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# THE RISE OF INTERNATIONALISM

BY

JOHN CULBERT FARIES, A. M.

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W. D. GRAY

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## PREFACE

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This study was begun in the "piping times of peace" when an appreciation of the marvellous growth made by internationalism during a half-century inclined one to believe that a great war between the leading nations of the world was unlikely—if not impossible. The probability that pacific relations between the Christian Powers would be maintained had been strengthened by every effort towards international understanding and by the multiform expressions of a growing public consciousness that war is unnecessary, wasteful and inhuman.

The reactionary force of a narrow nationalism was underrated in our hopes for the immediate fruition of fifty years of international coöperation. While the sentiment for the peaceful settlement of international differences was strengthening each year, there was developing in Europe a trigger situation which the old time secret diplomacy was impotent to cope with and for which there was no organization of the peace forces that could sense the danger or avert the disaster. Some one pulled the trigger, and the future must determine who was the international assassin.

Some shallow thinkers hastily concluded that internationalism had broken down, and that pacifism was proven to be the iridescent dream of "dreamers who dreamt that they had been dreaming." It was not internationalism that broke down, but the old Machiavellian diplomacy. Internationalism grows faster among the citizenry than in the chancelleries of the nations. Absolutism still has its Bastille which citizen hands will dismantle in the coming days of the international era which no recrudescence of selfish nationalism can turn back for long. The haste with which the foreign offices gave to the

world their diplomatic correspondence relating to the international explosion is evidence of an appreciation of the existence of a bar of public opinion before which those guilty of a crime against Christian civilization must stand for judgment. For fifty years that public opinion has been educated as to what international morality demands national conduct shall be.

This study is offered as an evidence of the extent of the growth of internationalism and the magnitude of a crime which retards its growth. If a vision of what the good of the whole world demands shall be given to those who sit in the council to determine the terms of peace, there will be concerted such measures as were lacking at the Congress of Vienna in 1815. Surely, fifty years' growth in internationalism must register itself in the result of the world's Great War.

New York, May 1, 1915.

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## CHAPTER I.

### THE MEANING OF INTERNATIONALISM

Internationalism is the embodiment of a new conception of the advantages of rational coöperation in the whole field of human endeavor. It shows how men tend to act when the human understanding is freed from the shackles of narrow provincialism and grasps the possibility of a practical world unity. It expresses a growing awareness of the inter-dependence of the parts into which the human race has been differentiated.

The adjective "international" has been established in the English language for a little more than a century. The coinage of the word is credited to Jeremy Bentham<sup>1</sup> who, in 1780, offered it as a more significant expression, as applied to a certain branch of law, than the older term, "the law of nations."<sup>2</sup> Richardson's Dictionary, published in 1838, mentions it as "a modern word in established use" without defining it.<sup>3</sup> It is not found in any of the various editions of Dr. Johnson's Dictionary until the revision of 1876. About 1840 it passed over into France, but did not appear in the dictionary of the French Academy until the edition of 1877.<sup>4</sup> The general index to the British Parliamentary Papers from 1801 to 1826 does not make use of the adjective which occupies an increasingly large place in all late government indices.

The substantive "internationalism," is of more recent origin. It first appears in the dictionaries in a specific sense as the doctrine of the International Workingmen's Association, a socialistic organization formed in London in 1864, under the

<sup>1</sup> Fitzedward Hall, "Modern English," 1837, p. 317.

<sup>2</sup> Jeremy Bentham, "An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation," p. 326.

<sup>3</sup> Charles Richardson, "A New Dictionary of the English Language," 1838.

<sup>4</sup> *Annuaire de la Vie Internationale*, 1908-9, p. 31.

leadership of Karl Marx.<sup>1</sup> Three late dictionaries,<sup>2</sup> indeed, offer more general definitions of internationalism, while one<sup>3</sup> defines it in a specific sense which is certainly not in keeping with the generally accepted idea.

Most thoughtful people have some idea of what the term internationalism means and the concept is growing in content every day. A man's mental horizon is circumscribed by the radius along which he projects himself into the world. The circle may be large or small. Similarly, a man's conception of internationalism is proportionate to his knowledge of and interest in conditions beyond the boundaries of his own nation. That interest may be political, economic, scientific, religious or social. The sum of all the interests of all men, expressed in action which cuts across national and racial boundaries, may be said to make up the body of internationalism.

Internationalism may be defined to be that coöperation between governments or their citizens which tends to coördinate their efforts toward material or moral betterment in the interests of the whole social order. Such coöperation may be official, as when governments form an association like the Universal Postal Union, or when they send plenipotentiaries to draw up articles which shall have the force of international law, as at the Hague Conferences; or it may be un-official, as when the representatives of private organizations seek to coördinate the work of those interested in any particular field of effort. To the latter class belong by far the largest number of international congresses and associations. We are warranted,

<sup>1</sup> Imperial Dictionary, 1882; Encyclopaedic Dictionary, 1885; Century Dictionary and Encyclopedia, 1879.

<sup>2</sup> Murray's New English Dictionary, 1901: "International character or spirit; the principle of community of interests or action between different nations." The Standard Dictionary, 1913: "The character of being related to more nations than one or to nations generally." Webster's International Dictionary, 1913: "International character, principles, interests or sentiments; also, international organization, influence or common participation."

<sup>3</sup> Century Dictionary, New Vol., 1909: "Specifically, the principle of forcing a somewhat disorganized or weak country to submit to the combined control or protection of several stronger nations." Egypt was the case in mind.

therefore, in including within internationalism that coöperation of the citizens of various nations which may fall far short of international law.

Internationalism is the latest and broadest manifestation of that spirit of mutual aid which runs as a formative principle through all the associations of men back to their simplest forms. Mutual aid has even been observed in the behavior of animals that band together for protection and advantage.<sup>1</sup> The history of society tells how men have been led to form larger and larger groupings through the recognition of mutual interests. Families have been expanded into tribes and clans and these have been compacted into nations through purposive coöperation. This process has progressed through the critical examination, in the light of the advantages of a larger synthesis, of those customs and institutions which tend to render the life of a social group static.

For centuries society halted at that synthesis which we call nationalism. It is still as large a synthesis as men of parochial minds are capable comfortably of grasping. The possession of a national language and literature, the fires of a common altar, the enjoyment of a geographically restricted domain, the fancied advantages of an economic independence, a predominant racial type or complexion—these have been the insulating material which has kept the men of different nations apart. But things have happened during the past hundred years or so which have caused men to question whether the real welfare of a nation is advanced by the natio-centric point of view, or by measures for purely selfish aggrandizement. New currents have set out from the national shore to the opposite poles to return again and say that the ocean of truth is one in spite of headlands and continents. There is dawning on the world a larger synthesis which embraces the whole

<sup>1</sup> Peter Kropotkin, "Mutual Aid a Factor in Evolution."  
F. H. Giddings, *Principles of Sociology*," Book III, Chap. I.

of humanity and men are coming to think that in some way the welfare of the snug and most complacent nation in the world is implicit in the welfare of the whole social order. We are examining again the barriers between the nations—their customs, languages, racial peculiarities—to see if these may not well give way to the beautiful Ringstrasse of a world-city.

Internationalism is not the same as cosmopolitanism which has a detachedness about it that makes it seem in a degree unnatural. The man “unwept, unhonored and unsung,” who drew the scorn of Sir Walter Scott, was the man without attachment for his native land. Macauley speaks of “that cosmopolitan indifference to constitutions and religions which is often observable in persons whose life has been spent in vagrant diplomacy.” There is nothing unattached or vagrant about internationalism. Its native soil is the life of the smallest human group. Those things which one social group has found it expedient and advantageous to do in advancing its economic or moral welfare have some relationship to the progress of any other group similarly circumstanced, for men are swayed by the same motives, derive their subsistence from the same natural resources and are heirs to the same fleshly ills. And when it happens that there is some degree of intercourse between such groups it is inevitable that the life of one must affect the life of the other. When there is conscious effort to realize the larger life of the group by action which is in harmonious adjustment to the efforts of the other group we have the essence of that coöperation which, when it exists between nations, we call internationalism. The coöperative effort may be concerned with the interests of a single class, but of a class distributed through different nations. The lines of cleavage run across, rather than with, national stratification.

Internationalism seeks the coördination of effort of every group, no matter what its interest may be. The interest may be that of the workingman seeking to improve the conditions

under which the labor of the world is performed. It may be that of the scientist who recognizes the necessity for common standards of measurement and the collation of facts from every portion of the globe. It may be that of the economist who knows that conditions abroad affect the solution of the local problem. It may be that of the meliorist who wishes to know the success or failure of this or that plan in other lands. Or the religionist, under the sway of a conviction that his cult has a message for all races of men seeks that coöperation and comity with the like-minded of other nations which will secure economy of effort and the widest field of action.

So internationalism is the carrying over into the world-field of the efforts of the local or national group under the conviction that any effort which stops short of this is fragmentary, and therefore lacks effectiveness and permanency. If patriotism be that passionate love for country which moves one to seek its highest good, it is in perfect accord with internationalism which is a recognition of the fact that that highest good can only be secured by an intelligent coöperation with the men of other nations working toward similar ends. Internationalism tends to expand patriotism into a love for humanity, to enlarge national consciousness into world-consciousness. It moves from the concrete to the abstract, from the particular to the universal.

Internationalism is a socializing process tending to establish social equilibrium in the race. To a degree which is only now coming to be realized, the well-being of every member of the human race depends upon raising the moral and economic level of mankind. It has been recognized that within the smaller group, say the national, where communication and interaction are possible, the status of the individual rises and falls with the general level. Under modern conditions of intercourse through commerce, travel, migration and news-service, it is becoming more and more apparent that world-wide con-

ditions affect the individual. Under these conditions contributing to free intercourse, the backward and degenerate nations tend to retard the progress of the civilized. But the hope of the race is in the reciprocal truth that, under these conditions of contact and intercourse, the highly civilized races tend to raise the backward ones.

In the growth of internationalism we are able to mark that coöperation which must profoundly affect the relations of men hitherto conceived of as being divided by geographical locus, language, customs and racial peculiarities into groups between which there is presumptively little that is of mutual interest. This old presumption, a relic of barbarism, is breaking down under modern conditions of intercommunication and men are forced to realize that no nation can either live or die unto itself, and that the socialization of every group of men, wherever situated, is the vital concern of all.

Internationalism is a modern social phenomenon whose rise comes largely within the last fifty years. It has many modes or manifestations that may be studied. These are principally international diplomatic conferences, unofficial congresses, associations, bureaus and other organizations which carry over effort into a wider field of action than the national and which aim at coöperation and coördination in advancing their particular interests. A study of these modes should reveal the tendencies of internationalism and suggest its meaning in the field of human endeavor.

✱ Several questions suggest themselves to be borne in mind in the discussion of the subject which follows:

What things have happened in the material and intellectual world to produce conditions favorable to the rise of internationalism?

What are the manifestations of internationalism which render it capable of being measured and justify the claims of progress?

What are the qualities in a movement which merit its acceptance as a mode of internationalism?

What will be the practical effect of the growth of internationalism upon humanity in general?

It is not the purpose of this discussion to treat of the manifestations of internationalism that may be found in the private treaties between nations, nor to study the question from the view-point of international law.

## CHAPTER II.

### PREPARATORY MOVEMENTS

Internationalism does not appear as a distinct phenomenon earlier than the nineteenth century. Throughout the historic period there have been various manifestations of the coöperative spirit. Some have seen adumbrations of internationalism in such gatherings as the Amphictyonic Council of Greece, the ecumenical councils of the Christian Church and the Crusades. But a little reflection upon the nature and objects of these gatherings will show that they have few of the elements of internationalism. There could be no internationalism until there were nations in the modern sense of the word.

The seed-bed of internationalism was a group of nations in Western Europe "growing side by side, and too nearly equal in power for any one of them to hope to maintain supremacy over any other."<sup>1</sup> The nations of the East, India, China and Japan, separated by great natural barriers, developed their own peculiar, self-contained civilizations. Their national life became static through isolation and no conditions favorable to coöperation appeared after more than three thousand years of Asiatic neighboring. It was different on the European Continent where intercourse was less restricted. Many of the rivers, like the Rhine, the Meuse, the Scheldt and the Danube, were international in their meanderings. No lofty Himalayas or dreary deserts put their veto on the mingling of the men of different races and degrees of culture. Here there grew up in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries what might be termed concurrent nationalism, that is, a neighborhood of states nearly equal in power.

Imperialism occurs when one nation can lord it over others and exploit them for its own advantage. When there is some

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F. H. Giddings, "Principles of Sociology," p. 301.

approximation to a balance of power between contiguous states it is unlikely that the aggression of any one will be submitted to by the others, for there is always the possibility of a coalition that will prove stronger than the individual state.

During the Middle Ages there was, under the aegis of the Catholic Church, a kind of imperial unity, which bound the various peoples of Europe together. The articles of religious faith and practice were prescribed for all and enforced by means of a complete hierarchical system. Latin, which was the language of the church, the universities and the courts, enabled the educated men of Italy, France, Germany and England to communicate freely. The feudal system, by preventing the centralization of civil authority, contributed to the imperialism of the church.

But religion, language and political custom, which had conserved a kind of unity in Europe were now to play a distinctly national part. Following the Protestant Revolt some nations became Protestant and the religious wars which followed served to develop the national spirit. Latin, so long the language of the learned, decayed and there grew up national literature in the vernacular expressing national ideals and fostering a national spirit. Feudalism gave way to the centralization of power in the hands of the sovereign. The old unities were broken up but there was to appear in time a new scientific unity that should bind together, not Christendom only, but the whole human race.

Under the influence of the nationalistic spirit commerce came to be regarded as an affair of the state and subject to its directing hand. In the Middle Ages commerce had been inter-municipal rather than international.<sup>1</sup> It was Venice, Genoa, and other Italian cities that fetched the products of the East from the Mediterranean termini of the caravan routes to the marts

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<sup>1</sup> Cambridge Modern History, Vol. I, chap. 15; H. B. Gibbins, "History of Commerce in Europe."

of Europe. During the Crusades the wants of man had been greatly stimulated. The courts wanted silks and jewels from China and India. Churches burned incense made from exotic gums. In a day when refrigeration was not practised the salted meats and Lenten fish tasted better when seasoned with spices from the Moluccas. The healing art of the day looked to the East for its principal medicaments. These articles of luxury became so firmly fixed in the standard of living of the European manor and town that the old self-contained life was gone forever.<sup>1</sup>

When the fall of Constantinople, in 1453, completed the Mohammedan blockade of the overland trade with India, an all-sea route to the treasure house of the Orient was discovered by Vasco da Gama around the Cape of Good Hope, while another seeker for the same goal discovered the shores of a new continent. Venice declined as the Portugese monopolized the carrying trade and Lisbon's wharves were piled high with the bales of the East. Then the Dutch ships displaced the Portugese, and Antwerp became the world's emporium. Thus we pass from the narrow horizon of medieval commerce to world trade and national commercial interest.

It was Spain, in the enjoyment of her over-sea possessions, that set the fashion for the national regulation and administration of commerce. Only Spanish ships could trade with the New World and these galleons brought such stores of silver from the mines of Peru and Mexico as to excite the cupidity of English sea-rovers and seriously disturbed economic conditions in Europe. England was not slow to enter the profitable game of discovery and colonization and her national policy was no more altruistic than that of Spain. The ships of her colonies might trade only with the mother country and then bring nothing but raw materials to keep the wheels of her growing industry turning. All manufacture in the colonies was dis-

<sup>1</sup> J. Jacobs, "The Story of Geographical Discovery."

countenanced. This narrow policy cost England her most valuable American colonies. Her navigation laws, framed to build up her own commerce, destroyed the sea-supremacy of the Dutch and she has ever since remained mistress of the seas. The policy of France was no less nationalistic under the guidance of Louis XIV. and his minister Colbert, but she fell behind in the race for the commerce of the world when she lost her foothold in India to the British.

The nationalistic spirit found expression in the economic doctrine of the day which was that what one nation gained in international trade, the other lost. National development at the expense of one's neighbor was the principle of the mercantilist school of economists. But the Physiocrats of France took a broader view of the situation.<sup>1</sup> They saw that government restrictions were hindering that free outlet of products which would result in increased national prosperity. They wanted less paternalism and a greater freedom for capital. Their doctrine of *laissez faire* exercised a great influence over Adam Smith and the classical school of English economists who advocated greater liberty in international trade and prepared the way for those freer relations which the nations enjoy today.

The first great international conference was the Congress of Vienna, in 1815.<sup>2</sup> It was called together to restore the equilibrium of Europe which had been disturbed by the French Revolution and the imperialistic ambitions of Napoleon. The congress is interesting as showing the forces of an old and a new order in conflict. The Rights of Man, declared by the National Assembly in 1789, were recognized by all crowned heads to be subversive of monarchy and all monarchical institutions. The Convention, in 1792, had thrown down the gauntlet to monarchy when it offered the friendship of France

<sup>1</sup> Higgs, "The Physiocrats."

<sup>2</sup> Cambridge Modern History, Vol. 9, chap. 19.  
W. A. Phillips, "The Confederation of Europe."

and the support of her arms to all who should shake off ancient tyranny.

The monarchs of Europe were moved by a common danger to unite to restore the Most Christian King to his throne and prevent the spread of republican ideas. When Napoleon had made himself master of France and the most of Europe he was still looked upon as the evil genius of revolution whose exorcism was necessary to the peace of Europe although he had out-Caesared Caesar in his imperialistic ambitions.

The Allies who gathered in Paris upon the first downfall of Napoleon arranged to meet some months later in Vienna to settle the territorial questions growing out of the war and to concert measures to insure the future peace of Europe. A congress called under such conditions has neither the proper perspective nor the judicial temper to deal with general questions in a large way. The causes of the conflict bulk too large and the sword still makes weight in the balances of justice. And so the results of the congress were disappointing even from the nationalistic view-point, for the redistribution of territory was in many cases not in accordance with national affinities. The congress stripped France of all the acquisitions of Napoleon and reduced her to *ante bellum* limits.

The various German states were united into a confederation which cemented the nationalism of that hitherto greatly subdivided realm.

The chief interest of the envoys seemed to be to make the best land bargain possible for their particular governments, but a few questions touching international relations in general received some attention. The congress established the principle that the whole navigable course of a river traversing two or more states is free to all. Matters touching navigation, police and customs' regulations were left to the riverain states. The rivers affected by the act were the Rhine, Necker, Main, Moselle, Meuse and Scheldt.

The questions of the abolition of the African slave trade and the suppression of piracy were urged upon the attention of the congress by the British envoys who reflected public opinion in England on these matters. The congress contented itself with the declaration that the slave trade ought to be abolished, but provided no measures for carrying the decree into effect. Each country was to find and apply its own remedy. Thus the whole point of concerted, coördinated action, which is the very essence of internationalism, was missed. The demand for the suppression of piracy was a recognition of the fact that the safety of the seas was essential to national prosperity and that it could be secured only by the joint action of the great powers. But the conditions were not yet ripe for a full degree of coöperation, for national jealousies and suspicions were sufficient to prevent the taking of any effective steps to rid the Mediterranean of the Barbary pirates.

The traditions of secret diplomacy ruled in the congress and its many acts were in the nature of treaties between the nations concerned. For the sake of convenience the various provisions were gathered together in a final act which was signed by Austria, France, Great Britain, Portugal, Prussia, Russia and Sweden. The rest of the European powers were invited to join and all but the Papacy and Spain joined in the ratification.

Several points of contrast appear between the Congress of Vienna and modern congresses. Its decisions, while gathered for purposes of convenience into a final act, were actually carried out by means of private treaties. Today the decisions of a conference are gathered into a "convention" which is signed by the plenipotentiaries and submitted to each state for its ratification. It is quite common for a commission, or other representative body, to be created to see that the acts of the conference are rendered effective. The Congress of Vienna did not even provide for further meetings nor in any other way realize the hope that had been entertained that the

foundations were to be laid for a confederation of Europe that would insure lasting peace. But there soon appeared an alliance of powers which took upon itself the task of safe-guarding the peace of Europe and which proceeded to set up a dictatorship as absolute as had been that of Napoleon.

Three months after the signing of the final act three of the parties to the congress, Austria, Prussia and Russia, formed the Holy Alliance and declared it to be their fixed resolution to be guided in the administration of their respective states solely by the precepts of the Christian religion.<sup>1</sup> "The sole principle of force, whether between the said governments or between their subjects, shall be that of doing each other reciprocal service, and of testifying by unalterable good will the mutual affection with which they ought to be animated, to consider themselves as members of one and the same Christian nation."<sup>2</sup> All powers who should accept these principles were to be "received with equal ardor and affection into this Holy Alliance." The Pope and the Sultan were not invited to join the Alliance and England gave an evasive answer. The other principal European states joined.

These noble declarations, which seem to breathe the Christian spirit, must be judged in the light of the measures which these same three powers thought appropriate and necessary to insure the tranquility of Europe. Two months later the Second Peace of Paris was made necessary by the events of the Hundred Days. The Allies restored the Bourbon king a second time while Napoleon was sent to St. Helena. On the same day that the Second Peace was signed, November 20, 1815, Austria, Prussia, Russia and Great Britain formed a secret alliance to prevent a recrudescence of the "same revolutionary principles which upheld the last criminal usurpation." They agreed "to renew their meetings at fixed periods, either under the im-

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<sup>1</sup> W. A. Phillips, "The Confederation of Europe," Chap. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Hertslet, "The Map of Europe by Treaty," Vol. I, p. 317.

mediate auspices of the sovereigns themselves, or by their respective ministers, for the purpose of consulting upon their common interests, and for the consideration of the measures which at each of these periods shall be considered the most salutary for the repose and prosperity of nations, and for the maintenance of the peace of Europe.”<sup>1</sup>

It was firmly fixed in the mind of Metternich, who dominated the situation, that the peace of Europe could be maintained only by exorcising the spirit of revolution which sat as a spectre at the council table of every European chancellery. A revolution in Naples was the occasion for calling an international conference at Troppau in 1820. The three powers, Austria, Prussia and Russia signed a protocol binding themselves to interfere in the internal affairs of any European state in case a change of government should take place through revolution. Again at Verona, in 1822, a meeting of the Alliance was held to consider intervening in the affairs of Spain. While Great Britain was a party to the secret treaty of November 20, 1815, she did not countenance interference with the internal affairs of European states. Her policy was forcibly expressed by Canning: “Our influence, if it is to be maintained abroad, must be secure in the sources of strength at home; and the sources of that strength are in sympathy between the people and the government; in the union of public sentiment with the public counsels; in the reciprocal confidence and coöperation of the House of Commons with the Crown.”<sup>2</sup>

In view of the attitude of the three powers that formed the Holy Alliance towards political changes savoring of republicanism, it is not to be wondered at that the Alliance was looked upon as reactionary in the last degree, in spite of its Christian protestations. The rise of internationalism has been closely associated with the growth of constitutionalism and democracy.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., Vol. I, p. 375.

