the war between Belgium and Germany. (A. 8:895)
- Aug. 22. The United States transmits to Japan its understanding that Japan's purpose in acting against Germany in the Far East is not to seek territorial aggrandizement in China, and that the United States should be consulted before further steps are taken outside the territory of Kiau-chau. (R. 50:292)
- Aug. 23. Japan declares war on Germany—no reply to her note. (R. 50:415)
- Aug. 25. Austria formally declares war upon Japan, feeling compelled to do so by her alliance with Germany. (R. 50:415)
- Aug. 27. Japan declared a blockade of territory of Kiau-chau. (A. 8:896).
- Aug. 28. Austria declared war on Belgium. (A. 9:223)
- Sept. 1. The United States announced its neutrality in the war between Austria and Belgium. (A. 8:896)
- Sept. 3. Germany vigorously protests to China against permitting Japan to land troops on Chinese territory. (R. 50:415)
- Sept. 5. Great Britain. First Prize Court, since Crimean war held in the Admiralty Court under presidency of Sir Samuel Evans. (A. 9:223)
- Sept. 5. The allies agreed not to make peace separately. (A. 8:896)
- Sept. 7. Russian Government announced the annexation of Galicia. (A. 8:897)
- Sept. 9. The German Kaiser protests to the President of the United States against the alleged use by French and British soldiers of bullets which spread and make ugly wounds. (R. 50:416)
- Sept. 12. American Red Cross Relief Ship "Red Cross" leaves New York for European waters bearing physicians, nurses and medical supplies. (R. 50:416)
- Sept. 16. Japanese forces reported to be moving against Kiau-chau. China has been notified that Germany reserves the right to deal with the Chinese Republic as she sees fit because of the breach of neutrality in allowing Japanese troops to land on Chinese territory. (A. 8:897)

- Sept. 16. German and Belgian protests against atrocities are replied to by President Wilson by expressing his belief that it would be unwise for a neutral government to express any opinion now. (R. 50:416)
- Sept. 17. An informal reply from the German Imperial Chancellor to President Wilson's equally informal inquiry as to whether Germany is willing to discuss terms of peace suggests that the United States should first get proposals of peace from the Allies. (R. 50:416)
- Sept. 28. Great Britain gave notice that she would not recognize the article of the Declaration of London exempting conditional contraband of war from seizure when destined for neutral ports. The Declaration of London was adversely acted upon by the British Parliament. (A. 8:898)
- Oct. 2. China protests the third time against the occupation of Chinese territory (outside of a prescribed zone) by Japanese troops in their operations against the German concession at Kiau-Chau. (R. 50:545)
- Oct. 3. The occupation of Wei-hsien, China, by Japanese troops and the seizure of the railroad in Shantung (German-owned) result in ill feeling throughout China and energetic protests from the Chinese Government. (R. 50:542)
- Oct. 4. Albania. Essad Pasha reentered Albania, after four months' exile, accompanied by an army, and assumed control of the government. (A. 9:224)
- Oct. 10. Panama and United States. Protocol and agreement signed relating to hospitality extended to belligerent vessels within their respective jurisdictions. (A. 9:224)
- Oct. 12. Union of South Africa. British proclamation issued declaring martial law owing to desertion of Lieut. Col. Maritz and certain of his troops to the German forces. (A. 9:225)
- Oct. 15. The Department of State issued statement as to neutrality and trade, in contraband of war. (A. 9:226)
- Oct. 21. The United States protests to Great Britain against the detention of several American ships bound for neutral ports with non-contraband cargoes. (R. 50:670)
- Oct. 24. Germany protests to neutrals against the seizure of Germans on neutral vessels. (A. 9:504)
- Oct. 24. Further unpleasantness between Japan and neutral China results from the seizure by Japan of the German torpedo destroyer S-90 which had run aground on the Chinese coast after escaping from Kiau-chau and sinking the Japanese cruiser *Takachiho*. (R. 50:670)
- Oct. 28. Great Britain orders enemy's reservists on the high seas to be seized (A. 9:504)
- Oct. 29. Turkey enters the war, beginning hostilities in the Black Sea,—entirely upon the responsibility, it is alleged, of German officers commanding Turkish warships. (R. 50:670)
- Nov. 1. The Rockefeller Foundation announces its determination to use its resources for the relief of non-combatants, paying immediate attention to starving Belgians. (R. 50:670)
- Nov. 3. Great Britain announced that the North Sea was closed to commerce. (A. 9:504)
- Nov. 3. Russia handed the Turkish Charge d'Affaires his passports. (A. 9:226)
- Nov. 5. Great Britain and France make formal declaration of war on Turkey because of hostile acts and the refusal of Turkey to dismiss German naval officers. (R. 50:671)
- Nov. 6. The Belgian Government handed the Turkish Minister his passports. (A. 9:226)
- Nov. 6. France. Decree relative to the application of the rules of international maritime law to the present war. (A. 9:504)
- Nov. 6. Sweden protests against the closing of the North Sea to Commerce. (A. 9:504)