<sup>2</sup> Cambridge Modern History, Vol. 10, p. 37.

It depends upon the existence of a citizenry trained to take an interested part in public affairs and capable of influencing the councils of the nation in its foreign policy.

The fear that the Holy Alliance might interest itself in an attempt to restore to Spain her former possessions in America, which had declared their independence and formed the Latin-American republics, had its effect both north and south of Panama. It influenced President Monroe to send to Congress, December, 1825, his message which defined the Monroe Doctrine. It led to the project of Bolivar for an international congress of American States at Panama in 1826. Although the congress was poorly attended and barren of results it called attention to the mutual interests of the American republics and was a fore-runner of the Pan-American Union.

The Congress of Vienna was too early for internationalism and too late for such an imperialism as Napoleon had attempted to establish. Internationalism cannot come by the grace of powers which rely upon the legitimacy of monarchical institutions and pledge themselves to interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign states. It must come through free coöperation and not by coercion. The cosmopolitanism of the Napoleonic regime was destined to react towards a more intense nationalism which is only beginning to give way to the larger conception of internationalism. Nationalism emphasizes the rights of a nation, internationalism recognizes the duties and obligations of nations towards one another. If the moral man be one who is "centered in the sphere of common duties," it is becoming increasingly clear that the moral nation is likewise centered in the sphere of international duties.

The Congress of Vienna was too early for internationalism because the great movements in the economic and scientific world which were to revolutionize the relations between nations and furnish powerful motives for coöperation were just afoot. Watt had just improved the steam engine which was destined

to give a tremendous impetus to the industrial revolution which had begun in the latter half of the eighteenth century with the invention of the spinning jenny and the power loom. In the possession of a new motive power industrial life was to move away from the water-ways of nature's primitive power and form great centers of population by the water-ways of commerce and near the stored-up energy of the mines.

The independent life of the artizan was given up for the interdependent and coöperative life of the factory operative. A surplus of manufactured goods sought foreign markets and demanded new commercial policies that would permit a freer international exchange of goods. Nations began to specialize in manufacture when they found it profitable to produce in abundance those goods which they could produce to advantage and exchange them for what others could produce better than they. The manufacturers and merchants looked to the government to protect and facilitate their interests on all seas and in every land. The seas must be freed from pirates and navigation must be rendered as safe as possible. The status of neutral-ships and neutral goods in time of war had to be settled by the nations.

Eight years before the powers gathered in Vienna, the launching of Fulton's "Clermont" had signalized the successful application of steam to navigation. With the tremendous development of steam navigation which followed, the necessity for a scientific exploration of the sea was seen, and projects for shortening sea-routes, by such engineering tasks as the Suez and Panama Canals, brought the nations together in consultation.

Just the year before the Congress met, Stephenson's "Puffing Billy" had ushered in the era of railway development. In the growth of the railway systems of Europe which cross many national boundaries there arose questions regarding standard gauge and equipment, through car service, customs'

regulations at the boundaries, all of which called for diplomatic settlement between the states involved.

What steam did to improve the means of locomotion and transportation, electricity did to facilitate communication and to render the world one great whispering gallery. But the telegraph, with its net-work of wires, raised international questions touching the transmission of messages from one country to another. When the submarine cable was made to link the continents measures had to be adopted by the nations to protect them from malicious injury. All of these inventions and improvements, with others that might be mentioned, which received large development in the half-century following the Congress of Vienna, had the effect of drawing the nations nearer together and of forcing upon their attention questions of mutual interest.

The opening up of the world to commerce, the discovery of strange peoples and their spiritual need awakened the slumbering conscience of the Christian Church to its duty to "make disciples of all nations." Missionaries went in the ships of traders to every portion of the globe preaching the Gospel, healing the sick and opening up schools and colleges. They studied the languages of the peoples whither they went, prepared grammars and dictionaries and sometimes reduced to writing the oral languages of illiterate people. They did much to open up the literature of the East to the scholars of the West and to make Western learning accessible to the old civilizations of the East. Their contributions to discovery and to various branches of science, through the examination and recording of facts gathered in various parts of the world, has been considerable. The interest of many in the homeland has followed them in their work and not infrequently their governments have interfered with native states in their behalf. So there have grown up strong ties between nations very differently circumstanced. In times of flood and famine and disaster hands have been stretched across the sea in help. The

knowledge of world-wide conditions that has been disseminated by missionary literature, the interest that has been awakened in backward peoples, the racial prejudices that have been softened, have all helped to bring about conditions favorable to the growth of a spirit of internationalism.

While improved methods of transportation and communication were working such marked changes in the relations between the nations, and while explorers and missionaries were engaged in opening up the frontiers of the world, the development of scientific thought was to result in the evolutionary hypothesis. This theory, that the world as we know it is the result of the orderly working of great cosmic laws through an immense period of time, acted as a tremendous stimulus to scientific activity. Every organism, however minute, was seen to fit into the whole evolutionary process and no fact in nature was negligible. The whole world became a laboratory for trained observers. But the value of their work lay in correlation, and this demanded the standardization of the units of measurement and a recognized nomenclature. It was necessary therefore for the scientific men of different countries to come together to agree upon standards and compare the results of their observations and experiments.

[There was given to the world in the evolutionary theory a scientific basis for belief in the organic unity of the world, the solidarity of the human race and the existence of a social order.] Upon this platform the scientists of the whole world might stand regardless of race or creed.

It is not possible to fix any date as marking the rise of internationalism, but we can say that its manifestations increase quite rapidly during the second half of the nineteenth century. There are several reasons why the year 1851 is interesting as a point of departure in our study. It was a time of peace and so favorable to the growth of an international spirit. In that year the first submarine cable was laid from Dover to Calais, an event of much importance as the first step in the linking of

the continents. It was the year of the first of a series of world's fairs that were to have a marked effect in bringing the men of different nations together in friendly rivalry, and in stimulating the growth of international congresses.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE WORLD'S FAIR

We have now to consider how the men of different nations have been drawn together in ways that have broadened their narrow nationalism, softened race prejudices, developed the spirit of toleration, evoked admiration, aroused emulation and stimulated friendly rivalry.

The world's fair of modern times has offered to the men of all nations the opportunities of association which the ancient fair, or market, offered to the men of a narrower circle. Although the first world's fair was held as late as 1851, its lineage may be traced back to those primitive periodic gatherings which were occasions for trade and barter.

Professor Giddings has pointed out in his lectures on sociology that from earliest times places that have been thought to be rich in "mana," or religious power, have been resorted to by men who wished to ally themselves with that mysterious potency. The mana might be manifested in medicinal springs, in the relics of a dead hero or in some other manner. In such places, quite naturally, religious festivals sprang up, and wherever men came together at stated times for religious purposes there merchants were wont to resort to traffic. Fairs were held in connection with the religious festivals at Delos and Etruria and also during the Olympian games.

The fair grew to be an institution which not only afforded an opportunity for barter, in a period when cities were few and far between and travel dangerous because of robbers, but they came to enjoy certain privileges and immunities and a considerable degree of autonomy.

In the Middle Ages an alien was considered to have no rights and a foreign merchant was subjected to innumerable imposts and tolls. "In France, before a way was opened for trade by the fair of St. Denis, of which the origin is found in

the reign of Dagobert (A.D. 620), rights of *salutaticum*, *pontaticum*, *repaticum* and *portulaticum*, absorbed one-half of a foreign merchant's goods upon their first arrival and debarcation."<sup>1</sup>

The trader from abroad was answerable for the debts, and even the crimes, of all other foreigners of the same nationality. If he died abroad his property was forfeited to the king or lord of the land where he died.<sup>2</sup> By the laws of Alfred the Great foreign merchants were permitted to traffic at the "four fairs" of the kingdom, but might not remain in the country longer than forty days. To these intolerable commercial conditions the "free," or chartered, fairs of Europe afforded some relief.

The two most famous fairs in England were those of St. Bartholomew and Stourbridge, the privileges for each being granted by royal charter to pious houses. Henry I had a jester, Rayer, who, after the custom of those days, made a pilgrimage to Rome during which he received a vision commanding him to build a church. Knowing the pecuniary advantages to be derived from a fair, the reformed jester persuaded his sovereign, whom he had oft amused with his quips and jokes, to grant him permission to hold an annual fair in the priory churchyard at Smithfield. The charter reads: "I grant also my firm peace to all persons coming to and returning from the Fair which is wont to be celebrated in that place at the Feast of St. Bartholomew; and I forbid any of the Royal servants to implead any of their persons, or without the consent of the canons, on those three days, to wit, the eve of the feast, the feast itself and the day following, to levy dues upon those going thither." This fair had a continuous history through seven centuries, down to 1855 when it was discontinued owing to the moral disorders which attended its celebration.

The Stourbridge Fair was held at Cambridge under a charter granted in 1211, by King John to the Lepers of the Hospital

<sup>1</sup> Henry Morley, "Bartholemew Fair," p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> C. Walford, "Fairs Past and Present," p. 22.

of St. Mary Magdalen. It was one of the most noted in the world and as late as the eighteenth century was the most important market for all kinds of manufactured goods, horses, wool and hops.<sup>1</sup> The great university of Cambridge shared in its management and profits.

On the continent the fairs of Champagne and Brie held ancient franchises which were confirmed in 1349 by letters patent from Philip de Valois. Another celebrated fair was that held at Frankfort-on-Main under charter from Charles IV. Leipzig was for centuries the seat of a renowned fair which still lingers in the annual book markets at that place. The great fair at Nijni Novgorod, in Russia, has had a continuous history from the fourteenth century to the present day.

The privileges granted these "free fairs" in England and on the continent were much the same and proved a boon to the merchants in an age when the alien was deemed proper prey. The sovereign granted his "firm peace" during the fair and private feuds were suspended. Merchants were granted exemption from the usual imposts and were free from arrest for debt or any civil process not arising from transactions in the market.

The fair enjoyed a large degree of autonomy, for during its continuance the mayor surrendered all jurisdiction to a special court which had its own police officers. In England this was called the "Piepowder Court," and to it the "dustyfoot," as the merchant was appropriately called, could bring his disputes for immediate adjudication before he trekked to another fair. A staff of notaries was on hand to attest bargains, and the seal of the market constituted valid title to the goods purchased, even though the vendor might not have come by them honestly.

Some efforts were made towards regulation and standardization. In France they had a board of inspectors, called *prud'hommes*, who passed upon the quality of goods exposed for

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<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, "The Growth of English Industry and Commerce," p. 164

sale and who had the right to confiscate any that were found to be fraudulent or below grade. They also tested the weights and measures used. In fact the standard used for weighing gold and silver in the fair at Troyes, in France, became accepted generally and has survived to the present day as Troy weight.

These fairs are interesting in our study as attempting to establish conditions in these temporary international centers which the nations, through coöperative effort, are endeavoring to make world-wide, that is, the standardization of weights, measures and money, equitable commercial laws, free and fair competition, world-wide opportunities for trade, safety for the transportation of goods and, finally, peace.

There can be little doubt that these fairs assisted materially in a leavening process which tended to break down local prejudices and promote social homogeneity. It has been suggested that in France they afforded the fertile soil into which the seeds of republicanism were cast by the merchants from the free cities of Italy, and that the principles which took root there found fruition in the French Revolution and the Republic of France.<sup>1</sup>

The free fairs we have been considering were primarily for the purposes of trade, although the amusement feature came eventually to be very prominent. The denunciations of the clergy show that the problem of "midway" attractions is not peculiar to modern fairs.

Next in line of descent—or ascent, if you please—came the industrial exposition in which the primary purpose was not immediate sale, but the exhibition of the products of various industries with a view to stimulating manufacturers and artisans to perfect their processes and wares through comparison and competition. Doubtless the hope of increased business was uppermost in the minds of competing exhibitors. Many

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<sup>1</sup> J. T. Brent, "Genoa," p. 106.

of these exhibitions became national in their scope before they became international. "Nationalism," says Viscount Haldane,<sup>1</sup> "is the necessary complement of internationalism in any true sense. Either without the other becomes perverted and inhuman, and is a denial of great spiritual principles." It may be said with equal truth that nationalism logically precedes internationalism which completes the universalizing cycle in all social movements.

In 1791, when the warehouses of the Gobelin and Sevres industries were overstocked and the workmen on the verge of starvation, Marquis d'Aveze conceived the idea of collecting some of the choicest products of these looms and kilns in the Chateau of St. Cloud in the hopes of stimulating their sale.<sup>2</sup> The plan was frustrated through the promulgation at that time of the decree of the Directory banishing the nobility from France. On his return to Paris the following year, the marquis arranged a more extensive collection in the Maison d'Orsay, in Paris. The government saw the advantages of such an exhibition and proceeded to erect a special building upon the Champs de Mars to house the first French Exhibition. The plan then adopted of awarding prizes to competitors by the decision of a jury has been followed ever since in all expositions.

Following the success of the French, many industrial exhibitions were held in other countries with varying degrees of success. It has been said that "these national expositions marked the end of the system of trade guilds and carefully guarded trade secrets, and illustrated the openness of ideas, the search for new methods and the introduction of improvements."<sup>3</sup> The idea that these national exhibitions would lead to others of international scope did not early take possession of the imagination of statesmen. The relations between the

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R. B. Haldane, "Universities and National Life."

<sup>2</sup> James Samuelson, "Civilization of Our Day," p. 305.  
Current Literature 29:259.

two great industrial nations, France and England, could not be said to have been the most cordial when, in 1798, a gold medal was offered in France to the man who would deal the heaviest blow to English trade.

However, in 1833, M. Boucher de Perthes, president of the *Société d'Emulation d'Abbeville*, proposed that the French exhibitions be thrown open to exhibitors from abroad. But the French manufacturers were not sure enough of themselves.<sup>1</sup> Again in 1849, M. Tourret, Minister of Commerce, made the same suggestion and circularized the manufacturers to ascertain their opinion. The replies were so largely unfavorable that no further attempt was made at that time.

It fell to England to hold the first of a long series of world's fairs which have done much toward bringing together the men of different nations in such a way that their national egotism has been modified, their admiration for the skill of others has been aroused, a spirit of toleration has been promoted and they have returned home to develop with greater confidence and by improved methods the resources of their own countries.

The middle of the nineteenth century was an auspicious time for the holding of the first international exposition. The doors of the Temple of Janus were closed. The new industrial era brought about by the utilization of steam power in manufacturing processes had begun. The new uses to which iron was being put were illustrated in the framework of the Crystal Palace in which the exhibition was housed. Electricity was being tamed to do the bidding of man. Every advance made in the utilization of the forces of nature was scanned with interest. Progress lay in comparison, adaption and improvement.

It was the cherished plan of Prince Albert, the Royal Consort of Queen Victoria, to hold a fair in which all the powers would be invited to participate. England was at peace with

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*Rapport Général de l'Exposition Universelle de 1889.*

the world and was, of all nations, in the best position to invite the coöperation of other governments in a great peace jubilee which should mark the advance of the world up to that time and be prophetic of the drawing together of all peoples in a spirit of equality and fraternity.

The first international exhibition was held in London in 1851. England's invitation to participate in the exposition was accepted by France, Belgium, the Zollverein, Austria, Russia, the United States, Switzerland, Spain, Italy, Sicily, Tuscany, Portugal, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Turkey, Holland and Greece. The exhibits were divided into four classes; raw materials, machinery, manufactures and sculpture. In machinery England excelled, but in artistic work France easily led, and the French exhibitors returned home well satisfied with their successes, with more cordial feelings towards their old trade rivals and determined to hold an international exhibition of their own.

The first International Paris Exposition was held on the Champs de Mars in 1855. At the second Paris Exposition, in 1867, a new feature was introduced by the commissioner general of the fair, M. LePlay, whose interest in the social conditions of the working classes had led him to make one of the earliest attempts at a scientific study of the standard of living. His book, "*Les Ouvriers Européens*," was a careful study of the budgets of working-men's families. His interest in social problems led him to attempt to bring together in conference during the exposition, those interested in the material, intellectual and moral welfare of mankind. Conferences were arranged for those interested in remedying improvidence and poverty, in the prevention of crime, in improving the condition of the working classes, in provident savings, in alliance between those engaged in agriculture and manufacture, in better housing, in the condition of women workers. These topics are of interest as showing the social trend in the early efforts to promote coöperative action between the nations.

There was, at this fair, an exhibition of weights, measures and money with a view to preparing the way for a simplification in the reports of international commerce and exchange.

If the earlier expositions were largely for the display of products of the looms, workshops and ateliers, the idea was soon conceived of making them more illustrative of the general life of the people. The chief aim of the international exposition at Vienna, in 1873, was to collect examples of every human industry, showing how the producers themselves lived and worked. Great prominence was given to the subject of education and intellectual culture and the system of Austrian education was exhibited in detail.

In connection with the Paris Exposition of 1878 a definite attempt was made to stimulate the meeting of international congresses on various subjects and the success was such as to warrant the establishment of a policy which has continued through succeeding fairs. The effect of this policy in stimulating the gathering of international congresses may be seen in the chart on page 74 where it will be seen that the largest number of congresses have been held in the years of the great world's fairs.

When the French government issued an invitation to the nations of the world to participate in an international exposition in 1889 which should illustrate a century of progress since the French Revolution, announcement was made of congresses upon a wide variety of topics. There were fifteen divisions, embracing belle lettres, beaux-arts, history and archaeology, mathematics, physical and chemical sciences, natural sciences, geography, political economy and legislation, hygiene, social economy, education, civil engineering and public work, agriculture, industry and commerce.

During the exposition sixty-nine international congresses were held, addressed by eminent speakers and experts. But the results were disappointing. The congresses were poorly attended and a lack of interest was shown by the visitors who

were intent upon amusement and entertainment. The failure of this attempt was probably partly due to a lack of careful preliminary planning and partly because of the attitude of several of the European powers who declined to participate in the exhibition from an unwillingness to seem to countenance the radicalism associated with the French Revolution which the fair was intended to commemorate.

When preparations were being made for the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, held in 1893, it was thought wise to plan for a more widely representative assemblage of statesmen, jurists, financiers, scientists, literati, teachers and theologians than had ever yet been convened. In sending out a prospectus for such a series of congresses the management said: "The benefit of such a parliament of nations would be higher and more conducive to the welfare of mankind than those which would flow from the national exposition, though it would not be easy to exaggerate the powerful impetus that will be given by the latter to commerce, and all the arts by which toil is lightened, the fruits of labor increased and the comforts of life augmented. For such a congress, convened under circumstances so auspicious, would surpass all previous efforts to bring about a real fraternity of nations and unite the enlightened people of the whole earth in a general coöperation for the attainment of the great ends for which human society is organized."<sup>1</sup>

The World's Auxiliary Congress, as this project was called, received recognition by Congress, May 25, 1892, and diplomatic and consular agents were directed to invite the coöperation of all countries. The whole range of human activity and interest would seem to have been covered by the topics suggested for discussion. The work was carefully systematized and subdivided. More than 210 working committees of organization were formed with a local membership of 1,600 and a non-resident membership in advisory councils of 15,000.

<sup>1</sup> World's Columbian Exposition: Report of President, Appendix A.

During the time of the fair 1,245 sessions were held, with 5,974 writers and speakers and a total attendance of over 700,000.<sup>1</sup>

A project was successfully carried through which would have seemed impossible to the French government which rules out the seemingly fatally divisive subjects of politics and religion. A World's Parliament of Religions was held which was disapproved of at the time by many good people who had the feeling that it was lowering Christianity to the plane of all the other ethnic religions. But there can be little doubt that the better understanding of the other great religions which resulted from the discussions did much to promote that religious tolerance which is essential to the growth of the international spirit.

Ever since that parliament it has been seen with growing clearness that the failure of other ethnic religions has been a social failure, as evidenced by caste, the degradation of woman and general stagnation. As one religion after another has been pronounced a failure because of its unsocial results it has become apparent that Christianity must offer itself to the same tests. The ideal which she must hold aloft is the full and normal development of the individual as a member of a social order which has both human and divine relationships.

When we come to the Paris Exposition of 1900 we find the fullest expansion of the international congress as an adjunct of the world's fair. In spite of the disappointments of 1889, greater preparations than ever were made that the congresses in 1900 might record the progress of thought during the then closing century. M. Gabriel, Engineer-in-chief of Bridges and Roads, who had attended the Columbian Exposition in 1893, and had doubtless there received many ideas of preparatory organization, was director of the congresses.<sup>2</sup> The work was

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., General Report on Auxiliary.

<sup>2</sup> *Exposition Universelle Internationale de 1900: Rapport Général Administratif et Technique, Vol. VI.*

divided among twelve sub-committees. The congresses were held under the patronage of the French government who disclaimed, however, all responsibility for opinions expressed or resolutions passed.

The very large number of 122 international congresses was held and their deliberations published. The wide range of topics considered covered twelve general divisions as follows: education, arts, mathematical sciences, physical sciences, natural sciences, medical and pharmacal sciences, mechanics, agriculture, political economy, legislation and statistics, social science, colonization and geography, industry and commerce.<sup>1</sup>

A different plan of congresses was adopted by the management of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis in 1904. The week beginning September 19 was devoted to the meetings of an International Congress of Arts and Sciences designed to show the "progress of man since the Louisiana Purchase." The whole realm of human knowledge and activity was reviewed under the following classification: (1) Normative Sciences, (2) Historical Science, (3) Physical Science, (4) Mental Science, (5) Utilitarian Sciences, (6) Social Regulation, (7) Social Culture. Under these general heads there were arranged 24 departments and 128 special sections. Monday and Tuesday were devoted to addresses by American scholars upon the seven general divisions and the twenty-four departments, aiming to present the fundamental conceptions and methods of each and the progress during the century. Beginning on Wednesday there were two addresses in each of the 128 sections followed by ten-minute papers. The speakers were chosen equally from American and European scientists and experts. The proceedings of the Congress were published in eight volumes.<sup>2</sup>

It will thus be seen that a definite effort was made in successive world's fairs to associate those of all nations who are

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., *Pièces Annexes*.

<sup>2</sup> Congress of Arts and Sciences, Vol. 1.

interested in economic, scientific, moral and religious progress for the purpose of increasing the sum of human knowledge, of coördinating the efforts of various organizations and of promoting the solidarity of the race. Whatever may be the future of the world's fair it has, without doubt, stimulated the rise of internationalism. It has liberalized and widened the interests of men. A narrow provincialism is sure to have some of its adhesions broken by the stretching process experienced in attending an exhibition of the cleverness and skill of people once thought of only with contempt.