- Nov. 9. Formal declaration of war by the Allies against Turkey, signed by the five allied Powers. (A. 9:227)
- Nov. 11. It becomes known at Washington that Great Britain has called the attention of the United States to alleged violations of neutrality in Ecuador and Colombia in the furnishing of information and supplies to German warships. (R. 50:673)
- Nov. 13. United States. Proclamation relating to the neutrality of the Panama Canal Zone and Panama. (A. 8:228)
- Nov. 21. The German Ambassador to the United States filed with the State Department complaint that the French have violated the Red Cross Convention of 1906. (A. 9:504)
- Nov. 23. The United States replies to the query from Germany—as to the attitude of the United States regarding treatment of contraband by Great Britain and France—that it does not consider the Declaration of London as binding, some of the belligerent powers having refused to ratify it. (R. 51:27)
- Nov. 27. A proclamation announcing a Holy War against Great Britain, Russia and France issued to the Mohammedans by Sheik ul Islam. (A. 9:228)
- Nov. 29. A French report states that Germany has paid Luxemburg an indemnity of \$37,500 being actual damage to crops and fields, for marching troops across her neutral territory at the beginning of the war. (R. 51:24)
- Dec. 8. Secretary of State Bryan and the diplomatic representatives at Washington of 20 American Republics (composing the governing board of the Pan American Union) meet and discuss problems relating to neutral nations as they are affected by the great war; a commission is appointed to investigate and make recommendations. (R. 51:27)
- Dec. 18. Egypt. British protectorate proclaimed and Lieut. Col. Sir Arthur Henry McMahon appointed High Commissioner. Dec. 19th, France recognized protectorate and Great Britain announced its adherence to Franco-Moorish treaty of March 30, 1912. On same day the Khedive of Egypt, Abbas Hilmi Pasha, was deposed and Prince Hussein Kamel Pasha, eldest living prince of the family of Mahomet, made Sultan of Egypt. (A. 9:228)
- Dec. 23. Great Britain. Proclamation issued giving revised lists of contraband. (A. 9:229)
- Dec. 26. United States and Great Britain. American Government protested against British interference with American trade. (A. 9:229).
- Dec. 27. Venezuela proposes a conference of neutral nations to meet at Washington and consider a revision of the rules of international law relating to the rights of neutrals. (R. 51:152)
- Dec. 28. The United States protests to Great Britain "in the most friendly spirit" against the seizure and detention of vessels laden with American goods destined to neutral ports in Europe. (R. 51:152)
- 1915**
- Jan. 7. United States and Great Britain. Preliminary note in answer to the American protest of Dec. 26, handed the American Ambassador. By agreement the note was not made public till Jan. 10. (A. 9:506)
- Jan. 7. United States and Germany. The United States informed the German Ambassador that the United States could not investigate the German charge that the British are using dum-dum bullets. (A. 9:506)
- Jan. 10. Great Britain's preliminary reply to the American note of protest sets forth Great Britain's position, offers to make redress when action exceeds right, and welcomes "any arrangement by which mistakes can be avoided and reparation secured promptly." (R. 51:153)
- Jan. 19. Great Britain refuses to agree not to seize and detain the *Dacia* (a cotton-laden ship about to leave Galveston, Texas, for Holland) recently transferred from German to American ownership. (R. 51:154)