It is interesting to consider that as the free fairs of feudal Europe made international trade possible, so their successors, the world's fairs, have contributed very largely to the establishment of an *entente cordiale* between the workers and thinkers of the various nations.

## CHAPTER IV.

### OFFICIAL INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

The significance of international conferences and congresses in the march of events which is bringing the nations of the earth *en rapport* has not been fully grasped by many. It has been pointed out with some impatience that they have often been barren of direct, visible results. Many have been disposed to look upon them as mere "talk-fests," affording enjoyable junkets for those who were fortunate enough to be appointed as delegates, but productive of little permanent good.

Impatience is a characteristic of an age in which we are accustomed to see material undertakings of stupendous proportions accomplished in record-breaking time. The Chinese proverb, "Through patience the mulberry leaf is changed into satin," has no place in the philosophy of modern business. Present-day organization and efficiency methods are concerned with cutting short the route between the mulberry leaf and the satin.

In an interesting chapter on the Age of Discussion,<sup>1</sup> Walter Bagehot has pointed out that the change from an age of status to one of choice was first made in those states in which government was, to a growing extent, a government by discussion.

Contentment with the *status quo* results in stagnation. As long as free discussion can be suppressed, privilege, which battens upon the submissive and servile, is secure. Especially is this true when religious sentiment supports the pretensions of those who wield the power.

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<sup>1</sup> Walter Bagehot, "Physics and Politics," p. 163.

It is hopefully indicative of the smouldering fires of social righteousness when a prophet arises with a burning message directed against those who "join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth."<sup>1</sup> But it is more hopeful of a better social status when men are free to discuss and criticize things as they are and work for things as they ought to be.

✓ In the period before the rise of internationalism Machiavellian diplomacy was the rule and the relations between states was largely determined by dynastic questions, in the settlement of which blood and treasure were often poured out in ineffectual libations. Today, citizens are not only free to discuss matters pertaining to foreign relations, to question the rightfulness of the *status quo*, but are, to an increasing degree, taking part in official or private capacity in hastening the *rapprochement* between the nations.

If it be true, as Bagehot affirms, that "tolerance is learned in discussion, and, as history shows, is only so learned," the importance of conferences and congresses in which the men of different nations discuss matters of common interest from different angles of vision, is very great, aside from their immediate results. As to the practical results, and what they indicate touching the growth of a world unity, a review of the principal ones may suggest an answer.

International congresses may be broadly divided into two classes: (1) those which are composed of diplomatic representatives—usually spoken of as "conferences;" (2) those made up of private citizens without government appointment. There are a few congresses that are composed of both public and private members, but it has not been thought necessary to classify these separately. The official international conferences will be considered in this chapter, and the unofficial congresses in the next.

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<sup>1</sup> Isaiah 5:8.

The convening of an official conference may arise in several ways. The close of a war often leaves territorial and other questions to be settled by a conference of powers. This was the case in 1815, when the Congress of Vienna was convened at the close of the Napoleonic wars, and in 1856, when the Conference of Paris was made necessary by the Crimean War. In times of peace the initiative is generally taken by some sovereign who invites other powers to a conference upon some topic of general interest. It was upon the invitation of Czar Nicholas II that the First Peace Conference was held. Occasions may arise which make such conferences necessary, as when the phylloxera was destroying the vines of Europe in 1878, or when the spread of a plague threatens the nations.

International coöperation may arise as the result of the labors of one man. This was the case when a Californian, Mr. Lubin, dissatisfied with the price of some grain he had sold, started an investigation as to what regulated the price of wheat. He became convinced of the need of international coöperation in agricultural matters and interested in his project the king of Italy, who invited the powers to send delegates to the International Institute of Agriculture which met for the first time in Rome in 1905.<sup>1</sup>

It is usual in issuing an invitation for a conference to state the specific subjects which the delegates are to consider, that intelligent discussion and action may follow. In the conference the diplomatic representatives of all the sovereign states stand upon an equality and the vote of each nation counts one. Unanimity is required for the adoption of any measure. The measures adopted are collected into a "convention" which is signed by the envoys in behalf of their governments. It is then submitted to each state for its ratification and a date is usually set for the deposit of the ratifications with a designated

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<sup>1</sup> World's Work, 12:8021—3.

official, who is usually the foreign secretary of the state where the conference was held. When the convention has been ratified it has the force of international law as affects the relations of the agreeing nations. It is quite customary to invite such other nations as are interested in the measure, and who were not represented at the conference, to sign and ratify the convention.

In many cases an international bureau, or some other form of organization, is established to carry out the provisions of the act and to be the intermediary between the nations in this matter. There have grown up some 17 international official unions with permanent bureaus and definite headquarters. The expense for the maintenance of these bureaus is apportioned among the participating states. In 1913 the total budget for these international unions was \$936,000.

Since 1850 official conferences have been held upon more than fifty subjects of more or less general interest, aside from those called to settle questions arising out of war. In some cases only one conference has been held upon the same subject, but in others as many as twelve have been held in succeeding years. In each of these conferences the representatives of from three to fifty nations and principalities have taken part.

The subjects which have engaged the attention of the congresses will be treated as indicating along what lines interdependence has been recognized and co operative action deemed desirable. These ought to throw light upon the *rapprochement* of the nations and suggest the way in which the federation of the world is likely to be achieved.

The subjects which have been treated in official conferences may be divided into two classes: (1) those relating to international administration, and (2) those relating to international legislation.

## I. INTERNATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

1. *Sanitation.*<sup>1</sup> The protection of the public health is readily recognized as a plain duty of the state. Health considerations can be urged as valid grounds for the exercise of the police powers of the state when moral grounds are questioned. Much of the social legislation of today has been secured on the plea of preserving the public health, particularly that of women and children.

When medical science had discovered the means by which diseases and plagues, which formerly decimated the population, were communicated and spread, it became apparent that the health of each nation depended upon the health of the rest of the world. An Atlantis, set in the midst of a sea never whitened by foreign sails, would have no need to dread a plague brought from afar. Not so fortunate is the situation of the nation of modern times whose harbors are busy with the craft of all peoples, or whose frontiers are crossed in a dozen places by railroads. The grim specter of Asiatic cholera or bubonic plague may lurk between the decks of a steamer at the wharf. Conditions of filth in Asia may be a menace to the health of England, trachoma in Italy may endanger the eyesight of Americans who have never left their native shores.

The interdependence of nations received an early recognition in the concerted measures taken to establish sanitary control. In 1851 and 1859 diplomatic conferences were held in Paris to discuss means for preventing the spread of international epidemics.

The dread of Asiatic cholera brought thirteen European powers together in Constantinople in 1866 in an International Sanitary Conference. The next meeting, at Vienna in 1874, was participated in by eight more nations and a permanent

<sup>1</sup> *Procès-verbaux de la Conférence Sanitaire Internationale de Rome, 1885; de Paris, 1894; de Venise, 1897.*  
Z. I. Loutfi, "*La Politique Sanitaire Internationale.*"

international commission was formed. A fifth conference in Washington in 1881, found several of the American republics in line, as were also Japan and Hawaii. At the twelfth conference in Rome, 1907, the twenty-four participating countries created the International Office of Public Health, with headquarters in Paris.

Since 1881 sanitary control over the traffic passing through the Suez Canal has been vested in the *Conseil Sanitaire Maritime et Quarantenaire d'Egypt* composed of delegates from sixteen European nations.

In 1901 the Pan-American Congress established an international sanitary bureau for the American republics, and in 1905 the Pan-American Sanitary Union was formed and quarantine regulations, binding upon the American states, were adopted. The ideal hoped for is a time when the hygienic conditions in each country will be such that quarantine will be unnecessary.<sup>1</sup>

2. *Standardization.* As the relations between the nations have become more and more intimate, the inconveniences arising from various standards of weights, measures, money and time have been increasingly felt and efforts have been made to establish universal standards.

A diplomatic conference on weights and measures was held in Paris in 1875, in which twenty-one nations took part, four more subsequently adopting the convention. An international bureau of weights and measures was formed with headquarters in the park of St. Cloud, near Paris. The metric system has been adopted by twenty-four states, while fourteen more recognize it along with some other system, the United States being in the latter class.<sup>2</sup>

The determination of a uniform system for marking the world's time involved international agreement upon a prime

<sup>1</sup> Transactions of the Second International Sanitary Conference of the American Republics.

<sup>2</sup> Treaties, Conventions, International Acts, Protocols and Agreements between the United States and Other Powers, Gov't Printing Office, Vol. 2, p. 1924

meridian. An international conference was invited to meet in Washington in 1884 to decide the question. The French delegates urged either the adoption of the meridian of Paris or some neutral meridian. But the necessity of deciding upon a meridian passing through some observatory, and the fact that the Paris observatory was located in the heart of the city, together with the widespread custom of reckoning east and west from the meridian passing through the park at Greenwich, led to the adoption of the latter as the prime meridian. There was only one dissenting vote, that of Domingo—France and Brazil refraining from voting. Twenty-six nations took part.<sup>1</sup>

Upon the invitation of France a *Conférence internationale de l'heure* was held in Paris in 1912, under the auspices of the Bureau des Longitudes, which was attended by the representatives of sixteen states. The purpose of the conference was to adopt uniform methods for signalling the hour in the most exact way possible from designated centers. The use of wireless telegraphy for this purpose was advocated. By these means precision in the regulation of time by land and sea will be secured. A *Commission internationale de l'heure* was created with a permanent bureau in Paris. The question of radiotelegraphic warnings of icebergs and other dangers to navigation was also considered.<sup>2</sup>

The variety of money current in the different countries has led to monetary conferences and unions. In 1865 the Latin Monetary Union was formed by France, Switzerland, Italy and Greece. Ten years later Norway, Sweden and Denmark formed the Scandinavian Monetary Union. Four attempts were made in 1867, 1878, 1881 and 1892, at international monetary conferences participated in by the leading powers, to establish a fixed relation between gold and silver, but without success.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Science 4:376

<sup>2</sup> *La Vie Internationale*, Tome II, p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> Henry B. Russell, "International Monetary Conferences."

The Central American Union established, in 1909, a uniform monetary system and adopted the metric system of weights and measures.<sup>1</sup>

The unification of formulae for powerful drugs in the interests of public health and safety engaged the attention of an international congress in Brussels in 1902 in which sixteen nations formed an association and established a secretariate. A second conference in 1906 revised the former convention and adopted a normal drop measure.<sup>2</sup>

The comparability of health statistics requires that there be uniformity in the nomenclature of diseases which are assigned as the causes of death. The delegates of twenty-six states met in Paris in 1900, and fixed upon thirty-eight general, and 189 particular, causes of death.<sup>3</sup> The French government is charged with the duty of calling together a revision conference in 1919.

3. *Exploration and Mensuration.* The exact measurement of the earth's surface is a matter of importance to the whole world. In 1864 there was formed the International Geodetic Association which, in succeeding years, has come to enroll in its activities twenty-two states, and to extend its labors, which were at first confined to the accurate mensuration of the continent of Europe, to embrace the whole earth.

With the accurate measurement of the earth's surface has come a desire for a World's Map upon a uniform scale. Upon the invitation of Great Britain eleven nations sent delegates to an international conference in London in 1909.<sup>4</sup> As a result of their deliberations we are to have uniform maps of the world upon the scale of 1:1,000,000. Each map is to embrace a superficial area of four degrees in latitude by six degrees in longitude. All tints and colorings are to have uniform significance. Soon the school-boy of every nation will learn the

<sup>1</sup> *Organo Publicidad de la Oficina Internacional Centro-Americana*, 1909.

<sup>2</sup> British Parliamentary Papers, 1907, Vol. 53.

<sup>3</sup> *Bulletin de l'Office Internationale d'Hygiène publique*, 1911.

<sup>4</sup> National Geographical Magazine 21:125.

geographical names of each country according to the spelling authorized by the government of that country. Besides standardizing the teaching of geography the World's Map will insure uniformity and accuracy in international negotiations and communications.

The subject of marine exploration is of equal international interest with the mensuration of the land, for according to international law the high seas are the highway of all nations. The safety of navigation and the profits of those who make merchandise of its products depend upon an accurate knowledge of the oceans and tributary waters. The Hydrographic Commission of Sweden invited the nations that were especially interested in the northern seas of Europe, to hold a conference in Stockholm in 1899.<sup>1</sup> Nine states responded and formed a permanent international council with a central bureau. A part of the work of this organization is the study and report upon the habits and movements of food fish.

The study of earthquakes involves the coöperation of many nations in the establishment of observation stations in various parts of the world. The seventh International Congress of Geography suggested the desirability of holding an international conference on seismology. The first conference met in Strasbourg in 1901. At the second conference, held in 1903, in which nineteen nations participated, a permanent commission was provided for with a central bureau supported by contributions from adhering states.

4. *Conservation.* The question of conservation occupies a large place in the economic thought of the day. It may seem odd that its first international effort should have been directed to the preservation of animals and birds. Six European countries were enough interested in preserving from extinction certain wild animals of Africa to send representatives to a conference in London in 1900.<sup>2</sup> They pledged their

<sup>1</sup> Geographical Journal 20:316.

<sup>2</sup> Brit. Parl. Papers, 1900, Vol. 56.

governments to adopt suitable measures to prevent the extermination of certain rare and useful birds and animals in a zone extending across Central Africa which has become an international hunting ground.

Similarly, in Paris in 1902 eleven powers signed a convention for the protection of certain birds which are useful to agriculture because of their appetites for some very undesirable insects. The destruction of these birds, their nests or eggs, was prohibited.

In 1911 the United States, Great Britain, Russia and Japan held in Washington a diplomatic conference to devise ways and means to prevent the extermination of seals and sea-otters in the waters of the north Pacific Ocean. To this end pelagic-sealing was absolutely prohibited and the marking of skins in such a way as to indicate that they were lawfully taken was made compulsory.<sup>1</sup>

The conservation of the labor forces of a nation, as pointed out by Professor Irving Fisher at the American Conservation Congress, is of the greatest importance. There might be mentioned, therefore, in this connection the international attempts at labor legislation. Switzerland made two unsuccessful attempts, in 1881 and 1889, to bring the powers together to consider the question of affording legal protection to laborers. In 1890 she renewed her invitation, but deferred to the wish of the Emperor of Germany to have a conference held upon the subject in Berlin that year. The conference met but adopted no convention.

In 1905 another conference was held in Berne which adopted two conventions, the first opposing night work for women, the second against the use of white phosphorous in the manufacture of matches. The first convention was ratified by thirteen European states and the second by two.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Brit. Parl. Papers, 1911, Vol. 103.

<sup>2</sup> L. Chatelain, "*Le Protection Ouvrière*."

5. *Communication.* Communication between the ends of the earth by post, telegraph, rail or sea, inevitably involves international coöperation.

In 1863 an international postal convention was held in Paris by delegates from thirteen states and the Hansa towns. The principles then laid down for the facilitation of postal exchange were followed by most governments. At Berne, in 1874, the twenty-four sovereign states represented in the International Postal Union formed the General Postal Union for the purpose of creating "a single postal territory for the reciprocal exchange of postal matter." The name was changed, in 1878, to the Universal Postal Union.<sup>1</sup> Other nations have successively joined the union until now all the sovereign powers of the world are federated for the administration of the postal service, with a permanent bureau at Berne. Conferences are held every seven years. Thus, within half a century, has been achieved a world-union penetrating the remotest corners of the earth.

In 1911 the republics of South America formed a postal union for the purposes of arranging suitable postal routes, the publication of a map of the continent and, in general, to facilitate the postal service.<sup>2</sup> It maintains a permanent bureau at Montevideo. In the same year the five Central American republics held a postal convention and established an international parcels' post for Central America.

The influence of the telegraph in spreading contemporary news, thus isochronizing the life of the world, can scarcely be overestimated. The first step in the linking of the nations of the world by the submarine cable was taken in 1851 with the laying of the cable under the English channel, between Dover and Calais.

The international aspects of communication by means of the telegraph were recognized as early as 1852 when a

<sup>1</sup> *Documents du Congrès Postal de Paris, 1878.*

<sup>2</sup> *Bulletin of Pan-American Union, 32:689-698.*

convention was concluded between Belgium, France and Prussia. But it was not until 1865 that the first International Telegraphic Conference was held. By the terms of the convention adopted in St. Petersburg, in 1875,<sup>1</sup> the right of every person to communicate by means of the telegraph was recognized and the privacy of telegrams was guaranteed. The transmission of secret or code messages was also assured, subject to such restrictions or modifications as any government might deem necessary. Notice of any such restrictions must be sent to each of the contracting governments.

A conference of the Universal Telegraphic Union was held at Lisbon in 1908 at which there were represented fifty-one powers and twenty-nine private companies.<sup>2</sup> The Union maintains a permanent bureau at Berne.

The protection of submarine cables was early seen to be of prime importance to the uninterrupted transaction of the business of the world. When one considers that there are 55,747 miles of cables owned by governments, and 250,072 miles in the hands of private companies—enough to put a 12-ply copper girdle around the earth at the equator—and that most of this cable lies outside territorial waters, the protection of these cables can readily be seen to be a matter for international regulation.

The first International Conference for the Protection of Submarine Cables was held in 1882, and was attended by delegates from thirty-one states.<sup>3</sup> Two years later a convention was signed providing for the enactment of laws by all the contracting states making the injury or destruction of cables a penal offense. This piece of legislation might properly be enumerated also under the next general head, that of international legislation.

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<sup>1</sup> Brit. Parl. Papers, 1876, Vol. 84.  
44th Cong., H. Ex. doc. 1, p. 1070.

<sup>2</sup> 60th Cong., 2d sess., H. doc., 1205.

<sup>3</sup> 48th Cong., 1st sess., H. Ex. doc., 1, pt. 1, p. 254.

The appearance of wireless telegraphy, as well as aerial navigation raised the question of the control of the atmosphere which extends upwards over the national domain. No medium of communication is so regardless of national boundaries as the Hertzian waves which travel impartially in all directions from the center of transmission. The wireless impulses furnish a striking analogue to the eccentric influences of internationalism which are following the sun in his diurnal journey around the world. Upon the invitation of Germany an international conference for the regulation of wireless telegraphy was held in Berlin in 1906 with delegates from twenty-nine countries in attendance.<sup>1</sup> A second conference was held in London in 1912.<sup>2</sup>

The advance made in aerial navigation has raised many perplexing questions both of a national and international nature. The ease with which national boundaries can be crossed, either with hostile intent or for the purpose of evading the customs' authorities, presents a serious subject for the consideration of the powers. Individual states have passed laws regulating the registration and identification of air ships, prohibiting landing within certain prescribed areas, etc. An International Diplomatic Conference on Aerial Navigation was held in Paris in 1910. No convention was formulated, but a desire was expressed for the creation of an international bureau of aerial navigation for the purpose of collecting and coördinating information of every kind which would be of benefit to states and to aeronauts.

The operation of railroads which, in a country like Europe, cross and recross state boundaries, involves international regulations. Accordingly, in 1886 there was a conference at Berne between the representatives of Germany, Austria, France, Hungary, Italy and Switzerland. Other conferences were held in 1886 and 1907 in which most of the nations of Europe

<sup>1</sup> 59th Cong., 2d sess., H. doc. 830.

<sup>2</sup> Treaties, etc., *ut supra*, Vol. 3, p. 185.

joined. These conferences have settled such questions as the gauge of the roads, the construction and repair of rolling stock, the loading of cars, customs' regulations, the making of time tables and the arrangement of through train service.<sup>1</sup>

The railways of Europe being mainly operated by the various governments, interstate regulation is largely an international affair. Interstate commerce, complicated as it is by the customs' regulations of the different countries, made it necessary for the representatives of the governments to get together to devise ways and means of facilitating the transportation of merchandise. The first international conference was held in Berne, in 1878, between nine states. Subsequently other nations joined in regulations which have been revised from time to time.

Even the automobile has been the subject of international rules. An international automobile conference was held in Paris, in 1909, by the representatives of nineteen countries.<sup>2</sup> Regulations were adopted specifying the mechanical construction and control of such automobiles as would be granted the use of the public roads, requiring competency in the chauffeurs who should operate the cars and marks of identification which must be displayed by all machines. The countries signatory to the convention engaged to erect suitable road signs for the guidance of motorists.

Various conferences have been held with a view to promoting the safety of navigation. In 1865 ten European nations and the United States agreed to unite with Morocco in maintaining a lighthouse on Cape Spartel in the Straits of Gibraltar.<sup>3</sup>

The rules of navigation which have been adopted by all the maritime nations were not the result of conferences upon the subject, but were promulgated by the British Parliament in

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<sup>1</sup> Logan G. McPherson, "Transportation in Europe."

<sup>2</sup> Brit. Parl. Papers, 1910, Vol. 112.

<sup>3</sup> Brit. Parl. Papers, 1867, Vol. 74.

1862.<sup>1</sup> Similarly the international code of signals, prepared and published by Great Britain, has been adopted by all maritime nations.

An international marine conference was held in Washington, in 1889, in which nineteen nations took part.<sup>2</sup> Resolutions were passed with a view to lessening the dangers of navigation, but no diplomatic convention was adopted.

6. *Commerce and Industry.* The modern development of commerce has reached such a stage that the citizen of any country is coming to regard it as his inalienable right to trade in every part of the world and to receive the protection and assistance of his government in his ventures. His government can assist him through information regarding trade conditions, governmental regulations, duties and imposts. Scientific business methods require reliable statistics, properly coordinated. International efforts have been made to provide these facilities. The exchange of official public documents and publications between the states was decided upon at a conference in Brussels in 1886. At the Pan-American Congress in 1902, the American States entered into a similar agreement.

The Smithsonian Institution, which is the agency for the exchange of the documents of the United States, now sends 92 sets of these to foreign depositaries. Thirty-two countries now exchange their official journals.<sup>3</sup>

It was the Belgian government that suggested the advantage to commerce which would result from the official publication of the customs' tariffs of all nations, and at its invitation a conference was held in Brussels in 1888. Nineteen states finally joined in the formation of the International Union for the Publication of Customs' Tariffs.<sup>4</sup> A bureau was established at Brussels charged with the publication of

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Parl. Papers, 1868-69, Vol. 55.

<sup>2</sup> 51st Cong., 1st sess., S. Ex. doc., Vol. 6, No. 53.

<sup>3</sup> Smithsonian Institution Reports 1913, p. 31.

<sup>4</sup> 28 Statutes at Large, 1518.

the tariffs of the various countries in five languages, English, German, French, Italian and Spanish. The expense of maintaining the bureau is borne proportionally by all the members of the union.