- Jan. 21. Germany. All grain taken over by the government. (A. 9:506)
- Jan. 21. The United States replies to Germany's note regarding the status of United States consuls in Belgian territory occupied and controlled by Germans; the non-political status of consuls is recognized and the United States does not question the right of Germany to suspend their exequaturs. (R. 51:281)
- Jan. 24. The United States Government (in an executive letter from Secretary of State Bryan to Chairman Stone of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate) categorically denies 20 specific charges made by German sympathizers of discrimination against Germany and Austria in international situations arising out of the war. (R. 51:281)
- Jan. 25. Germany gave notice of cancellation of exequaturs granted by Belgium to foreign consular representatives. (A. 9:506)
- Jan. 26. China and Japan. Reported that Japan has made certain demands on China, relating to concessions to foreigners, including the transfer to Japan of all German and Austrian concessions and a pledge that China shall not in the future grant concesssions to any nation except Japan. (A. 9:506)
- Jan. 31. United States. The steamer *Dacia*, formerly of the Hamburg-American line, purchased by E. O. Breitung, sailed from Norfolk, Va., for Rotterdam loaded with cotton. On Feb. 27 the *Dacia* was seized by a French cruiser and taken into Brest as prize. (A. 9:507)
- Feb. 2. Great Britain announced that all grain and flour shipments to Germany, even if intended for non-combatants, would be seized. (A. 9:508)
- Feb. 4. The German Admiralty issued proclamation stating that after Feb. 18, 1915, the waters around Great Britain and Ireland were to be in a state of blockade. Neutral ships were warned that they were in danger from submarines which might not be able to distinguish them from belligerent ships. (A. 9:508)
- Feb. 6. United States and Great Britain. The English Cunarder *Lusitania* being warned of the presence of German submarines in the Irish Sea, hoisted the American flag. (A. 9:508)
- Feb. 10. United States. American note to Germany in regard to safety of American ships in the war zone established by the German proclamation of February 4th, (A. 9:509)
- Feb. 10. United States. American note to Great Britain protesting against use of American flag by *Lusitania*. (A. 9:508)
- Feb. 10. The United States Government sends notes to Germany and Great Britain relative to American shipping in the war zone; Germany is advised that it would be a serious and unprecedeted breach in the rules of naval warfare if a merchant vessel should be destroyed without first certainly determining its belligerent nationality or the contraband character of its cargo; Great Britain is warned of the serious consequences that may result to American vessels and citizens if the practice of using the American flag on British vessels is continued generally. (R. 51:282)
- Feb. 16. In a communication transmitted through the American Ambassador at London, Germany offers to withdraw from her intention to war against British merchant vessels if Great Britain will permit the free movement of foodstuffs to the civil population of Germany. (R. 51:282)
- Feb. 16. Great Britain. The *Wilhelmina*, an American ship, destined for a German port with a cargo of wheat for civilian consumption, seized in Falmouth harbor where she had entered for safety during a storm. (A. 9:509)
- Feb. 18. Germany replying to the American note regarding the maritime war zone disclaims all responsibility for such accidents, and their consequences as result to neutral vessels. (R. 51:414)