Belgium also invited the governments of the world to a conference upon the question of commercial statistics. Twenty-seven countries sent delegates to a conference which met in Brussels in 1910. The object of the conference was to promote the unification and standardization of commercial statistics, suggesting classifications which would render those of different countries comparable.

The International Institute of Agriculture, which met for the first time in Rome in 1905,<sup>1</sup> was formed for the purpose of collecting and disseminating information and statistics concerning produce, market prices, wages of farm laborers, systems of coöperation, credit and insurance, the appearance, spread and treatment of plant diseases; to suggest various government measures for the protection of the interests of the agricultural class and the improvement of their conditions. The union has grown until it includes most of the principal countries of the world.

The policy of several governments to grant bounties to sugar manufacturers led to international efforts to offset these advantages by the establishment of countervailing duties against sugar imported from such countries. The first conference on the subject was held in Paris in 1863 by delegates from Belgium, France, Great Britain and Holland. Many conferences were held without satisfactory results until, in 1902, ten powers formed the Sugar Union and adopted a convention providing for a permanent organization and a bureau located at Brussels.<sup>2</sup> The sugar commission has the power of affecting the laws of the adhering states through its determinations and decisions.

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Parl. Papers, 1910, Vol. 112.  
Treaties, etc., Vol. 2, p. 2140.

<sup>2</sup> Brit. Parl. Papers, 1903, Vol. 87.

7. *Police Regulation.* Not until the nations of the world united to do police duty did the African slave trade receive its death blow. It had been denounced by the Congress of Vienna in 1815 and at Verona in 1822. It engaged the attention of the powers again at the Treaty of London in 1841, and at the Conference of Berlin in 1885. But the trade was still active when Belgium invited the powers to hold a conference at Brussels in 1889.<sup>1</sup> Eighteen powers took part in the long deliberations which terminated in formulating plans which have succeeded in practically stamping out the traffic.

The same conference restricted the importation of arms and rum into the Dark Continent. The regulations regarding the importation of arms were revised at a conference held in Brussels, in 1908, composed of delegates from fourteen nations, and those restricting alcohol were revised in 1906.

The need of intergovernmental action to repress the circulation of obscene literature and pictures was indicated at a private congress against pornography held in Paris, in 1908, in which eighty-six associations were represented. Request for concerted action by the various governments resulted in an international conference at Paris in 1910, at which fifteen nations were represented.<sup>2</sup> Each of the states signing the convention agreed to designate an authorized agency to cooperate with similar agencies in other countries in the suppression of obscene publications.

At the suggestion of the United States an International Opium Commission met in Shanghai in 1909.<sup>3</sup> Twelve powers took part, through their delegates, strongly urging the various governments to take drastic measures to control the manufacture, sale and distribution of opium and its derivatives. This subject is discussed at length in Chapter X.

The suppression of the white slave traffic has engaged the attention of the powers since 1902, when an international


<sup>1</sup> Treaties, etc., Vol. 2, p. 1993.

<sup>2</sup> Treaties, etc., Vol. 3, p. 133.

<sup>3</sup> 61st Cong., 2d sess., S. doc., 377.

conference was held upon the subject in Paris. It resulted in an arrangement between sixteen nations whereby a central authority in each was designated to coöperate with similar officials in other countries in the most effectual plans for the suppression of the traffic in women and girls for immoral purposes. A second conference upon the subject was held in Paris in 1904.<sup>1</sup>

## II. INTERNATIONAL LEGISLATION



International conferences have made large contributions to the body of international law. In the relations of civilized states to one another there has grown up a mass of customs and precedents which, by common consent, have come to be looked upon as binding upon those who would retain the respect of the enlightened powers constituting the family of nations. This crystallization of the general opinion as to how nations should behave in their relations one to another is known as international law.

Additions to international law have come from the opinions of eminent scholars and jurists, from the decisions of national and admiralty courts and from those practices of nations which have come to be regarded as in keeping with the dictates of humanity and the general welfare of society. But the definite formulation and codification of these rules have fallen to the international conferences, preëminently to the two Peace Conferences held at the Hague in 1899 and 1907.

Professor Hershey says: "The half century beginning with the Declaration of Paris, in 1856, and ending with the London Conference in 1909, has seen greater progress in the direction of internationalism and more successful attempts to improve and codify international law than any other in history, and possibly more than all previous half-centuries combined. It

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<sup>1</sup> Brit. Parl. Papers, 1906, Vol. 137.  
Treaties, etc., Vol. 2, p. 2131.

has been a period of congresses and conferences, of international unions and associations with definite organs in the shape of commissions and bureaus which are rapidly developing a sort of international legislation and an international administrative law."<sup>1</sup>

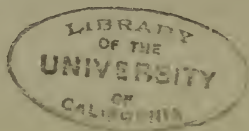
The enormous cost, in blood and treasure, of the wars of Europe by which feudalism had been destroyed, the map of Europe practically settled, national domains established and a balance of power recognized as necessary to the peace of Europe, had made it plain to reflecting minds that it was the duty of Christian powers to coöperate to make war less terrible. To reduce the horrors of war to their lowest terms, to prescribe rules for the bloody game of the ages, to assert and maintain the rights of belligerents and neutrals—these were among the first aims of international legislation. That nations would ever cease to submit their differences to the bloody arbitrament of the sword seemed the iridescent dream of visionaries. But that humanity demanded a mitigation of the horrors of war, and that the general welfare demanded the uninterrupted flow of a rapidly augmenting commerce, they were ready to admit.

At the close of the Crimean war the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia and Turkey met in Paris, in 1856, to settle questions growing out of the struggle. They adopted rules concerning the abolition of privateering and the rights of neutrals which have come to be regarded as international law upon the subject.<sup>2</sup>

The Geneva Convention of 1864 was the result of interest in the wounded soldier created by the book of Dr. Henri Dunant in which he described the awful scenes he had witnessed on the battlefield of Solferino in the Crimean War. Switzerland invited the powers to confer upon the question of the amelioration of the condition of the sick and wounded in war.

<sup>1</sup> A. S. Hershey, "Essentials of International Law."

<sup>2</sup> Brit. Parl. Papers, 1856, Vol. 61.



Nine nations and five German states responded, and the convention adopted gave rise to the Red Cross Society. The provisions of the convention for the treatment of sick and wounded marked a long step forward in humanizing the regime of war and came to be recognized as a part of international law.<sup>1</sup>

By the Geneva convention of 1868 an effort was made to extend to maritime warfare the provisions of the convention of 1864. The articles were never formally ratified but have been generally adhered to by the principal maritime powers ever since.

In 1868 an international military commission, called together at St. Petersburg by Russia, declared the only legitimate object of warfare to be the weakening of the military forces of the enemy, and that the use of projectiles which would uselessly aggravate the sufferings of disabled men was contrary to the laws of humanity. This Declaration of St. Petersburg condemned the use of the "dum-dum," or expanding bullet. Twenty states signed the convention.<sup>2</sup>

Our own Civil War afforded aggravations to the increasingly sensitive conscience of Europe by many infractions of what were coming to be regarded as the laws which should regulate modern warfare. An effort was made to codify these laws, relating to the conduct of war, at a conference at Brussels, in 1874, proposed by Alexander II of Russia. The declarations there drawn up grew out of Dr. Francis Lieber's Instructions for the Government of Armies in the Field issued to the northern army during the Civil War.<sup>3</sup> While they did not receive the sanction of the governments represented and did not, at that time, become international law, their influence appeared in the manuals of military law drawn up by European governments for the use of armies in the field.

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<sup>1</sup> Treaties, Conventions, etc., p. 1903.

<sup>2</sup> Brit. Parl. Papers, 1868-69, Vol. 64

<sup>3</sup> Joseph H. Choate, "The Two Hague Conferences."

Practically all of the articles of the declaration were adopted by the First Peace Conference and became international law.<sup>1</sup>

The greatest advances in international legislation were made at the Peace Conferences at the Hague in 1899 and 1907. The First Peace Conference assembled in 1899 in response to an invitation by the Czar whose ideals for that gathering appear in the following extract from his note to the powers: "The maintenance of general peace, and a possible reduction of excessive armaments which weigh upon all nations, present themselves in the existing conditions of the world, as the ideals towards which the endeavors of all governments should be directed." Twenty-six nations were represented, including China, Japan and Siam of the nations of the orient, and the United States and Mexico from the American continent. The other American republics were not included in the invitation inasmuch as, to avoid a delicate situation which arose over seating delegates from the Transvaal and the Vatican, it was decided to invite only such powers as were represented at the Russian court. The second conference included the other American republics who had already, at the second Pan-American Congress, signified their willingness to abide by the convention of the First Peace Conference.

Early in the first conference it became apparent that unanimous action could not be secured on the question of the reduction of armaments, and the conference contented itself with a resolution expressing the "opinion that the restriction of military budgets, which are at present a heavy burden on the world, is extremely desirable for the increase of the material and moral welfare of mankind."

The conference codified and enacted the rules for warfare on land which had been set forth in the Brussels' Declaration of 1874, and added some new articles. It also extended the provisions of the Geneva Conference of 1864 to naval warfare.

<sup>1</sup> A. P. Higgins, "The Hague Peace Conferences."

The chief advance made by this conference was the acceptance by the nations of the principle of the adjustment of differences by arbitration. Article I of the convention upon the subject reads: "With a view to obviating, as far as possible, recourse to force in the relations between states, the signatory powers agree to use their best efforts to insure the pacific settlement of international differences." As means for such adjustments of differences the conference approved of the mediation of one or more friendly powers, international commissions of inquiry and a permanent Arbitration Court for which provisions were made.

The Second Peace Conference was held at the Hague in 1907, and this was a real world's conference at which forty-four sovereign states were represented. The advance made in this conference was marked by two things: (1) the agreement of the signatory powers not to resort to armed force for the recovery of contract debts due the nationals of a government, unless the debtor country refused to submit the question to arbitration; (2) the establishment of an international Court of Appeal in Prize Cases.<sup>1</sup>

One of the striking features of internationalism is publicity and discussion. The first conference, bound by the traditions and customs of secret diplomacy, made every effort to secure absolute secrecy for its sessions and discussions, with, however, only partial success. But public opinion rebelled and, in the newer spirit of internationalism, demanded the right to know, through the usual channels of intelligence, what was being done and said at a conference which was felt to be fraught with consequences of vast import to humanity. At the second session the rule was relaxed to some extent, and the interest of the world at large in the subject under discussion is indicated by William I. Hull in the following paragraph:

<sup>1</sup> T. J. Lawrence, "International Problems and Hague Conferences."  
W. I. Hull, "The Two Hague Conferences."  
J. B. Scott, "The Hague Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1907."  
F. W. Holls, "The Peace Conference at the Hague."

"The great majority of newspapers and journals, as well as the world of public opinion, were profoundly interested in and hopeful of the conference, and did their best to help it to arrive at beneficial results. Thousands of addresses and dozens of deputations evinced this interest and sought to realize the hopes which they expressed. Among the most significant deputations and addresses may be mentioned those from: The International Council of Women, bearing the signatures of two million women living in twenty different countries; the Universal Alliance of Women for Peace by Education, representing nearly five million women of all civilized lands; English, American and European churches, bearing the signatures of sixty archbishops and bishops and more than a hundred official representatives of non-episcopal churches; the International Federation of Students; the students of the Netherlands,—a branch of "Corda Fratres"; twenty-three colleges in the central west of the United States, representing twenty-seven thousand professors and students; a petition for arbitration bearing two and a quarter million signatures, collected through the efforts of a single Boston teacher and presented by her to the president of the conference on the Fourth of July; two thousand students of the Summer School at Knoxville, Tennessee, who also cabled their address to the conference on the Fourth of July; fifteen thousand citizens of Sweden, meeting separately in their various localities; the International Bureau of Peace with its headquarters in Berne; many peace societies of the United States, Great Britain, France, Portugal, San Marino and Japan; and two very noteworthy peace congresses,—that of April, 1907, in New York City, and that of September, in Munich, Germany."<sup>1</sup>

The foregoing category is an illuminating commentary upon the development of the spirit of internationalism by the year 1907.

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<sup>1</sup> W. I. Hull, "The Two Hague Conferences," p. 26.

The laws touching naval warfare were further extended at the International Naval Conference which was held in London, 1908-9, upon the invitation of the British government. Ten naval powers took part in the conference which issued a declaration of the principles which are generally recognized as applying to maritime warfare.<sup>1</sup>

Private international law, or the "conflict of laws," as it is sometimes called, has been considered at four international conferences in which sixteen nations have taken part. The effort of these conferences has been towards uniformity in the laws of different nations touching such questions as marriage and divorce, inheritance, guardianship, etc.

Maritime law, which is concerned with collisions between vessels, questions of salvage, etc., has been the subject of four conferences at Brussels attended by the representatives of twenty-four powers.

The broadening of the field of activity of the citizens of any nation, until state lines begin to grow indistinct and even to fade away, is to be noticed in the progress towards international coöperation in the matter of patents, trademarks and copyrights. Advance has been made towards giving the author or inventor protection for his industrial, literary or artistic property beyond the limits of his own state. Piracy on the high seas was long ago abolished by international action. Literary and industrial piracy is ere long to take the same course.

Numerous conferences looking to the protection of industrial property by international patents and trade marks and the protection of literary and artistic property by means of international copyright, have been held since 1880.<sup>2</sup>

The ideal aimed at is such a union of states that the securing of a patent or copyright in any one nation will operate automatically to secure equal protection in all the other states.

<sup>1</sup> Treaties, etc., Vol. 3, p. 266.

<sup>2</sup> Wm. Briggs, "The Law of Copyright."  
R. R. Bowker, "Copyright, Its History and Law."

Such conditions practically obtain with respect to patents and trade marks in a restricted union formed by ten states at the international conference in Madrid in 1891. The International Bureau of Industrial Property at Berne is the central office of registration.

Numerous international conferences have been held since 1884 for the protection of literary and artistic productions through international copyright. A central bureau was formed in 1888 and since 1892 has been associated with the International Bureau of Industrial Property.

### III. PAN-AMERICANISM ✓

Pan-Americanism is a form of international coöperation which is both legislative and administrative and should have separate mention.<sup>1</sup> It falls short of internationalism in its widest sense because it aims primarily at advancing the interests of American republics. As it lay in the mind of the Colombian patriot, Bolivar, it was undoubtedly an instrument of defense against European aggression. In 1826 Bolivar issued an invitation to the nations of America to hold a congress at Panama. The far-sighted statesman saw that a strong coalition of American states would make aggression by the Holy Alliance less likely. But he had in mind also the establishment of the principle of arbitration between the contracting states.

The conference that was called to meet at Panama was attended by representatives of only four governments, Colombia, Central America, Peru and Mexico. The convention was not ratified by the states, but it was a foregleam of the peace pact that was later to unify the whole American continent. ✓

In the century between 1808 and 1908 twenty Latin republics were carved out of the lands which had for the most

<sup>1</sup> John Barrett, "The Pan-American Union."  
Monthly Bulletins, Bureau of the American Republics.

part belonged to the crown of Spain. Great dissimilarities exist between them because of various ethnic mixtures and amalgamations. The heterogeneity of their populations has not added stability to their governments and revolutions have been of frequent occurrence. While differing largely from each other they have been more like each other than like the larger Teutonic republic in North America. Yet notwithstanding wide divergencies there has developed within the past-quarter-century a unity between all of these American republics which has crystallized into the Pan-American Union.

When Mr. Blaine became Secretary of State he put into execution a plan which he had cherished for calling a conference of the American states "to consider and discuss the methods of preventing war between the nations of America." His hopes were realized in 1889 when the United States issued an invitation to the Latin republics to join in an international conference at Washington. He had the honor to be elected its first president.

The conference created the International Union of American Republics with a permanent bureau charged with the task of collecting and publishing the customs' tariffs of the several countries, all official regulations touching commerce, together with such statistics of commerce and domestic products as would be of interest to the merchants and shippers of the countries represented.

The duties of the bureau, which came to be known as "The International Bureau of the American Republics," were subsequently expanded to include the compilation of treaties and conventions between the American Republics themselves and non-American states, to supply information on educational matters and, in general, to facilitate the carrying out of the measures adopted by the conferences. Successive conferences have been held at Mexico, 1891-1892, at Rio de Janeiro, 1906, and at Buenos Aires in 1910. At the latter the name was changed to the Pan-American Union.

In 1910 the Pan-American Union entered into the possession of its beautiful building in Washington, the generous gift of Mr. Carnegie, and dedicated to peace between the American states.

The Union has stood for the arbitration of all pecuniary claims which cannot be settled by diplomatic means; for the construction of a neutralized railway connecting the nations of the two continents; for the promotion of all means for the facilitating of commerce and communication between the nations.

These principles will be seen to be in consonance with the action of the larger group of states, which action is a plain manifestation of internationalism. While Pan-Americanism may not be the purest type of internationalism, the tendency is for less stress to be laid upon purely American interests. With the strengthening of the Latin republics, the plain determination of the United States to uphold the Monroe Doctrine and the growth of a spirit of solidarity, the likelihood of European intervention and aggression becomes more and more remote. Increasing facilities of communication between South America and Europe, especially with the opening of the Panama Canal, will operate to lessen the spirit of Pan-Americanism and promote a spirit of broader internationalism.

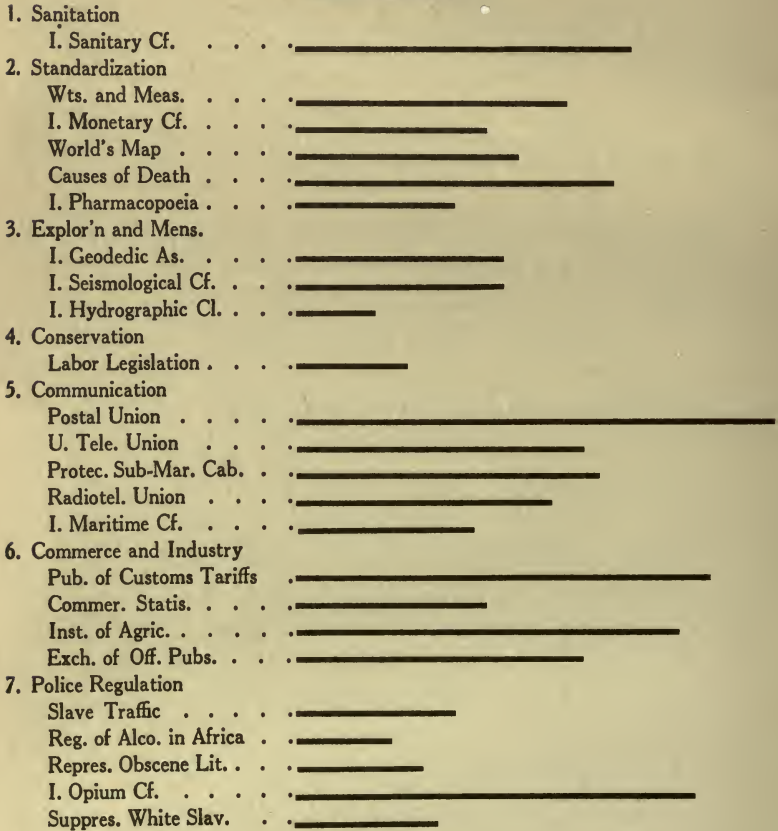
The very fact that in many of those measures which the Pan-American Union is designed to foster, the American nations have, within the past few years, joined with other nations of the world to promote in a wider sphere, is proof that the habit of getting together in smaller groups is helpful to the larger world unity. All of the topics treated in Pan-American conferences have also been considered in their world-wide bearings, even the matter of an inter-continental railway since the question has been mooted of a railway joining North America and Asia by a tunnel under Behring Strait.

Europe has had its international unions like the Sugar Union, the Railway Union, etc., which have arisen out of

# TABLE I

## CONFERENCES OF GENERAL INTEREST, SHOWING THE DEGREE TO WHICH EACH HAS RECEIVED THE ADHERENCE OF THE NATIONS

### I. ADMINISTRATION



### II. LEGISLATION

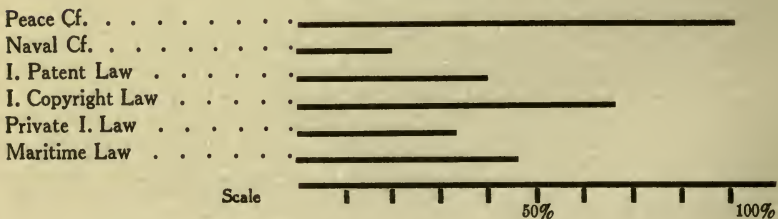


TABLE II

SHOWING DEGREE OF CO-OPERATION OF EACH NATION  
IN THE THIRTY GROUPS OF CONFERENCES  
LISTED IN TABLE I



continental needs. So has America. But the principle of international coöperation being established even within limited areas, and the international habit being formed, it is rational to suppose that internationalism will continue to grow in all matters pertaining to the material and moral welfare of humanity until there is a practical federation of the world.

An attempt has been made in Tables I and II to represent graphically the extent to which international coöperation has progressed among the sovereign states of the world. Of the many subjects which have claimed the attention of official international conferences, thirty have been selected as being fairly universal in their scope or in the principles involved. These have been classified in Table I and the length of the black bar in each case represents proportionally the number of states coöperating. The Universal Postal Union, receiving the adherence of all the states represents the index 100.

In Table II the sovereign states of the world are arranged in the order of their participation in the thirty subjects listed in Table I. Holland, having participated in every one of the thirty groups of conferences, represents the index 100.

## CHAPTER V.

### UNOFFICIAL CONGRESSES

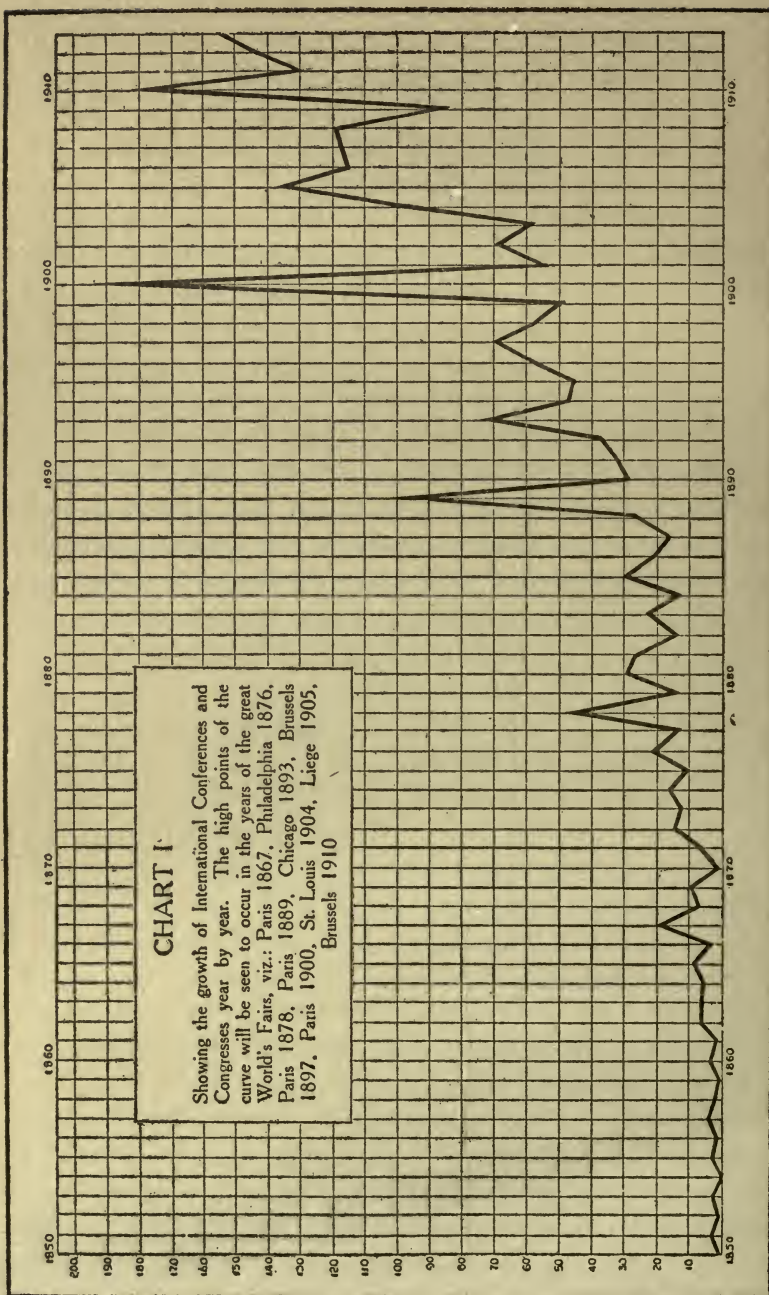
Significant as has been the growth of coöperation between nations as measured by the conventions adopted by plenipotentiaries, there is a larger manifestation of international life in the even more remarkable growth of associations of private citizens who, through international congresses with permanent bureaus and committees, seek to coördinate their efforts in the advancement of their particular interests.

There are several reasons for thinking that these private congresses afford a truer index of the real growth of internationalism than official conferences. In the first place they are more spontaneous. Persons voluntarily associate themselves along the lines of their major interests. Private congresses are usually made up of men and women whose common interests bring them together.

In the second place, discussion in private congresses is freer than in diplomatic conferences. Delegates to the latter are usually limited both in action and expression by the instructions of their governments. The customs and precedents of an older age of diplomacy interfere with democratic freedom. National pride is easily injured and frank and free expression is attended with grave dangers. The rule of unanimity, which prevails in the determination of all measures in an official conference, often makes the final draft of the convention a disappointing compromise forced by the stubbornness of a single state, and perhaps a very small one at that.

In the third place, the unofficial congresses have a larger content. The sum total of international life as expressed in the interests covered by private congresses more nearly totals the whole life of man than that of official conferences. There is not a department of thought or endeavor of any considerable

# THE RISE OF INTERNATIONALISM

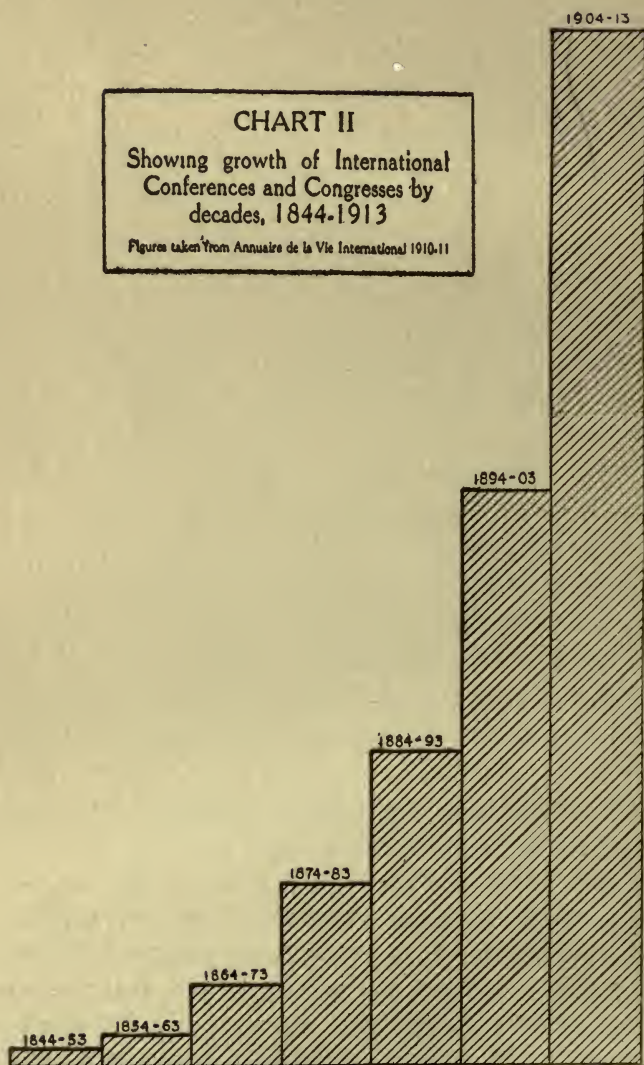


group of men in any civilized country that does not now reach into the international field of discussion. There is no occupation or profession, not strictly local, but has relationships which cross many state lines. The doctor and his patient, the lawyer and his client, the minister and the church member, the teacher and the student, the merchant and the craftsman, the trust magnate and the labor agitator, the reformer and the criminal, the artist, the athlete, the philanthropist, the scientist, the suffragette, all these and more find the topics that interest or concern them discussed in congresses where men from all parts of the world come together.

Since 1840, there have been held more than 2,700 international conferences and congresses. There are more than 400 international organizations, many of them with permanent bureaus and continuation committees. The growth in international conferences and congresses by decades ending Dec. 31, 1913, is indicated in Chart II, page 76.

In Chart I on page 74, the number of conferences and congresses held each year is indicated. The high points of the curves will be found to occur in the years of the great international expositions. The definite attempts made to stimulate the holding of international congresses during world's fairs have already been alluded to in the chapter on World's Fairs.

In view of the large numbers of congresses held and the variety of interests represented, they can only be reviewed in a general way. Without attempting a careful or scientifically accurate classification of these international associations it will be convenient to treat of them under several heads. These categories are not mutually exclusive and many congresses might be classified with equal appropriateness under two or more heads. But an effort has been made to avoid duplication. It is hoped that their significance may appear in the somewhat general divisions adopted.



## I. ECONOMIC INTEREST

We may start with the economic interest as one which engages the attention of every individual. It is the question of daily bread, of clothing and shelter. This interest touches even those who live upon the very margin of economic independence and impels them to seek through association and collective action that advantage in the labor world which they could not hope to obtain as individual units. Workers in the principal trades and crafts have been internationally organized and there is a growing awareness upon the part of each national group of the conditions of labor in other countries. With the increased mobility of labor, the call for skilled artisans in various parts of the world and the standardization of processes, no vocational group can hope to live in isolation or attain the highest degree of efficiency without some knowledge of world-wide conditions affecting the trade or profession. Through the medium of the almost innumerable trade journals the knowledge of international conditions reaches the most remote local group.

More than seventy professional and vocational groups have held international congresses for the discussion of matters pertaining to their particular vocations. This does not include the large number of international trade organizations which are allied to the American Federation of Labor, but which are international only in the sense that they extend to Canada. Only those of a wider and European nexus are counted.

If we turn to the varied phases of agriculture, animal husbandry and the industries associated with the cultivation of the soil, we count forty-six international groups, and if we add fishing to the list we have seven more. Twenty groups are interested in some phase of commerce or transportation. The Chambers of Commerce of various nations have held five international congresses since 1905 and have a permanent committee at Brussels. The International Railway Congress and

the International Tramway Congress also have continuation organizations in Brussels. Navigation, the utilization of rivers, good roads, international expositions have all had international consideration.

Problems pertaining to building operations, public works, engineering undertakings and the like have claimed the attention of nineteen more international groups. The manufacturing industry in its various phases has interested thirty-seven groups. In all we find 202 groups, drawn together by economic interest, holding a total of 728 congresses.

## ✓ II. RECREATIONAL INTEREST

Play is not only coming to be recognized as having a place in the normal life of man but it is coming to form a strong international bond. The Olympic games of Greece were marked by the "truce of God," and hostilities were laid aside while the choice youth of the various states struggled together for the wreath of wild olive. Not less significant of the time when the "truce of God" shall be made permanent and the victories of peace shall be esteemed to be more glorious than the achievements of war, is the revival of the Olympiad which now opens its lists to the competitors of all nations. Baron Pierre de Coubertin was largely responsible for the assembling in Paris, in 1895, of an International Athletic Committee whose purpose was the revival of the Olympic games.

The first modern Olympiad was held in Athens in 1896, the second in Paris, in the year of the great 1900 fair, the third at St. Louis in 1904, the fourth at London in 1908, and the fifth at Stockholm in 1912. In the latter event twenty-seven different countries were represented. The laurels to the world's most perfect athlete were awarded to an American Indian—*Jim*. The honors of the Olympic events were shared by the following nations in the order named: Sweden, the United States, Great Britain, Finland, Germany, France, Denmark, Hungary, Norway, S. Africa, Italy, Australia, Canada, Belgium,

Russia, Austria, Greece and Holland. The scepter has departed from the Greek into the hands of the "barbarian."

It does not follow that because men play together they will not fight each other. But the trend of things to-day all points to the probability that in the future the nations will play together more and fight less.

Besides the world's Olympiads, international congresses have at different times been held upon foot-ball, cycling, skating, touring, bull-fighting, chess, fencing, swimming, rowing, shooting, gymnastics, motoring and aviation.

### III. THE ARTISTIC INTEREST

Art speaks an universal language. Science limps through confused nomenclature, various units of measurement, and diverse tongues. But art walks erect into the understanding of the wise and the unlearned. In the art gallery all men stand upon an equal footing whatever their human speech, and the rule of acquisition is "To each man according to his ability." Under the spell of the symphony or oratorio all Babel sounds are hushed and the naked soul is bathed in divine harmonies.

The universalizing power of art has been recognized by the promoters of international fairs and expositions. The art gallery and the music hall have a universal message to men from the antipodes. But the treasures of art are no longer confined to the great galleries of Europe. Through the modern processes of art reproduction the humblest home may possess the pictures which have inspired men to noble thoughts and purposes. The same may be said for music through the medium of the phonograph. And the film is carrying into the most remote hamlet the daily happenings of the world and translating them without the medium of language to the understanding of the simplest. While we are waiting for the coming of a world language the camera is enabling the world to put into effect the Socratic injunction, "Know thyself."

Under the Artistic Interest we may classify thirty-seven groups covering art, music, the drama, municipal art and city-planning, the protection of the landscape from commercial disfigurement and the general cultivation of the aesthetic sense.

#### IV. SCIENTIFIC INTEREST

The largest number of congresses is in the realm of the scientific interest. In this category have been placed the pure sciences, applied science, medical science, bibliography, philology and jurisprudence. Under this broad classification international organization and deliberation claim 238 groups which have met from one to many times, most of which have permanent organizations. The whole range of human knowledge is covered by the various international congresses attended by the foremost scholars of all nations of the world.

Two distinct aims may be noted in these world gatherings. The first is to introduce all the evidence, made available through the studies of trained observers in every part of the world, as the basis for rational and valid generalizations. The whole world has become a laboratory and theories and hypotheses are being corrected by facts gathered from pole to pole. History is being rewritten from the buried records of the past. The forces of nature are being harnessed to lift the burdens from the shoulders of enslaved humanity that man may rise to his spiritual birthright. The physical ills that flesh is heir to are yielding to control and the span of human life is lengthening. The primary need is the introduction of all the evidence. And this can only happen when the trained minds of all nations meet and compare notes.

The second aim is to coördinate the work of science through the adoption of universally recognized units and nomenclature. This attempt at unification is noticeable in every department of scientific effort. Two specific instances will suffice as illustrations. Early in the study of electricity it was

recognized that advance in the science required the establishment of a universal unit of measurement for electric forces. Four international congresses were held in 1882, 1884, 1905 and 1908, participated in by scientists from thirty-five different countries, including China and Japan. Three commissions were charged with the task of submitting units for measuring the electric current. The result was the adoption of the ohm, ampere, volt and watt.

Various attempts have been made to revise scientific nomenclature. In 1892 the International Congress of Botany appointed a commission to standardize the nomenclature of botany. In 1878 the International Congress of Geology established a commission to unify the nomenclature of geology. Similar action was taken by the International Congress of Geography, in 1899, to establish a nomenclature for oceanography. The International Congress of Zoölogy, in 1892, adopted a terminology for that science which was subsequently supplemented.

Enough has been said perhaps to reveal the awareness upon the part of all scientists that progress in their particular lines of research imperatively demands the unified and intelligent coöperation of all observers. Collaboration must be world wide.

#### V. THE EDUCATIONAL INTEREST

When we come to the question of education we find that thirty-seven groups of international congresses have been held to discuss questions pertaining to primary, secondary and higher education, physical, technical and commercial training, medical and moral education, teaching of design, school administration, popular universities and many other allied topics. The tremendous problems of popular education need for their solution the combined wisdom of the most experienced educators of the world.

The Central American Republics were so alive to the need of popular education as the handmaid to democracy that in

1908 they formed the Central American Pedagogical Institute for the purpose of "establishing a common, essentially homogeneous system of education which may tend toward the moral and intellectual unification of these sister countries."

When it is realized that all those nations which are now arising out of a stagnation largely due to inadequate educational systems, must be given a "common, essentially homogeneous system of education" before the masses of their citizens can be rendered capable of self-government, the task before the educational forces of the world can be faintly appreciated. Democracy can only hope to maintain itself through the education of the masses. With the changing social and industrial conditions, wise changes in old standards and norms must come. This is a world-task, a task for the new internationalism.

#### VI. THE RELIGIOUS INTEREST

The position is now taken by some leading sociologists that it was the religious interest which brought primitive men together in the earliest forms of association. However that may be, it can hardly be gainsaid that it forms the strongest bond which unites men today, especially when they belong to different races.

A review of the international religious congresses may be conveniently treated under three heads; sectarian, unsectarian and interdenominational associations.

1. *Sectarian Associations.* The Roman Catholic Church is itself something more than international, it is intra-national. It is an *imperium in imperio*. Perhaps, in view of the sweeping political changes of the past century, especially in the western world, it may also be spoken of as an *imperium in republica*. Its Eucharistic Congresses, which have been held at short intervals since 1881, partake of the nature of international assemblies. The *Katholisch-pädagogischer Weltverband* has been organized to advance Christian education in

opposition to the free school. There is in Rome an International Catholic Institute for the advancement of science and learning according to the viewpoint of the church.

A body calling themselves Old Catholics have, since 1872, held successive international congresses. The delegates have gathered largely from Germany, Austria, England, Russia, Switzerland and Holland.

Many of the Protestant bodies have international organizations. Those churches holding the reformed faith meet from time to time in the Pan Presbyterian Council which was organized in 1875. Its last meeting was in Edinburgh in 1913.

The Baptist World Alliance was constituted in 1905 and meets quinquennially. The first meeting of the Ecumenical Methodist Conference was held in New York in 1892. It meets every ten years. The Congregationalists gather in a World's Council. Meetings were held in Boston in 1899 and Edinburgh in 1908. The International Council of Unitarians was formed in Boston in 1900. The Christian Scientists held an international meeting in Christiania in 1911. The General Ecumenical Conference of the Lutheran Church held its fourteenth meeting in 1913 at Nüremberg.

There are two international associations among those holding the Jewish faith. The first is the *Alliance Israelite Universelle*, founded in Paris in 1860, for the purpose of ameliorating the condition of the oppressed Jews. The Alliance holds a yearly congress. The second is the Zionist movement which seeks to re-establish a Jewish state in Palestine. The first congress was held in Basel in 1897, and the meetings are now held every two years. It has a permanent bureau at Cologne called the *Zionistisches Centralbureau*.

There might be grouped under the general term of "occultism" the so-called "spiritualists" and the theosophists. The Spiritualists have held international congresses at Paris in 1889 and 1900. At a Congress in Brussels, in 1910, it was decided to hold triennial meetings. It has a Permanent

International Bureau of Spiritism. The Theosophical Society is an international organization. There is also The Independent Theosophical League. Both of these societies have their headquarters in India.

There might also be mentioned in this connection The International Federation of Free Thinkers which has held frequent congresses since 1880.

2. *Interdenominational.* The Evangelical Alliance was formed in 1846, at London, when there were present 800 delegates representing fifty denominations. The "evangelical basis" was then established which postulates the inspiration of the Bible, the right of private judgment, the doctrine of the trinity, human depravity, the mediatorial work of Christ as the Son of God, justification by faith, the work of the Holy Spirit, the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body and the last judgment, and the perpetual obligation of baptism and the Lord's Supper. This has generally been accepted as the doctrinal basis for the affiliation of all the so-called Evangelical Protestant denominations.

Upon the evangelical basis the various organizations for young people were federated in 1855, at an international congress held in Paris. The association is known as the *Alliance Universelle des Unions Chrétiennes de Jeunes Gens*. This federation includes the Young Men's Christian Associations of the world. The permanent committee, with headquarters in Geneva, is generally known upon this side as the World's Committee.

At the first congress in 1855, eight countries were represented having 329 associations and 30,360 members. At the seventeenth meeting, held in Edinburgh in 1913, there were reported 8,584 associations, in forty-six different countries, with a membership of over 1,100,000.

The Young Women's Christian Associations were federated in 1898 at an international congress held in London. A World's Committee with headquarters in London directs

the work of the federation. The associations have a membership of 590,000 in forty-three different countries of the world.

The World's Sunday School Association was formed at Chautauqua in 1886. The seventh world convention was held in Zurich, in 1913, and was attended by 2,600 delegates from seventy countries. The number of Protestant Sunday-school scholars is now 28,701,489, a gain of 690,295 in three years. The following countries have more than 10% of their population enrolled in Sunday schools: Samoan Islands (29%), Great Britain, Fiji Islands, Newfoundland, the United States, Porto Rico and Canada.<sup>1</sup>

The Christian Endeavor Society, which began its history in 1881, assumed world-wide relations in 1895. World conventions have been held in London 1900, Geneva 1906, and Agra 1909. In 1911 the society reported 79,077 organizations with 3,953,850 members.

The most comprehensive organization of the Protestant missionary forces in the world is the World's Missionary Conference. International missionary meetings were held in New York in 1850, in Liverpool in 1860, in London in 1878. Ten years later London was again the meeting place of a conference at which there were representatives present from fifty-three British societies, sixty-seven American, eighteen continental and two colonial societies. At New York, in 1900, there were 1,500 delegates representing 115 societies in forty-eight different countries. The conference at Edinburgh, in 1910, enrolled more than 1,200 delegates from forty-six British societies, sixty American, forty-one continental and twelve South African and Australian societies.<sup>2</sup>

At the Edinburgh conference there was appointed a Continuation Committee of international composition to further the work of the body in the interim between conferences. Its

<sup>1</sup> The Missionary Review, 26:773.

<sup>2</sup> Report World Missionary Conference, 1910, Vol. IX.

headquarters are in Edinburgh. Growing out of this conference is the International Mission Study Council to promote the study of missions. A conference was held in 1911 at Lunteren, Holland. In its present development the missionary operations of the Protestant church have been extended to every country in the world. More than 340 societies are at work, employing more than 24,000 foreign missionaries, not to mention the native force, and expending annually more than \$38,000,000.

In view of the extension of the work to earth's remotest bounds, the devoted work of the missionaries along educational, medical and industrial lines, as well as the preaching of a universal Gospel, it is safe to say that it is the greatest force in the world today for bringing about an internationalism based upon the brotherhood of man.

3. *Unsectarian Associations.* In connection with the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, in 1893, there was held a World's Parliament of Religions to which reference has already been made. One of the outgrowths of that parliament was the establishment of a foundation for sending to the orient noted men who should present in a broad way the claims of Christianity upon the thought of the non-Christian educated classes. Dr. John Henry Barrows was the first to fill the duties of the position.

The Salvation Army, founded in London in 1865 by William Booth, has extended its operations to thirty-nine countries and delivers its message in thirty-four languages.

The interest aroused in the various religions of the world by the World's Parliament of Religions led to the calling of an International Congress of the History of Religion at Paris in 1900. The object of these congresses, of which four have been held, is to make a scientific study of the ethnic religions. The Congress convenes every four years and has a permanent committee.

## VII. THE SOCIAL INTEREST ✓

Under the social interest it will be convenient to include both the international groups for the study of social conditions and those for planning and executing measures for social betterment. Three or four groups for scientific investigation will first be mentioned and then attention will be given to those which propose definite action.

The basis for a scientific study of social phenomena must lie in statistics. At the first international exposition in London, in 1851, the possibility of bringing the statisticians of the various nations together was discussed, and the Belgian government took the lead in inviting an International Congress of Statistics to meet in Brussels in 1853. A celebrated Belgian statistician, Quetelet, was president of the congress. Nine international congresses were held up to and including 1876, after which they were discontinued. But in 1885 the permanent International Institute of Statistics was formed with headquarters at the Hague, and holds a congress every two years.

In 1862 there was formed at Brussels an International Association for Progress in the Social Sciences, which held several successive meetings. In 1894 there was formed at Paris the International Institute of Sociology with a permanent bureau. A congress is held every three years. There was organized in Stuttgart, in 1903, the International Institute for the Study of the Problem of the Middle Classes which has a permanent bureau located in Brussels.

Those groups having some more or less definite plan in view for the betterment of social conditions may be considered under five sub-divisions, viz.: those relating to (1) industrial life, (2) public health, (3) charity and relief, (4) public morals, and (5) world peace.

1. *Industrial Life.* In 1864 the International Workingmen's Association was formed in London which declared that

the emancipation of labor required the coöperation of the men of all nations. The last congress of this association was held in 1877. Since 1889 the socialists have held international congresses at intervals of about two years. In 1900 the International Bureau of Socialism was established with headquarters at Brussels and acts as a bond between the socialists of all countries.

Syndicalism, which is more radical than socialism in its program for the subversion of the present industrial order by "direct action," finds its international manifestation in the *Secrétariat International des Fédérations Syndicales nationales* with headquarters in Berlin. The first International Conference of Syndical Workers was held in Copenhagen in 1901. Seven international congresses have been held.