- Feb. 19. Great Britain replies to the American protest, (February 16) on the detention of the *Wilhelmina*—an American ship carrying wheat to a German port,—affirming its intention to send the case to the prize court. Great Britain replies to the American note (Feb. 12) concerning the use of the United States flag by British merchant vessels; the use of neutral flags is upheld as a principle of international law, but assurance is given that the British Government has no intention of advising their general use. (R. 51:414)
- Feb. 20. United States. The United States addressed identic notes to Great Britain and Germany respecting the establishment of war zones and blockades. On March 7 and 8 notes were addressed to Great Britain and France on the subject of the embargo against Germany. (A.9:509)
- Feb. 25. A Peking dispatch states that Japan has waived for the present the demands which China most strenuously resisted. (R. 51:417)
- Feb. 25. Great Britain. Announcemnt of blockade of coast of German East Africa, as from Feb. 28. (A. 9:509)
- Feb. 27. The cotton freighter *Dacia* (recently transferred from German ownership to American) is seized in the English Channel by a French cruiser; the legality of the transfer will be passed upon by a French prize court. (R. 51:414)
- Mar. 10. The German converted cruiser, *Prinz Eitel Friedrich* enters Hampton Roads for repairs after a seven-months commerce-destroying voyage from Tsing-tao, China; among the 11 merchant vessels destroyed was the *William P. Frye*, an American sailing ship bound from Seattle to Queenstown, England, sunk on February 27th on the ground that her cargo of wheat was contraband. (R. 51:415)
- Mar. 3. A dispatch from Peking states that China has agreed to extend for 99 years the Japanese lease of the ports of Dalny and Port Arthur occupied by Japan since the Russo-Japanese war, under the Russian lease, due to expire in 8 years. (R. 51:417)
- Mar. 15. Great Britain refuses to agree to the American proposals (Feb. 22) for a solution of the controversy with Germany over merchant vessels. (R. 51:416)
- Mar. 18. United States made public the texts of the notes of the United States to France, Great Britain and Germany with their replies, respecting the war zones, blockades, etc., of Feb. 4, and the British Admiralty order of March 11. (A. 9:511)
- Mar. 23. China accepts four of the Japanese demands, agreeing to obtain Japan's consent before making foreign financial, industrial and political arrangements in Southern Manchuria. (R. 51:538)
- Mar. 31. Great Britain. In presenting an argument before the prize court in favor of requisitioning the cargo of foodstuffs of the American steamer *Wilhelmina* the Crown solicitor introduced a hitherto unpublished order in council providing that the crown may requisition any neutral ship. This changes Rule 28 of the Prize Court. (A. 9:512)
- Apr. 8. Germany agrees to indemnify the owners of the American sailing vessel *William P. Frye* sunk by the *Prinz Eitel Friedrich* on Jan. 28 (R. 51:537) but insisted upon the case going before the German Prize Court. (N. Y. Times, March 11, 1915)
- Apr. 11. The German Ambassador at Washington makes public a memorandum delivered to the State Dept. criticising the attitude of the United States toward the shipment of war materials and toward British treatment of American trade with Germany. (R. 51:537)
- Apr. 20. It is reported at Peking that the United States has informed China that treaty obligations with the United States must not be ignored in negotiations with Japan. (R. 51:538)
- May 1. The American oil-carrying steamer *Gulflight* bound for a French port is sunk off the Scilly Islands with a loss of three lives; the crew declare that the ship was torpedoed by a German submarine. (R. 51:673)

- May 7. The great transatlantic liner *Lusitania* is torpedoed and sunk by a German submarine without warning off the Southern coast of Ireland; 1150 persons lose their lives (including more than 100 Americans) and 767 are rescued. (R. 51:674)
- May 7. Japan presents an ultimatum to China relating to the proposals under discussion; the group to which China most seriously objected is withdrawn. (R. 51:676)
- May 9. China accepts the demands contained in the Japanese ultimatum. (R. 51:676)
- May 13. The United States protests to Germany against the submarine policy culminating in the sinking of the *Lusitania* with many American passengers aboard; the note states that the United States expects Germany to disavow such acts and take steps to prevent their recurrence and declares that the United States will not be expected to omit any word or act necessary to maintain the rights of its citizens. (R. 51:674)

6. INTERNATIONAL AND AMERICAN CONFERENCES*

- 1914
- Aug. 5. World Church Peace Congress, London. (Advocate of Peace, Vol. LXXVII, No. 6, p. 141)
- Dec. 13-21. Sixth International Sanitary Conference of South America, Montevideo, Uruguay, (A. 9:505)
- 1915
- Feb. 27. Emergency Peace Federation Conference, Chicago (Washington Star 2 28:1915)
- Apr. 7-10. Meeting at The Hague, called by The Dutch Anti-War Council. (Advocate of Peace, Vol. LXXVII. No. 6, p. 147)
- Apr. 27. International women's peace congress. The Hague. (R. 51:673)
- May 7. Eighty-seventh Annual Meeting of the American Peace Society, Washington.
- May 12. A world court congress, Cleveland, Ohio. (R. 51:676)
- May 19-21. Twenty-first Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration, Mohonk Lake, N. Y.

7. OTHER EVENTS

- 1914
- July 10. Greece and Turkey. The two governments have requested Switzerland to designate an arbitrator to settle the differences existing among the members of the mixed Greco-Turkish commission sitting in Smyrna for the purpose of arranging the immigration questions. The commission was appointed to exchange the property of Turkish and Greek refugees, and make valuation of the properties concerned. (A. 8:892)
- Aug. 10. Great Britain. Regulations recommended by the International Conference for Safety at Sea approved and ordered to come into effect July 1, 1915. (A. 9:504)
- Aug. 14. 500 American sailors are landed at Bluefields, with the consent of the Nicaraguan Government, to preserve order. (R. 50:294)
- Sept. 10. Turkey notifies the nations of the world that she has abrogated the conventions under which foreigners in Turkey have been exempt from local jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases, and under which other special privileges had been enjoyed. (R. 50:418)

*See also Niagara Falls (Canada) Conferences, "3. Mexico."—ED.