The Paris Universal Exposition has already been shown to have been the mother of many international congresses. In 1889 a congress was held for the purpose of promoting the building of cheap homes for the working classes. This *Congrès International des Habitations à bon marché* has held nine meetings to the present time. During the same exposition an International Congress on Industrial Accidents was held which was later extended to include social insurance. The congress is now called the Congress of Social Insurance and has a permanent international committee with headquarters at Paris.

Growing out of the success of the Rochdale plan of coöperative stores in England there was formed, in 1895, at London, the International Coöperative Alliance for the purpose of advancing the plan of establishing coöperative stores in all countries. Eight international congresses have been held and there is a central committee located in London.<sup>1</sup>

The convoking of an International Labor Conference by the German Emperor at Berlin in 1890, has already been referred to. The question of labor legislation engaged the attention then and at succeeding conferences in 1897, and

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<sup>1</sup> *Annuaire du Mouvement Coopératif internationale, 1910.*

1900. At the latter was formed the International Association for Labor Legislation which has considered at various congresses such questions as the night work of women and children, the abolition of white phosphorous in the manufacture of matches, lead poisoning and other occupational diseases, limitation of the working day, child labor, etc. The association supports a permanent bureau at Basel.

There was founded in 1894 the International Colonial Institute for studying industrial, commercial, educational and moral problems presented by various colonies and their native races. It has an international bureau at Brussels.

The Paris Exposition of 1900 was the occasion for the convening of many international congresses. Four may be mentioned in this connection: *Congrès international de la mutualité*, *Congrès International du Crédit Populaire*, *Congrès International des Sociétés Co-opératives de Consommation*, *Congrès des Associations ouvrières de Production*, *Confédération Internationale des Sociétés Co-opérative Agricoles*. The object of these congresses was to stimulate the growth of the coöperative movement among the working classes.

The importance of the question of unemployment and its international bearings received recognition by the assembling of a conference at Paris, in 1909, on unemployment which resulted in the formation of the *Association Internationale pour la lutte contre le chômage*. Its object is to coördinate the work in various countries looking to improving conditions which seasonal trades and consequent unemployment induce. A permanent committee was appointed with headquarters at Paris.

The *Congrès de la Propriété Minière, du Travail, de l'Hygiène et de la Sécurité dans les Mines*, which met for the first time in Lille, France, in 1908, has among its objects the minimizing of the dangers incident to mining operations. Yearly meetings are held.

The Consumers' League of the United States, Germany, France and Switzerland entered into an international

organization at a conference held in Geneva in 1908. These leagues aim at the improvement of the condition of working women through the use of the "white label" and by other means.

The problems presented by home industry, associated as it is with the system of "sweating," were studied at the *Congrès international du Travail à domicile* which was held in connection with the Brussels International Exposition in 1910. An international office was established in Brussels.

An International Society for the Protection of Sponge Fishermen was formed in 1911 at Canea, Crete. Its object is to improve the industry of sponge-fishing in the Mediterranean and the Gulf of Mexico and to assist disabled fishermen, who are especially liable to paralysis due to their trade, and to make provision for their widows and orphans.

The feminist movement, which is both industrial and political, might be mentioned here. In 1878 the first *Congrès féministe international* convened in Paris. At a subsequent congress in Washington, in 1888, there was formed the International Council of Women to be the central organ in the federation of the women's clubs and organizations in all countries. International congresses are held every five years.

The first international woman's suffrage congress was held in Washington in 1902. At the next congress, in Berlin in 1904, the International Woman Suffrage Alliance was formed and a quinquennial convention provided for. In London, in 1909, it was reported that the Alliance had grown from eight national societies in 1904, to twenty-one societies in 1909. At the congress in Stockholm, in 1911, there was created an *Alliance internationale des hommes pour le suffrage des femmes*, to unite the men of all nations who are in favor of woman suffrage.

2. *Public Health.* The period under consideration has been marked by many efforts to improve the public health by measures to prevent the spread of plagues, the scientific

study of disease and the diffusion of knowledge upon hygienic questions.

At the invitation of a Belgian society there was held in Brussels in 1876, the International Congress of Hygiene and Demography. The fifteenth international congress was held in Washington in 1912 and was attended by representatives from all the principal countries of the world.

Other international congresses have been held upon such special topics as diet, vegetarianism, the hygiene of railways and vessels and upon street noises. Several congresses have been held since 1889 on the general topic of life-saving and others upon rescue work at sea and at fires.

It might scarcely be thought that the matter of the destruction of rats was important enough to warrant the formation of an international association. But the discovery of the agency of the rat in the spread of epidemics, as well as its general destructiveness, has made its extermination a matter of public welfare. After a study of the question by a Danish committee there was held in Copenhagen, in 1911, an *Exposition internationale d'appareils pour la destruction des rats*, which might be freely translated an International Exposition of Rat Traps. The result has been the formation of the *Association Internationale pour la destruction rationnelle des rats*, with an international commission located in Copenhagen charged with the duty of conducting a relentless war upon the rat. The grasshopper, the mosquito and the fly have also found a place in international deliberations.

The first decade of the twentieth century was remarkable for the concerted efforts of many nations to discover the causes of baffling diseases and the means for combatting them. Congresses for the study of tuberculosis had been held since 1888,<sup>1</sup> but in 1902 there was formed in Berlin the International Anti-Tuberculosis Association which has held annual meetings in

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<sup>1</sup> *Congrès pour L'Etude de la Tuberculose*, Paris, 1888.

various cities.<sup>1</sup> In 1905 an International Congress on Tuberculosis was held in Paris composed of delegates from governments, universities and various associations.<sup>2</sup> Triennial meetings of this congress have been held in Washington in 1908 and in Rome in 1911. The Universal White Cross Society was formed in Geneva in 1907 to combat tuberculosis, cancer, syphilis and other infectious diseases, as well as food frauds.

Occupational diseases received the attention of international congresses in 1906, 1910 and 1913. At the International Congress of Alienists in Milan, 1906, there was formed an International Institute for the Study of the Causes of Mental Diseases and their Prophylaxis. An international conference was held in Heidelberg, in 1906, for the study of cancer and an international association formed. Epilepsy has been the subject of three international congresses the first being held in Budapest in 1909.

Three congresses, the first in Nüremberg, in 1903, have considered the hygiene of schools, and since 1904 four congresses have been held to promote housing hygiene.

The reduction of infant mortality was the concern of the *Congrès International des Gouttes de lait* which was held in Paris in 1905. At the second session, in Brussels in 1907, there was formed the *Union Internationale pour la protection de l'enfance du premier âge*. A permanent bureau is maintained in Brussels. The protection of the mother and sexual reform are the objects aimed at by the *International Vereinigung für Mutterschutz und Sexualreform* which was formed in Dresden in 1911.

3. *Charity and Relief*. Organized charity was made the object of the *Congrès International de Bienfaisance* which met in Brussels in 1856. In 1889 the name was changed to the

<sup>1</sup> *Handwörterbuch der Sozialen Hygiene*, Vol. 2, p. 635.

<sup>2</sup> Rept. Williams and Bulstrode to the International Congress on Tuberculosis, Paris, 1905.

*Congrès d'assistance publique et privée*, and in 1900 an international committee was appointed composed of sixty members chosen from twenty-two countries, with headquarters in Paris. Such topics have been discussed as the object and limitation of public health, preventive work, neglected children, rehabilitation of discharged convicts, out-door relief, charity organization, tuberculosis, protection of girls, infant mortality, etc.

In 1877 the *Union Internationale des Amies de la Jeune Fille* was formed at Neuchatel to provide protection for girls leaving home in search of employment. Six international congresses have been held. Agents are stationed in many of the principal European railway stations to assist any girls who may require their aid. A central bureau is maintained at Neuchatel. In 1897 an international Catholic association for the protection of girls was formed with headquarters in Fribourg, Switzerland.

The improvement of the condition of the blind has engrossed the attention of six sessions of the *Congrès International pour l'Amélioration du sort des Aveugles*, the first convening in Paris in 1889. The first of several international congresses of deaf mutes was held in Paris in 1878.

In 1889 the *Société Internationale pour l'étude des Questions d'Assistance* was formed in Paris. Its object is to investigate the best methods in various countries for the abolition of poverty. A bureau is located in Paris.

In 1902 the *Congrès International d'assistance aux Aliénés* was held for the purpose of studying questions relating to insanity and the care of the insane.

4. *Public Morals*. Human slavery was one of the first social questions to receive international attention. The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was founded in 1837, and it has continued its agitation against slavery to the present day. In 1909 it was fused with The Aborigines Protective Society and took the name of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protective Society.

The temperance question has been the paramount concern of sixteen groups of international congresses. The Order of Good Templars, founded in the United States in 1842, became an international order in 1852. As early as 1878 an international congress was held in Paris to study the temperance question. Since 1885 meetings have been held biennially. At the congress at Brussels in 1897 there was formed the *Ligue Internationale contre l'abus des Boissons spiritueuses* which maintains a permanent committee in Berlin. At the congress in Stockholm, in 1907, there was created the International Temperance Bureau for the collection of a library upon the subject and for carrying on a campaign of education by means of the press. Another organization arising out of the anti-alcoholic congresses is the International Prohibitionist Federation which was formed after the London congress of 1909. Its affairs are controlled by an international executive committee with offices in London. The Federation has vice-presidents in forty countries. At the same London congress the International Catholic Temperance League was formed. In connection with this league is the International Committee of Abstinent Priests.

The World's Women's Christian Temperance Union was organized in 1883 by Frances E. Willard. Eight international conferences have been held, four in America and four in Europe. The Union has a European office in Ripley, England, and an American office in Evanston, Illinois.

The Blue Cross Society is a temperance organization originating in Switzerland, in 1877, which became an international federation in 1886. The federated societies are scattered through European countries and its headquarters are in Geneva.

At the International Temperance Congress held in Scheveningen in 1911 there was formed the International Federation for the Protection of Native Races against Alcohol.

The repression of vice has received the attention of several groups. In 1875 the *Fédération abolitionniste Internationale*

was formed in London and it pronounced the official regulation of vice as "a hygienic error, a social injustice, a moral monstrosity and a judicial crime." Eleven international congresses have been held, and the federation points to the results of its work in the abolition of the regulation of prostitution in Great Britain, Denmark, Norway (except Trondjem), Holland (except Geneva), and Finland. Its headquarters are in Geneva.

The International Association for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic was organized in London, in 1899, through the efforts of the National Vigilance Association of that city. An international bureau is located in London composed of eight English members and one delegate from each of the eleven national bureaus.

An effort to suppress immoral literature has been made by two congresses held at Lausanne in 1893 and at Cologne in 1904. A different congress against pornography was held in Paris in 1908. This latter was instrumental in securing the governmental conference looking to the suppression of obscene literature already noted.

As early as 1846 the question of prison reform engaged the attention of an international congress held at Frankfort-on-the-Main and also a second held the following year at Brussels. Beginning with 1872 a fresh interest in the question was manifested, and in 1880 a constitution was adopted providing for a permanent commission and for an international congress every five years. The headquarters of the commission are at Brussels. Related to the work of the Prison Congresses is the rehabilitation of convicts and the finding of employment for them upon their release. The first international congress dealing with this question was held at Antwerp in 1890. At the second congress, in 1894, the *Union Internationale des Patronages* was formed by delegates from fifteen countries. At the fifth meeting of the Union, in 1911, representatives

from eighteen nations were present. The office of the permanent commission is in Brussels.

The first International Congress of Criminal Anthropology was held at Rome in 1885. Since then six congresses have been held, all in Europe. The *Union Internationale de Droit Pénal* was formed at Brussels in 1889 for the study of crime, its causes and prevention, and criminal procedure. Numerous sessions have been held and twenty-six countries are represented in the union.

The treatment of youthful delinquents had been a topic of discussion for several years in the above union, but in 1911 a special international congress was held in Paris to deliberate upon the question of juvenile courts. Eleven European states were represented by 350 delegates.

5. *Peace.* The question of world peace was one of the first to engage the attention of an international congress. In 1843 the first International Peace Congress was held in London. There have been twenty-eight congresses held in all. In 1891 it was decided to establish the Permanent International Bureau of Peace which has headquarters in Berne.

The peace movement has grown in all the principal countries of the world and there are now more than 120 general peace societies with numerous branches in twenty-eight countries. The pacifist press now numbers twenty-five periodicals in eleven countries and three international publications.

An important pacifist group is the Inter-parliamentary Union formed in Paris in 1889. Any member of a national parliament or congress is eligible for membership and may retain his membership after the expiration of his term of office. The Union was instrumental in shaping the deliberations of the First Hague Conference, and at its meeting in St. Louis, in 1904, it adopted resolutions suggesting that President Roosevelt propose to the powers the convening of the Second Hague Conference. In 1911 the Union was made up of members from the national congresses and parliaments of twenty-one

sovereign states. The Inter-parliamentary Council is composed of two members from each country represented in the Union. A permanent bureau is located in Brussels.

The review which we have made of the various international conferences and congresses, while confessedly incomplete, must have impressed one with the extent and complexity of that internationalism which has arisen almost entirely within the last half-century. It has been seen that there is much overlapping of work with resulting waste of effort.

The need of coördination in the work of the various international congresses and associations led to the formation in Brussels of the *Union des Associations Internationales*.

The object of the *Union des Associations Internationales* is stated to be: (1) to study the facts of international life; (2) to promote the unification of the activities of the various groups and the coördination of their efforts; (3) to establish permanent relations between these organizations, encourage the creation of permanent bureaus and such limitation of their fields of action as will avoid overlapping; (4) to promote unification of methods, standards and terminology; (5) to create an international center for the collection of data and documents, bearing on international questions, in such a way as to advance the great world interests; (6) to contribute in all these ways to the development of the spirit of internationalism by offering to the whole world the benefits of the most advanced knowledge and thus aid in establishing lasting peace among the nations.<sup>1</sup>

This is a large idea boldly conceived and by its very magnitude it challenges the admiration of every large-minded person. The authors of the movement have a clear vision that peaceful and harmonious relations between the nations depend upon the increase of knowledge, toleration and association.

A world's congress of international associations was held in Brussels in 1910 under the auspices of the Union and was

<sup>1</sup> *Annuaire de la Vie Internationale*, 1909-1911, p. 33.

attended by the directors of 132 international groups. The union publishes a periodical, *La Vie Internationale*, and also *L'Annuaire de la Vie Internationale* which contains a list of all international congresses, associations, etc., together with valuable data taken from their official reports.

Some interest has been aroused in the establishment of a World Center by the labors of an architect, Hendrick Christian Andersen. He has prepared plans for a model city to cover an area of ten square miles with buildings adapted "to the unification of international interests." He proposes that such a city shall become the headquarters of the various international unions and associations. Sites suitable for this World City have been suggested in the vicinity of Brussels, Berne, Paris, Constantinople, Rome, on the Riviera and near Lakewood, N. J.<sup>1</sup>

Thus it can be seen that with the expansion of internationalism there are serious attempts being made to direct this spontaneous growth into effective channels, to secure coördination and economy of effort and to promote some form of world organization.

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<sup>1</sup> Hendrick C. Andersen, "World Conscience."

## CHAPTER VI.

### UNIVERSITIES AND INTERNATIONALISM

We have already shown how the "free fairs" of Europe served to establish here and there international centers where foreign merchants could traffic untrammelled by many of the restrictions which ordinarily made trade difficult. What the free fairs did in the commercial world, the great universities, which sprang up in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, did in the intellectual world. Bologna, Paris, Salamanca and Oxford—not to mention many other famous seats of learning—became gathering points for the students from all countries.

It was a comparatively easy matter for students and professors to go from one university to another while Latin continued to be the tongue of the learned. Many scholars of note studied successively at various universities. While there was probably nothing which would correspond exactly to the exchange of professors such as we know today, yet Renan says that many professors moved every year from one university to another to increase their meagre salaries.<sup>1</sup>

These early universities had many points of resemblance. They were all under papal control and a large part of the curricula was theological and ecclesiastical. The basis for the juristic teaching, at least on the continent, was the Roman law. The bonds between them were largely supernational in an age when the only unifying principle lay in the Catholic Church. Thus it came about as Compayre has said, that "in spite of incessant wars, in spite of invasion, in spite of hatreds between peoples, there was above all frontiers a

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<sup>1</sup> Renan, "*Averroes et Averroism*," p. 258.

European alliance of all the superior schools, a something like the United States of Universities.”<sup>1</sup>

With the rise and growth of nationalism the universities became more national in character. The Latin tongue gave way more and more to national languages and, on this account, the interchange of students became increasingly difficult. The modern exchange of professors and students—a feature of the new internationalism—is taking place under greatly changed conditions. There is no longer a common language of learning, nor has any modern auxiliary language arisen to take the place that Latin once occupied. Yet under these changed conditions the universities are powerful factors in the growth of internationalism.

There are several reasons why the universities tend to foster the spirit of internationalism. Learning is less nationalistic than commerce. The exchange, or attempted exchange, of economic goods between nations has often led to jealousies and conflicts which the exchange of ideas have never created. Learning is supernational and not until comparatively modern times has commerce become to a large degree international. Furthermore the universities are grounded upon the universality of scientific truth and root their philosophical and literary teaching in the common soil of Greece and Rome. By teaching the modern languages they are preparing the students of one nation to draw upon the literary and scientific treasures of other nations and to come into sympathetic coöperation the one with the other.

In the Middle Ages the exchange of students was between European countries employing the Latin tongue as the language of the schools. To-day a new element is added to the student body in Europe and America from an awakening Orient. As soon as Japan addressed herself to the task of “occidentizing” herself to modern learning she began sending

<sup>1</sup> Gabriel Compayre, “Abelard and the Origin and Early History of Universities,” p. 69.

her young men to schools and colleges in Europe and America. These capable and acquisitive young men and women very soon introduced sweeping changes into the educational, political and industrial life of the island empire which have made it the wonder of modern times. The policy of educating young men and women abroad is still continued, as is seen by the large number of Japanese students in the schools and colleges on both sides of the Atlantic.

The magnanimous action of the United States in remitting its share of the indemnity demanded of China by the Powers for losses incurred in the Boxer Rebellion led the Dragon Empire to set aside that sum to be used in defraying the expenses of young men and women who should be chosen from the Eighteen Provinces to receive advanced education in the United States. It would be impossible to prophesy what will be the results to China when these capable young men and women enter into positions of leadership among their own people.

The international aspect of student life is reflected in several international congresses that have been held and in the many clubs and associations that have been formed to promote fraternal relations between foreign and native students in many colleges and universities.

An effort was made at Paris, in 1889, to form a universal federation of students and a bureau composed of representatives from thirty-two countries was elected. But the enterprise was short-lived.

Another international congress of students was held at Turin, in 1898, at which the *Fédération internationale des Étudiantes* was formed. It is also called *Corda Fratres*. The aims of the federation are to promote solidarity and fraternity between all college students, whatever their politics or religion, and to use all means possible to remove the prejudices and hatreds between classes and nations which tend to provoke war. It committed itself to the principle of arbitration for the settlement of international differences.

The Federation held congresses at Liege in 1905, at Marseilles in 1906 and at Bordeaux in 1907. At the Hague, in 1909, an alliance was formed between the Corda Fratres and the Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs of America. The latter organization was started in Madison, Wisconsin, in 1907, "to cultivate the arts of peace, to establish strong international friendships and to carry out the motto of the Association, 'Above all nations is Humanity.' "

The students of Latin America met in Montevideo in 1908 and formed the *Liga de Estudiantes Americanos*, which has held several congresses. Similarly, the students of the Central American republics held an international congress in San Salvador in 1911.

With the idea of facilitating the travel of students to other countries there was formed in London, in 1912, the Association for the International Interchange of Students. The organization hopes to enlarge its somewhat restricted scope to include the universities of all countries.

The socialist students have held several international congresses and the Catholic students from several countries met in Rome in 1900, and in Amsterdam in 1911.

The awakened interest of college students the world over in the claims of Christianity upon their lives was very forcibly presented to the Student Volunteer Convention in Kansas City, January 2, 1914, by Dr. John R. Mott, who had recently returned from a tour among the colleges of the world. He said to the 5,000 young men and women who were present from 700 colleges and professional schools where they were in training for Christian leadership abroad, that he was convinced that the forces of pure Christianity were facing an absolutely unprecedented situation in the non-Christian world. In the Orient and the Levant the attitude of thousands of students is favorable to Christianity. When we consider that the social ideals of Christianity are human brotherhood, right-living and world peace, the significance of the present situation from the

point of view of internationalism can hardly be over-estimated.

The World's Christian Student Federation, which held its first congress in Wadstena, Sweden, in 1895, seeks to establish relations between the organizations of Christian students in all parts of the world, to publish information regarding religious conditions among the students of all countries, and to lead them into Christian discipleship and service. In the Federation there are student organizations in the United States, Canada, Australia, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, China, Korea, Japan, India, Burma, Ceylon and South Africa.

Besides the associations and clubs already referred to, some university centers make special provision for foreign students. At Göttingen there is the *Deutsches Institut für Ausländer*. Columbia University maintains a *Deutsches Haus*, which is the residence of the German exchange professor and the headquarters for German students, and a *Maison Française* as a French headquarters; the University of California has an International Club; at the University of Paris the *Association franco-russe* gives its attention to Russian students; the *Société franco-allemande*, of Berlin, arranged a visit of French students to that city in 1908; visits of German and Belgian students to Paris have been arranged at various times. All these movements tend to strengthen the bonds of friendship between the students of various countries and to promote a spirit of internationalism.

Perhaps the most striking manifestation of the desire to create and maintain relations of international friendship and understanding in educational circles is the exchange of professors between some of the leading universities of Europe and America. The Theodore Roosevelt and Kaiser Wilhelm Professorships, endowed by a gift of \$50,000 to Columbia University, provide each year for sending an American professor to lecture in the University of Berlin upon American

institutions and history. The Prussian government has set aside a series of rooms in the Royal Library for the Roosevelt professor and has equipped them with books on American history and institutions. Requests have been made by the Universities of Leipzig and Munich for a part of the time of the Roosevelt professor. A German exchange professor is nominated each year by the Prussian Ministry of Education and invited to deliver a course of lectures in Columbia University upon German history and institutions.

Similar arrangements have been made with the Austrian government for an exchange of professors and the first visiting professor lectured at Columbia University in the fall of 1913. This university was also visited the same year by a lecturer sent out by the Queen Wilhelmina Lectureship on the Dutch Language, Literature and History. The object of this lectureship is to develop an interest in the history and literature of Holland.

Negotiations have been entered into which will probably result in professorial exchanges with Italy, Latin-America and Japan.

Columbia University has an exchange plan also with the University of Paris and each year a French professor is invited to conduct a seminar for three months at Columbia. During the year professors from many other of the leading institutions of higher learning are present at Columbia for a longer or shorter time.

Harvard University also maintains an exchange of professors with Paris and Berlin. The Universities of Bordeaux, in France, and Oviedo, Saragossa and Barcelona, in Spain, have an arrangement for the exchange of professors.

Through the gifts of M. Albert Kahn, of Paris, there have been established traveling fellowships to enable scholars to pursue their special researches in other countries. This fund aims to give to the world the results of special exploration and investigation made possible through its fellowships.

The universities will thus be seen to be promoting that friendship and understanding between the nations which means the eventual breaking down of sectionalism, national arrogance, and distrust born of ignorance.

## CHAPTER VII.

### FRIENDSHIP SOCIETIES

It is interesting to observe the recognition there has been given in the past few years to the value of some bond of unity between widely separated workers in similar fields of activity. To put men of different nationalities in touch with each other along the line of their special interests, be they intellectual, industrial, commercial, recreational or what not, this is the aim of many correspondence clubs which have sprung up within recent years in several countries. Privileges of personal correspondence upon designated topics with other members of the association are offered by many of these clubs. The multiplication of these clubs with growing memberships covering the whole world is ample evidence that life is becoming increasingly cosmopolitan. The fact that the bond which is established by these means is largely a personal one makes internationalism something more than a mere abstraction. The very names of these societies are significant.

*International Correspondence Clubs.* The first of these societies seems to have been formed in Paris in 1895. It is called *La Société d'Études et de Correspondence internationale*, or *Internationalis Concordia*. It seeks to associate in its fraternity groups in all countries of the world. Its aim is to foster international relations through a study of world-wide intellectual, moral and economic movements. It seeks to promote solidarity and mutual aid between its members, through correspondence, congresses, banquets, translation bureaus, international circles, etc. The society publishes an annual giving the names of its members and the subjects upon which they agree to enter into correspondence with other members. It also includes in its functions the placing of young people in families where they can acquire a foreign language.

In England the Round About Club, formed in 1897, has three departments: the English Speaker's Link seeks to establish correspondence between English-speaking members interested in international life; the Host and Hostess Department associates those who are willing to exchange the courtesies of hospitality to others in like social position; while the Correspondence Club affords opportunities for correspondence.

Germany has four societies. *Die Brücke*, of Leipzig, offers a "bridge" between the scholars of different nations working in similar lines of investigation. It is committed to the work of promoting uniformity in the printing and binding of books. Its publication, "Bücher und Saager," is also issued in Esperanto. *Die Weltwarte*, also of Leipzig, promotes the study of foreign languages and the study of Esperanto. It publishes a periodical of the same name. A third society in Leipzig is the *Weltvereinigung Kosmopolit*. In Munich is the *Welt-Verein*, which aims at the development of commerce, industry and the professions. It offers to authors a friendly criticism of their works. The members of the Association bear the significant name of the "world family" (*die Weltfamilie*).

In Holland the *Kosmos*, domiciled in Amsterdam, offers opportunities of correspondence between its members upon all subjects except politics and religion. It publishes a periodical called "Kosmos."

Switzerland has the *Internacia Ligo*, at Zurich, which favors collectors of stamps, post-cards, photographs and other objects. It publishes the "Welt-Post."

In Italy the *Società Internazionale degl'Intellettuali*, located at Catania, Sicily, seeks to form a bond between savants, litterateurs and artists. It is committed to advancing the feminist movement, to reform in public instruction and to the founding of a popular university with courses in science and journalism.

The Cosmopolitan Correspondence Club, formed in Wisconsin, in 1907, with offices in Milwaukee, offers opportunities

of correspondence between its members. Its publication is "The Globe Trotter."

Although not in the nature of a club, but upon a purely commercial basis, there might be mentioned in this connection the International Correspondence Schools, with offices in London, which offer advantages, by means of correspondence to those who desire to receive instruction while pursuing their customary avocations. Their success is a testimony to the value of the correspondence system of education.

*International Friendship Societies.* Several associations have been formed in different countries to promote feelings of cordiality between the peoples of two or more nations. These are generally designed as a bond between two particular nations. They deserve mention in this connection as exerting an influence towards bringing about that better understanding between the citizens of different nations which promotes the spirit of internationalism.

The Pilgrim Society was formed in London in 1902 to promote friendship and peace between the two great English-speaking nations. The following year a similar and affiliated society was formed in New York.

The Japan Society was formed in New York, in 1907, to "promote friendly relations between the United States and Japan and to diffuse among the American people a more accurate knowledge of the people of Japan, their aims, arts, sciences, industries and economic conditions." The society arranges lectures and exhibitions and annually sends an American lecturer to Japan to promote friendly relations with that people.

The National German American Alliance forms a bond between the German-Americans and the Fatherland. The American Scandinavian Foundation, with an endowment of over a half-million dollars is a powerful bond between America and the Scandinavian peoples. The Latin-American Society seeks to promote friendly relations among the peoples of the American

republics. The Mexico Society was formed with similar aims for the two North American Republics. To promote friendly relations between France and Germany may be mentioned the Franco-German League, and the *Pour mieux se connaître*, of Paris.

Great Britain and Germany have reciprocal societies: The British German Friendship Society of London and the *Deutsch Englisches Verständigung Komitee* of Berlin; The Associated Councils of the Churches in the British and German Empires for the Fostering of Friendly Relations between the two Peoples, and the *Kirchliches Komitee zur Pflege freundschaftlicher Beziehungen zwischen Grossbritannien und Deutschland*. Mention should also be made of the Latin Union and the Franco-Italian League, of Paris.

In both France and England have parliamentary groups been formed for the purpose of helping the new Republic of China "by parliamentary action, by influencing public opinion and keeping a check upon mis-statements as they appear in the press. Briefly stated, the object is to give the new Chinese Republic the best possible opportunity of developing China during these critical years on free and independent lines." Further, an Anglo-Chinese Friendship Bureau has opened offices in London to promote friendly relations between England and China, particularly a coöperation with the many Chinese students in England.

Another organization designed to produce a better knowledge of international matters, promote solidarity, mutual respect and emulation, is the *Union des Nationalités*, of Paris. It plans for scientific missions, the organization of congresses and the friendly intercourse in Paris between the groups of different nationalities. It contemplates the erection in Paris of an International Museum of Nationalities. It seeks to establish an *entente* between nations on questions requiring common action. Its aim is the promotion of universal peace and the organization of European and world federation.

The Garton Foundation, of London, seeks to promote internationalism, particularly in the universities and other educational institutions of England, by means of prizes and scholarships.

The *Conciliation Internationale*, established in 1905, seeks to "develop national prosperity by means of good international relations, and to organize these good relations on a permanent and lasting basis." It has a permanent office in Paris.

The "Potentia Organization," of London, was founded in 1905 for the purpose of encouraging honest journalism and to correct false reports spread by the press which are likely to injure the interests of any foreign country and foster feelings of distrust and enmity.

*International Foundations for the Encouragement of Scientific Research.* The interdependence of the scientific world in all lines of progress has already been shown by the large number of international associations, holding congresses upon every topic of scientific interest. We must further note the stimulus that is afforded to valuable research work by individuals of whatever nationality by the offering of cash prizes, medals and scholarships. Every year sees the multiplication of endowment funds for the purpose of encouraging individual effort. Many of these foundations are administered by the great universities both here and in Europe. Scientific, medical and industrial associations and individuals have made provisions for the reward of eminent service in the fields of scientific, literary and social progress. In *L'Internationalisme Scientifique*<sup>1</sup> upwards of seventy prizes and medals are enumerated. This probably falls very much short of those which are open to competition by scholars of all nationalities, and we may expect a very large increase in the number in the future. The low scale of remuneration of those engaged in scientific research, as compared with the large financial returns which

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<sup>1</sup> P. H. Eijkman, "*L'Internationalisme Scientifique*."

often come to those engaged in commerce and industry, makes it highly desirable that substantial rewards should be offered to those whose individual efforts redound to the general welfare of mankind. Some of these foundations are established for the purpose of enabling specialists to pursue their researches without anxiety about the "bread and butter question."

A few of these foundations should be noted in particular. The Nobel Foundation was established in 1900, conformably to the will of Alfred Bernhard Nobel for the purpose of offering prizes to those who shall have contributed largely to the service of humanity. The funds amount to \$8,400,000, making the sum of \$38,000 available each year for prizes which are granted in five departments, physics, chemistry, medicine, literature and peace. The first four prizes are awarded by the Academy of Sweden and the peace prize by the Norwegian Storting.

Mr. Andrew Carnegie has added to his many benefactions, which have not been confined to the United States, two foundations of international scope. In 1902 the Carnegie Institution of Washington was founded and endowed with \$10,000,000, to encourage in the broadest manner investigation, research and discovery in the fields of botany, economics, sociology, history, experimental evolution, marine biology, astronomy, nutrition, solar research, terrestrial magnetism and allied subjects.

Mr. Carnegie's deep interest in the question of world peace led him, in 1910, to set aside a sum of ten million dollars, the income from which should be devoted to the development of such agencies as give the best promise of effectively advancing peaceful relations between the nations. The foundation is known as the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. In February, 1914, Mr. Carnegie announced another foundation of \$2,000,000, for the promotion of world peace through the instrumentality of the Christian Church. An interchange of eminent clergymen between different countries as advocates of peace is contemplated.

The will of Cecil Rhodes provided a fund for the granting of scholarships that would enable picked young men of the British colonies and the United States to pursue their education in Oxford University. One annual scholarship each was provided for each province of Canada, each state of Australia, to New Zealand, Newfoundland, Natal, Jamaica and Bermuda. Four scholarships were given to Cape Colony and three to Rhodesia. Each state and territory of the United States was given two scholarships and five were given to Germany. Mr. Rhodes expressed in his will his belief that an understanding between Great Britain, Germany and the United States would render war impossible and that educational relations make the strongest tie.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> George R. Parkin, "The Rhodes' Scholarships."

## CHAPTER VIII.

### A WORLD LANGUAGE

It will have already appeared that the intercourse between persons from nations speaking different languages, whether it be in travel or at international congresses or in commercial transactions or in whatever way their interests bring them together, is seriously hampered by the lack of a common medium of communication. Latin, which was once the common vehicle of communication between the learned, has been eliminated from the problem as being incapable of serving modern purposes. It has been suggested that the post-classical Greek would afford a more flexible medium, but the possibility of the resurrection of a dead language to serve the new age seems exceedingly remote.

Two alternatives seem to exhaust the possibilities, as far as international agreement on the subject is concerned; (1) either the adoption of a living tongue as the universal language, or (2) the adoption of an artificial, secondary language. Whatever may be the result of forces now at work in the world to make any one living language a practical medium of communication between all peoples, the result of any attempt to reach international agreement on the subject would seem to promise to out-Babel Babel.

The prééminence of French as the language of diplomacy would seem to afford a presumption in its favor. The *Fédération Internationale pour l'Extension et la Culture de la Langue française*, which was formed at Liege, in 1905, seems at one time to have entertained the hope that French might become the international language. The *Alliance Française*, which has branches in different countries, is interested in the extension of the French language and culture.

On the other hand many have pointed to the fact that the English language is making large conquests and that between three and four million people are by immigration brought every year within its realm. These facts have led some to think that English is destined to become the universal language. But the advantages which would accrue to the nation, or nations, whose language should be adopted as universal would be so great that no international agreement could ever hope to be reached. The suggestion that the language of some small nation, like Norway, be adopted as a compromise gives no better promise of success.

The second alternative is the adoption of an artificial, auxiliary language as the medium of international communication. There is no dearth of such inventions for there are at present some twenty to twenty-five such schemes. The moderate success of several of these attempts has been such as to warrant the belief that along this line is international agreement most likely to be reached.

The first of these linguistic inventions to attain wide international attention was Volapük, published in 1880 by Schleyer, a German priest. It had a rapid growth and at its third international congress held in Paris in 1889, there were reported 283 societies scattered over the world, with students estimated at over a million. The *Akademie internationale de lingu universal* was formed to prosecute the work. Modifications were suggested which were not acceptable to the inventor and there was war in camp. The *Akademie* pursued its work of revision and modification and the result was a new language called "Idiom Neutral." The vocabulary of this artificial language is based upon the principle of the maximum of international roots. Roots common to the seven leading languages, English, French, German, Spanish, Italian, Russian and Latin are chosen when possible.<sup>1</sup> It has not been found necessary to adopt any roots

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<sup>1</sup> M. A. T. Holmes, "Dictionary of the Neutral Languages."

occurring in less than four languages. The eminent English philologist, Henry Sweet, has expressed the opinion that Idiom Neutral is the simplest language yet devised and the one most easily understood by any educated European.<sup>1</sup>

Seven years after the appearance of Volapük a Russian physician, Zamenhof, published a new language and signed himself "Dr. Esperanto," that is, "hopeful." His hopes seem to have been to a large degree realized, for it has enjoyed a large growth. Since 1905 annual international congresses have been held and groups of Esperantists are to be found in all parts of the world. A permanent committee with headquarters in Paris, has general oversight of the work and publishes the "Oficiala Gazeto Esperantista." In 1907 an Institute for teaching the language was established in Berne. Great activity has been shown in forming groups of Esperantists with varied interests. International Esperantist leagues are to be found among theosophists, Good Templars, free thinkers, Catholics, bankers, jurists, government and police employees, postal clerks, stamp collectors, railway employees, physicians, pharmacists, stenographers, printers, writers, and vegetarians.

At the Paris Exposition of 1900 there was an unequalled aggregation of international congresses. The need of an auxiliary language was keenly felt and several of the congresses appointed delegates to confer upon the adoption of some suitable medium of international communication. A "Delegation for the Study of an International Auxiliary Language" entered into an organization the following year. Numerous societies and congresses joined in the project. Academies and universities were corresponded with during the years that followed.

The "Delegation" arrived at three principles which it declared should guide in the adoption of an international auxiliary language: (1) it must fulfill the needs of the ordinary intercourse of social life, of commercial communications and of

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<sup>1</sup> Article on Universal Language in Encyclopedia Britannica.

scientific and philosophic relations; (2) it must be easily acquired; (3) it must not be a national language. Finally, in 1907, 310 societies were enrolled in the undertaking. A committee of twelve scholars was elected which met in Paris in 1907 with Prof. W. Ostwald, of Leipzig, as chairman. After a lengthy consideration of the artificial languages already in existence the committee declared in favor of the principle of Esperanto. But it desired certain changes and modifications made in the interests of simplicity. Improvements had already been proposed by an Esperantist who signed himself "Ido," known to have been the Marquis of Beaufort. The proposition was looked upon with disfavor by the Esperantists with the result that a new and reformed Esperanto was fashioned, called "Ido." Improvements claimed for Ido are: (1) the dropping of case endings for adjectives, (2) the substitution of Anglo-Saxon for Slavic roots, and (3) the substitution of s for the plural ending in the place of j. The Idists, as they are called, formed, in 1909, the *Unione por la Linguo Internaciona* and now have groups in various countries.

In 1911 there was formed an association whose object is to secure, if possible, diplomatic action looking to the creating of an international bureau, patterned after the Universal Postal Union, which shall take steps looking to the adoption by the nations of the world of an auxiliary, international language.

The history of the attempts at a universal language has peculiar significance for internationalism. It is a recognition of the fact that the relations between nations have become so close that a medium of communication is imperative. An auxiliary language that is most international in its roots is most likely to be adopted. The crudity of many attempts by individuals to create an artificial language demonstrates the fact that the work to be of permanent value must be done by linguistic and philological experts.

The success of several of the schemes shows that an auxiliary language is entirely feasible and can easily be learned.

The national languages will doubtless continue to be the languages of literary expression, but a workable and accurate secondary language may be put within the reach of everyone of ordinary intelligence and greatly facilitate the relations between the different nations and the advancement of all branches of knowledge. Such a language would greatly advance world federation.

## CHAPTER IX.

### INTERNATIONAL EBB AND FLOW OF POPULATION

In the preceding chapters we have tried to present the concrete manifestations of internationalism in the coöperation that has already been achieved. It remains for us to consider certain fluctuations in the population of the world which are having an effect upon the growth of internationalism.

The prophecy of the Hebrew seer that "many shall run to and fro in the earth and knowledge shall be increased" is finding a fulfilment in the twentieth century that never fails to arouse wonder. The rapid growth of transportation facilities and the resulting comfort and cheapness of travel are producing world-wide changes. The journey from Vladivostok to Paris by rail is already a commonplace. "From the Cape to Cairo" will soon be opened a new and varied route to the globe trotter. The day would seem to be not far distant when one will be able to travel from Alaska to Argentina. No less marvelous is the development of ocean transportation. Swift and luxurious steamers traverse every ocean and sea.

If one would stop to consider all the human beings that in any moment are afloat upon the oceans and rivers and aboard the swift-moving railroad trains he would have a picture of the kaleidoscopic changes that are hourly taking place all over the world in which the racial colors, white, black, red and yellow are continually forming new combinations with ever shifting variety and interest. Individuals, families, neighborhood and racial groups are continually entering into new combinations and relations that are gradually changing the whole texture of human society. It will interest us from the point of view of internationalism to look at some of those kaleidoscopic changes.

We may for convenience divide this great throng into three classes: (1) those who are leaving their native land to make their homes in another country; (2) those who are returning from a foreign sojourn to end their days in the land of their birth; and (3) those who, in search of employment, the transaction of business, or in quest of recreation and pleasure, are flitting hither and thither. This classification will permit us to consider the emigrant from the point of view of the country which receives him, the re-migrant—if such a term be permissible—from the point of view of his original home, and the flitter from both angles.

1. *The Emigrant.* For the first three and a half centuries following the discovery of the new world the eccentric movements of national populations took the form of colonization in which the state had a directing hand. English, Dutch, French, Spanish and Portugese colonists retained their national allegiance. With the independence of the American colonies, and the subsequent growth of the United States by cession and purchase, all those who forsook Europe to make their homes within our borders and to assume the rights and duties of citizenship in the land of their adoption became, by their individual choice, expatriates.

As one by one the Mexican, Central and South American republics were formed the same became true of the immigrants to those countries. Only Canada, and a few small colonial possessions in the West Indies and South America now float the colors of European states. Emigration, therefore, as far as these American republics are concerned, involves new political relationships.

We are not here concerned with the economic, social, political or religious factors which have determined this migratory movement, nor with the corresponding changes which have resulted in the countries receiving the immigration. Our interest is in the commingling of races and the effect it may have in promoting internationalism.

A few facts touching emigration to other parts of the world will make it plain that the United States, in a degree which is true of no other nation, is the "melting pot" of the world.

The other countries receiving large increase of population by immigration are Canada, Argentina, Brazil, South Africa, Australia and Asiatic Russia.

Canada has encouraged the immigration of those desiring to settle upon the land from the states of north and western Europe from which the old immigration of the United States was formerly drawn. It also receives a large number of settlers from the United States. Between 1901 and 1909 it received 393,908 immigrants from the United States, or 31.6% of the total immigration for that period.

The Latin countries of Europe supply the large bulk of the immigrants to Argentina which, between 1863 and 1908, amounted to 4,217,963. Of this total, Italy furnished 56.3%, Spain 25%, France 6.3%. Likewise, Brazil draws largely upon southern Europe. Of a total of 2,561,482 between 1820 and 1907, 47.4% came from Italy, 24.8% from Portugal, 11.3% from Spain, only 3.6% from Germany and 2.2% from Austria.

The Australian immigration has been 82.1% British—France and Germany furnishing a small quota. New Zealand received most of its immigration from Australia and the United Kingdom and only 6.6% from all other countries.

South African immigration is largely British and Dutch and that of Asiatic Russia, amounting in the single year of 1908 to 720,000, is wholly Russian.

While it will be seen that the population of some of the various immigrant-receiving countries is moderately cosmopolitan, that of the United States is recruited from every tongue and people on the earth.

The cosmopolitan composition of the population of the United States is favorable for the development of that broad toleration for other peoples and that sympathetic interest in conditions beyond national boundaries which must form the

substantial basis for internationalism. Internationalism cannot rest upon national selfishness and any influences which lead the citizens to broaden their intellectual horizon make for the development of what President Butler has happily called "the international mind."<sup>1</sup>

Every adult immigrant has interests which bind him to at least two countries, the land of his birth and the land of his adoption. It would not be human for him not to feel a strong and affectionate attachment for the land of his fathers. Its history, traditions and customs continue to exert a powerful influence over him. The very political, economic and social advantages which he comes in larger and fuller measure to appreciate in his new home become the criteria by which he judges conditions he has left and shape his hopes for the future of the fatherland. National and racial pride prompt him to a quick resentment of aspersions cast upon his native country. At the same time he finds himself associated daily in business and political relations with those of a score of other nationalities with equally keen national sensitiveness. There is developed a spirit of toleration for those of different countries.

The leaders in the political world appreciate the dangers of offending the national pride or sensibilities of those upon whose suffrage they depend for support. More than once has a party gone to defeat because of the offensive remarks of some unwise partizan campaigner. The stage, also, has been many times rebuked in a very pointed and effective way for caricatures of national traits that have aroused the ire of bodies of citizens who retain very strong national pride. So there is developed in the American population a healthy respect for the sentiments and feelings of fellow citizens whatever their origin. This is a true American trait developed in the midst of a cosmopolitan population.

Constant contact with those of different nationality tends to soften animosities and develop an openmindedness which

<sup>1</sup> Nicholas Murray Butler, "The International Mind."

is more difficult of attainment in a country of more homogeneous population where the mores and customs are more rigid.

America takes great pride in the fact that it is the asylum of the oppressed of all lands. The presence of those who have suffered from economic and social pressure in other lands leads to a knowledge of the untoward conditions from which they have sought to escape by emigration to the land of the free. The trail of the immigrant has been followed to its source and conditions have been studied and spread before the reading public in the daily and periodical press. The problem of immigration, which is pressing more heavily than ever upon the nation, demands the study of conditions in every land from which the immigrant comes. A knowledge of world-wide conditions has been thrust upon the American citizen by the force of circumstances. The result has been a quickened sympathy and an appreciation of the fact that this country has a vital concern in those conditions which turn the flow of immigration towards our shores.

The American citizen should, of all men, be the most deeply interested in the growth of internationalism, as he is the most deeply concerned. As long as vast economic, social and political differences exist between this and other countries the tide of immigration will continue to flow. Only one thing will naturally restrict the volume of immigration, and this is the lessening of the difference between conditions in America and the countries that are discharging their citizens upon us. This involves in the United States a leveling-down process, economically, which we cannot contemplate without grave apprehension. But it involves, reciprocally, a leveling-up process in the other countries which must result largely through the growth and development of internationalism. We may not like to face the ethical question whether we, as a nation, are our "brother's keeper," but enlightened self-interest is forcing us into the consideration of the question whether the future

well-being of our own nation is not in large measure dependent upon the improvement of conditions in those nations that are furnishing the aliens which enter so largely into the economic and moral problems of our country.