- Sept. 12. A note is presented to the Turkish Government by Great Britain, France, Russia and Italy maintaining that the special rights of aliens being the result of international treaties can only be abolished through an understanding with the contracting powers; Austria and Germany present a separate note. (R. 50:418)
- Oct. 19. American marines are landed at Cape Haitien, Haiti, to maintain order after the town is seized by revolutionists. (R. 50:545)
- Oct. 23. A conference is held at Washington between members of the Federal Reserve Board, a group of leading American bankers and two representatives of the British Treasury, to formulate a plan for the settlement of acute problems of international trade and finance. (R. 50:673)
- Nov. 24. United States and Nicaragua. Report rendered by the Nicaraguan-United States Mixed Claims Commission. (A. 9:505)
- Nov. 27. United States and Turkey. The United States Department of State announced that Turkey had made satisfactory explanation of the Smyrna incident of Nov. 16, when a shot was fired at the launch of the U. S. S. *Tennessee*. It was explained that the shot was fired to warn the launch away from the mine fields. (A. 9:505)
- Dec. 24-25. The one hundredth anniversary of the signing of the treaty of Ghent which ended the war between Great Britain and the United States is quietly observed in United States, England and Canada. (R. 51:154).
- 1915
- Jan. 8. The hundredth anniversary of the final battle between Great Britain and the United States is commemorated at New Orleans. (R. 51:155).
- Feb. 12. Representatives of the United States, China and Holland sign at The Hague the protocol of the anti-opium convention of 1912. (R. 51:285).
- Mar. 3. Opium Convention. Proclamation of the convention and final protocol between the United States and other powers relating to the suppression of the abuse of opium and other drugs, signed at The Hague, Jan. 23, 1912, and July 9, 1913, ratifications of which were deposited at The Hague by the United States Dec. 10, 1913. (A. 9:510).

APPENDIX C

CORRESPONDENTS OF THE PERMANENT OFFICE OF THE CONFERENCE

Because of limited hotel accommodations, it is impossible for Mr. and Mrs. Smiley to entertain as their guests at one annual conference more than approximately three hundred persons. While, therefore, comparatively few of the many hundreds of interested individuals who desire to cooperate in the work of the conferences can be invited in any given year, in 1907 the permanent office of the conference devised a plan to provide for such individuals an opportunity to cooperate as "Correspondents" of that office. Enrollment as a "Correspondent" in no way precludes invitation to any annual conference. "Correspondents" receive without charge all publications of the conference and occasional circulars of information from the office, which also gladly answers their inquiries. In return, they agree to use their influence to bring about in their respective communities a more general knowledge of the possibilities and accomplishments of arbitration and other agencies for the avoidance of war, to cooperate when practicable with the conference office in furthering special movements, and to keep the office informed of local activity.

About six hundred "Correspondents," residing in forty-five states and territories in the United States and in eighteen nations of Europe, Asia and South and Central America, have been enrolled. Further information may be obtained from the Secretary of the Conference.—ED.

APPENDIX D

BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS COOPERATING WITH THE CONFERENCE OFFICE

Upon the authorization of the Conference of 1902, a committee of three business men was named to enlist, through the aid of the permanent conference office, the cooperation of business organizations of some of the more important cities in the United States. There was a gratifying response to the first attempt, twenty-one organizations out of twenty-four endorsing a circular embodying the ideas of the committee on "Why Business Men Should Promote International Arbitration" and "How Business Men can Promote International Arbitration." (See Conference Report, 1903, pages 74-79.)

The interest has grown until 1915 records show a list of 176 Cooperating and Corresponding Business Organizations, including 8 from Canada and 9 from other countries, having 38 Committees on International Arbitration, and sending an average representation of 42 to each annual conference. Stated numbers of bulletins, published for the purpose by the conference committee, are distributed by 48 of the bodies. Most of the 15 bulletins already published have been printed as parts of the conference reports of the respective years.

The participation of business men has become a feature of each conference, and their practical views have long given a strong backing to the sentiment produced through the annual proceedings.*

A complete list of that date can be found in the conference report of 1914, pages 176-178. Further information may be obtained from the Secretary of the Conference.—ED.

*A list of delegates to the 1915 conference and copy of their Declaration may be found on pages 130 and 129, respectively, of this report.—ED.

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