2. *The Re-migrant.* If the flow of population to our shores presents an international problem, so does also the ebb-tide or more properly speaking, the return-wave. Since 1907 the Bureau of Immigration has been keeping statistics on the subject and we are beginning to appreciate the size and significance of this movement. Arriving aliens are now divided into two classes, (1) those who express the purpose of residing in the United States and (2) those who do not intend to remain. The departing aliens are similarly divided into (1) those who claim a place of residence in the United States and (2) those who do not, and are supposedly here only temporarily, or are simply passing through.

The following table is taken from the annual reports of the Commissioner of Immigration.:

ARRIVING AND DEPARTING ALIENS.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Immigrant Aliens</i>	<i>Non-Imm. Aliens</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Emigrant Aliens</i>	<i>Non-Em. Aliens</i>	<i>Total</i>
1908	782,870	141,825	924,695	395,073	319,755	714,828
1909	751,786	192,449	944,235	225,802	174,590	400,392
1910	1,041,570	156,467	1,198,037	202,436	177,982	380,418
1911	878,587	151,713	1,030,300	295,666	222,549	518,215
1912	838,172	178,983	1,017,155	333,262	282,030	615,292
1913	1,197,892	229,335	1,427,227	308,190	303,734	611,924
1914	1,218,480	184,601	1,403,081	303,338	330,467	633,805

Many of the departing emigrants are those who are returning to their native land to remain. Some of them have saved enough money to enable them to pass their remaining days in comfort where the cost of living is much less than in America. Inquiries have been made into the influences these repatriates exert in their home land. It is generally conceded that their standard of living is higher than that of their neighbors. They build better houses, wear better clothes and manifest a spirit of enterprise and independence that is not hard to connect

with their American sojourn. They are not satisfied with things as they find them and some of them set about to improve conditions.<sup>1</sup>

The picture, however, is not altogether favorable. They sometimes prove that they have been apt scholars in learning many of the vices which they have seen in America. This indictment is laid more particularly against some of the younger, unmarried men who have worked in America and who return to spend their money in idleness, vicious indulgence and display. This group belongs to the next classification.

Whatever view we may take of the economic disadvantages to the United States of the money thus taken out of the country by those returning to reside permanently in their native lands, we can hardly fail to see that the tendency is to raise the standard of living in the home community, to create a demand for better educational facilities and for better economic conditions. In this way a leaven of discontent with existing conditions is introduced which is bound to work until the differences which make emigration to America desirable are lessened. So that from the point of view of the future welfare of the United States through the lessening of the tide of immigration, the money taken from the country may prove to be a profitable investment. The same view may be taken with respect to the money which the alien laborer in the United States sends back to the old country. There is abundant testimony that this American gold has been almost the financial salvation of some poor communities and has resulted in raising the general standard of living.

It will thus be seen that the United States is sending out streams of influence which retrace the trail of the immigrant into every country on the earth and tend to alter local conditions in a way that will smooth the road to more complete

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<sup>1</sup> Report of Immigration Commission on Emigrant Conditions in Europe. "Effect of Immigration on Italy," Charities and Commons, 1908. "Home Going Italians," Survey, Sept, 28, 1912.

and effective coöperation between the nations in matters pertaining to economic and social welfare.

3. The third class is of those who run to and fro in the earth for various reasons.

To this class belong what have come to be called "birds of passage," or that mobile body of labor which is not hampered by home ties and can come and go according to the varying economic advantage. This labor movement is known in Europe and is largely seasonal. Laborers move from Italy up into France, Switzerland and even Germany to work in the fields, returning when the demand for help slackens. There are similar movements from Ireland into England, of the Flemish into Holland and France and of Poles into Germany.<sup>1</sup>

A glance at the foregoing table will show that these "birds of passage" figure quite largely in the industrial situation in the United States. They are largely unmarried men who can live and save money upon wages that would not support an American working man with a family. Ocean transportation has become so easy and cheap that they can afford to leave the country when work is slack and spend their hoarded earnings in a country of cheap living. These "birds of passage" might not inappropriately be called "birds of prey," for "wheresoever the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together." It is hard to see how the growth of internationalism is aided by this class. But its very existence is an evidence of the ease with which international communication is carried on.

To this third class belong also those business and professional men whose avocations lead them into frequent association with men of other nations, and also the increasing number of persons who seek recreation and knowledge through travel. The multiplication of railroads in every land and the building of ever larger and more luxurious steamships have made travel comfortable and cheap.

Some idea of the annual movement of passengers over the

<sup>1</sup> "Birds of Passage," *American Journal of Sociology*, 18:391.

railroads of the world may be gained from the statistics of our own country. In 1911 the aggregate mileage of the railroads of the United States was 244,179 miles. The number of passengers carried was 997,409,882, or 4,085 to each mile of railroad. The average journey of each passenger was 33.48 miles.<sup>1</sup> The total mileage of the railroads of the world in 1908 was 595,841 miles.<sup>2</sup> If the same number of passengers were carried per mile on all the railroads of the world and the average length of journey were the same, the number of miles traveled by the human race in a year would reach the enormous total of 81,490,671,037 miles. If distributed *per capita* it would give every man, woman and child on the earth 52 miles of railway journey in a year. If travel from here to the moon were possible it would provide 174,270 persons with a round trip.

To this enormous volume of travel must be added that by water transportation. According to Lloyd's Register there are 6,694 sailing vessels and 23,897 steamers of one hundred tons register or over. The tendency is to build ever larger and swifter steamers. There are 2,865 steamers whose speed is from 12 to 25 knots and over per hour. Steel is rapidly replacing wood in the construction of ships. Of 1,278 new vessels built in 1912 only 122 were of wood.

The volume of ocean travel may be judged by the passenger movement in and out of the principal ports of the United States for the last ten years, as follows:

DEPARTURES FROM THE UNITED STATES TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES<sup>3</sup>

Year	Cabin Passengers	Other than Cabin Pass.	Total
1904	164,613	508,204	692,817
1905	201,208	536,151	737,359
1906	214,669	496,737	711,406
1907	224,893	569,882	794,775
1908	236,781	874,686	1,111,467
1909	244,800	586,452	831,252
1910	396,040	326,978	723,018
1911	436,071	431,616	867,687
1912	463,699	505,483	969,182
1913	509,278	450,348	959,626

<sup>1</sup> Statistical Abstract of the U. S., 1912, pp. 304, 312.

<sup>2</sup> Transportation Routes and Systems of the World. Dep't of Commerce and Labor.

<sup>3</sup> Statistical Abstract of the U. S., 1913, pp. 100, 101.

## ARRIVALS OF PASSENGERS

<i>Year</i>	<i>U. S. Citizens Returning</i>	<i>Non-Imm. Aliens</i>	<i>Immigrants</i>	<i>Total</i>
1904	147,974	27,844	812,870	988,688
1905	167,227	40,899	1,026,499	1,234,615
1906	177,486	65,618	1,100,735	1,356,273
1907	191,797	153,120	1,285,349	1,630,266
1908	200,447	141,825	782,870	1,125,142
1909	217,173	192,449	751,786	1,161,408
1910	243,191	156,467	1,041,570	1,441,228
1911	269,128	151,713	878,587	1,299,428
1912	280,801	178,983	838,172	1,297,956
1913	286,604	229,335	1,197,892	1,713,831

The enormous increase in tourist travel is being felt by every country in the world and every year the number who make the world tour is growing. The inevitable effect of this intermingling of peoples is a larger knowledge of world conditions, quickened international sympathy and unification in the life of the world.

Vast as is the throng that travels, it is a vaster throng that stays at home. And to them the world is being daily brought in a marvelous way. The development of photography and its reproduction for the press is affording a medium of education through the eye which immensely supplements the information of the printed page. Conditions of life in every part of the globe are made known through the daily and periodical press. The happenings of yesterday among our antipodes are current news to-day. The film companies have taken advantage of the interest in world events to feature the week's happenings in moving pictures in every village and hamlet in the country. In this way, by dispatches and pictures, the life of the world is being practically isochronized.

What has been said of the influences which are making for international knowledge and association in the United States may be said with varying degrees of applicability of all other immigrant-receiving countries.

It may be questioned why, if conditions are so favorable in the United States for the development of an international spirit, our nation does not rank higher among the nations of

the world as a participant in official international conferences. The reason is probably to be found in the comparatively isolated geographical position of the United States, while the European states by the very fact of their propinquity to one another are favorably situated for international coöperation. Another reason is that according to the Constitution the ratification of all treaties with foreign powers rests with the senate and that body has been known to reject treaties and conventions that have been approved by the President and the Department of State.

On the other hand the United States exhibits to the world the practical federation of forty-eight states with different racial admixtures and varying economic and industrial conditions. Differences arising between the states are peaceably settled by the federal courts. Coördination in both the legislative and administrative functions of the various states is taking place without the derogation of the sovereignty of the states. All this raises the question whether with increased communication, understanding and association between the sovereign powers of the world a practical federation will not be possible that will abolish war and promote the welfare of the whole human race.

## CHAPTER X.

### THE NATIONS AND OPIUM

It is the tendency of every movement for bettering the conditions of a particular group to enlarge in scope like the widening circles in a pool of water. But there must be contact between the parts moved. The denser the crowd the slighter need be the motion at the center to be felt at the circumference. It has been the economic movements of modern times, compacting the world into a sensitive whole, that have made internationalism a reasonable and necessary thing. It will be helpful to an understanding of this tendency to turn aside to study a particular movement which shows how a question which at first seems to affect only one nation grows in complexity until all the civilized nations are involved.

Perhaps as good an example as can be found is the opium problem. The smoking of opium was once looked upon as a vice largely confined to the Chinese. But today, through recent international effort, the municipal law of each of the principal powers of the world has been invoked to suppress the use of opium and cocaine in all their forms, for other than medicinal purposes.

The somniferous poppy was cultivated in early times by the Arabs, among whom the extraction and use of opium seem to have originated. By them it was probably introduced into China. A Chinese pharmacopoeia, prepared by imperial order about 973 A. D., mentions the medicinal property of its seeds. But it was considerably later that the seed capsules, of which opium is the inspissated juice, were used medicinally. In 1488 a Chinese author, Wang Hsi, gives directions for the

preparation of opium. As an article of import it paid a duty as early as 1589.<sup>1</sup>

Until modern times opium was principally used in two ways, by eating and smoking. It is the latter that has been most prevalent in China. About 1620 the Spaniards introduced tobacco from America into the Philippines, whence the smoking habit spread into China. At first opium was mixed with tobacco and finally it was smoked alone. The habit must have taken a powerful hold upon the Chinese for, in 1729, an imperial edict was issued against it. The sale of opium and the running of opium joints were prohibited and the penalties prescribed varied in severity up to death by strangulation.<sup>2</sup> This was the first attempt of China to deal with the traffic in a drug whose damaging effect upon its people had been observed for more than a century. It was the beginning of a struggle carried on for a hundred and eighty years, until the interests of the whole social order found a voice that was heard above the cries of the market place and the disabilities of a weak nation were removed through international coöperation.

There is a sense in which the opium problem was never a purely domestic one with China. At first, at least, opium was a foreign product, an article of external commerce. However much China might desire to live a self-contained and self-directed life, here was a commodity which forced its way in through the compelling power of commerce and the demands of a growing appetite. Now it is the right of every nation to regulate its foreign as well as its domestic commerce and to exclude entirely any commodity that it deems undesirable.<sup>3</sup> Accordingly, in 1799, China prohibited the importation of opium,<sup>4</sup> and from that day to this the imperial ban has never

<sup>1</sup> First Rept. Royal Commission on Opium, p. 148. British Parliament Papers, 1894, vol. 60.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 156.

<sup>3</sup> Vattel, "The Law of Nations." (Chitty's ed.) p. 38.

<sup>4</sup> Final Rept. Royal Opium Com. Vol. 7, p. 74, Brit. Parl. Papers, 1895, Vol. 42.

been raised. The exclusion of opium became, therefore, a purely national problem, and it was the plain duty of the government to adopt effective measures to carry out the imperial edict.

China's general policy of non-intercourse with foreigners seemed to make it probable that exclusion would be accomplished. Foreign commerce had been discouraged from the time a few adventurous Portugese began trading with China, soon after Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1498. Trading with Portugese, Dutch and English merchants, which at most was carried on in only a few ports, had, about 1757, been restricted by imperial decree to the single port of Canton.<sup>1</sup> To guard one port against a contraband trade would seem to offer no insurmountable difficulties to a fairly efficient government. But the very dislike and contempt for foreign commerce which ruled Chinese officialdom resulted in a scheme for its control which doomed to failure the effort to prevent a trade which was becoming increasingly lucrative. A merchant guild, called the "hong," was charged with the responsibility of all dealings with the "barbarians." The imperial decrees were transmitted to the foreign traders by the hong merchants through whom alone they, in turn, might communicate with the government. The weakness of this method of administration can readily be seen inasmuch as it made the regulation of a trade devolve very largely upon a set of men who were financially interested. This was a fundamental weakness in the attempt at national control of a prohibited trade.

China wished to have no relations with outside nations, other than those of commerce, and these she proposed to maintain below the threshold of governmental recognition. She denied the doctrine of the sovereignty of nations which is the very foundation of international law. She considered herself

<sup>1</sup> Sir John F. Davis, "The Chinese," p. 62.

the suzerain of the world to whom all other nations owed fealty. She refused to treat with any of them upon a basis which implied equality. Lord Macartney's embassy to Peking in 1792,<sup>1</sup> and Lord Amherst's in 1816,<sup>2</sup> were as unproductive of results as had been those of the Dutch and Portugese. The "kow-tow" was China's answer to the claims of national equality.

While it has been generally conceded that China had the right to regulate her commerce and to exclude opium if she so elected, it has been found harder to argue that she had a right to maintain a non-communicative attitude towards all other nations. Perhaps the inevitability that, in the march of world events, she must admit ambassadors to the "Court of Heaven" at Peking influence us in thinking that she had no natural right to hold herself aloof from the rest of the world. President Woolsey says: "Sovereignty in the strictest sense authorizes a nation to decide upon what terms it will have intercourse with foreigners, and even to shut out all mankind from its borders. . . . And yet some kind of intercourse of neighboring states is so natural, that it must have been coeval with their foundation, and with the origin of law; and it is so necessary that to decline it involves often extreme inhumanity; it is so essential to the progress of mankind that unjust wars have been blessings when they opened nations to one another. There could, of course, be no international law without it."<sup>3</sup>

It is extremely unfortunate that the establishment of free intercourse between China and the other nations was intimately associated with the opium traffic. Perhaps President Woolsey had this in mind when he spoke of the "blessings of unjust wars."

When the military forces of the British East India Company occupied Bengal and Behar, in 1758, they found a lucrative

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<sup>1</sup> Sir George Staunton, "Account of Lord Macartney's Embassy."

<sup>2</sup> Final Rept. Royal Opium Com. Vol. 7, pp. 78-84.

<sup>3</sup> T. D. Woolsey, "Introduction to the Study of International Law," p. 93.

monopoly in the opium trade carried on by natives. The servants of the company succeeded to this monopoly which was a source of large private gain. But when Warren Hastings became Governor-general, in 1773, he established the state monopoly which has continued to the present day.<sup>1</sup> A further monopoly was enjoyed by this company until 1834, and that was the trade with China. In 1782 the Calcutta government, being in need of funds, exported two shiploads of opium to China on its own account. The scheme was disapproved by the directors of the company and thereafter the government's proprietorship in opium ceased with its public auction at Calcutta.<sup>2</sup>

Even before the prohibitory edict of 1799, opium was looked upon as contraband and the Company's supercargoes in China objected to the trade as liable to involve them in difficulties with the authorities. Notwithstanding all this, the lucrative trade flourished and opium continued to flow with increasing volume into China. Receiving ships were anchored in the outer waters of the Canton River to which the ships from India delivered their opium. Canton merchants would give orders for opium on the receiving ships which would be executed by fast boats, called by the Chinese "fast crabs," or "scrambling dragons," which were manned by desperate smugglers whose business it was to evade the customs' authorities and deliver the opium to purchasers. This was made possible by the inefficiency of the Chinese preventive service and by the connivance of corrupt officials. The laxity in the enforcement of the prohibitory laws was taken by those interested in the traffic as proof that China was insincere in her attitude and that she did not really wish to exclude opium. It is quite probable that those merchants and corrupt officials who were profiting largely from its illicit sale did not care to have the laws

<sup>1</sup> J. Spencer Hill, "The Indo-Chinese Opium Trade."

<sup>2</sup> Final Rept. Royal Opium Com., Vol. 7, p. 11.

enforced. But the repeated attempts of China to free her sons from the opium curse, culminating in the heroic measures of the past seven years, must remove from her the aspersions of insincerity.

The national stage of the problem may be said to have ended in 1834, when the monopolization by the East India Company of the Chinese trade was terminated and England sent out Lord Napier to be the chief superintendent of British trade with China. The problem may now be said to have entered the duo-national or treaty stage. No treaty was as yet effected, but the instructions of Lord Palmerston, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to Lord Napier were to the effect that he was to communicate directly with the viceroy and not through the medium of the hong merchants. Nor were his communications to be in the form of "petitions." Such intercourse involved a national equality which the Chinese had always been careful to disallow. In his work on China, published in 1834, Peter Auber, the secretary to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, writes: "The Chinese nation has ever been, and still continues to be, decidedly opposed to the formation of any treaty by which a settled intercourse upon a reciprocal basis might be effected between it and other countries; China undeviatingly and successfully maintaining her policy of preserving her frontiers from the intrusion of strangers."<sup>1</sup>

As long as intercourse was purely commercial and carried on with the supercargoes of the East India Company, to whose interest it was to be subservient to the galling customs of the Chinese, the government was willing that trade should continue. Her policy was plainly stated by themselves: "The barbarians are like beasts, and not to be ruled on the same principles as citizens. Were anyone to attempt controlling them by the great maxims of reason it would tend to nothing

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<sup>1</sup> Peter Auber, "China," p. 394.

but confusion. The ancient kings well understood this, and accordingly ruled the barbarians by misrule. Therefore to rule barbarians by misrule is the true and best way of ruling them.”<sup>2</sup>

Pursuant to his instructions Lord Napier endeavored to communicate directly with the governor of Canton who returned his letter, indicating that the customs of the land must be observed and that the hong merchants were the only medium of intercourse with officialdom. In his report to the throne on the incident Governor Loo reflected the Chinese policy towards the representatives of foreign powers: “On the face of the envelope the forms and style of equality were used, and there were absurdly written the characters ‘ta Ying kwo’, ‘great English nation’ (for Great Britain) . . . Whether the said barbarian eye has or has not official rank, there are no means of thoroughly ascertaining. But though he be really an officer of the said nation, he yet cannot write letters of equality with the frontier officers of the celestial empire. As the thing concerned the national dignity, it was inexpedient in the least to allow a tendency to any approach or advance by which lightness of esteem might be occasioned. . . . England has heretofore had no interchange of official communications with the central, flowery land, and therefore what the said barbarian says cannot be permitted to be brought into operation.”<sup>2</sup>

The attitude of the Chinese officials may appear somewhat excusable inasmuch as it seemed to them that the appearance of Lord Napier was in some way connected with the illicit trade in opium. He continues: “At present, the barbarian ships which clandestinely sell opium in the outer seas are daily increasing. Just when the laws were being established to bring them to order there came this mad, mistaken barbarian eye. If at this time indulgence be at once shown to them they will

<sup>1</sup> Sir John F. Davis, “The Chinese,” p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> Chinese Repository, Vol. 3, pp. 327-330.

then advance step by step, begetting other foolish expectations.”<sup>1</sup>

Lord Napier's attempts to carry out his instructions utterly failed and his chagrin doubtless contributed to his illness and death the following year at Macao.

Another circumstance operated to increase the determination of the government to enforce the prohibitory decrees. In 1836 the value of the opium imported into China by the British merchants was computed to be about eighteen million dollars. This was a million dollars in excess of the exports.<sup>2</sup> The balance of trade was against China and had to be settled in Chinese sycee silver, against the exportation of which there were stringent regulations. The Chinese shared the opinions of the Bullionists that the export of precious metal was a national loss not to be countenanced. Heu Naetze, a member of the Sacrificial Board proposed, in a memorial to the throne, that the restrictions against opium be removed, that it be placed upon the list of dutiable articles and that it be received only in barter for Chinese goods.<sup>3</sup> The noble words of Choo Tsun, in a counter memorial, breathe a loftier patriotism: “The wide-spreading and baneful influence of opium, when regarded simply as injurious to property is of inferior importance, but when regarded as hurtful to the people, it demands most anxious consideration, for in the people lies the very foundation of the empire. Property, it is true, is that on which the subsistence of the people depends. Yet a deficiency of it may be supplied, and an impoverished people improved, whereas it is beyond the power of any artificial means to save a people enervated by luxury.”<sup>4</sup>

The movement for a relaxation of the repressive measures failed and, in 1839, a proclamation was issued that an imperial

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Final Rept. Royal Opium Com., Vol. 7, p. 144.

<sup>3</sup> Chinese Repository, Vol. 5, pp. 139-144.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp. 390-398.

commissioner had been appointed to put down smuggling. All ships having opium aboard must be sent away and smuggling stop or all trade would cease.

Commissioner Lin took the hong merchants sharply to task for the failure of law enforcement and also communicated directly with the foreign merchants. The pointed way he put things was rather embarrassing. "Why," said Lin, "do you bring to our land the opium which in your lands is not made use of, by it defrauding men of their property and causing injury to their lives? I find that with this thing you have seduced and deluded the people of China for tens of years past; and countless are the unjust hoards that you have thus acquired. Such conduct rouses indignation in every human heart and is utterly inexcusable in the eye of celestial reason."<sup>1</sup>

Lin demanded the surrender of all opium then in the receiving ships and bonds that no more opium would be imported. He detained the foreign residents in the British factory at Canton until his demands should be complied with. Captain Elliot, the superintendent of British trade, finding it imperative to yield to the commissioner, demanded the surrender to him by the British merchants of all the opium in the harbor "for the service of her Majesty's government." Accordingly, 20,283 chests of opium were turned over to the commissioner, who caused them to be destroyed.

The high-handed way in which Lin executed his commission led to the Opium War between England and China by which China was humbled and forced into treaty relations with England and the other principal powers. In his instructions to Sir H. Pottinger, who was empowered to conclude a treaty of peace with China, Lord Palmerston told him that while he was not to demand that the restrictions against the traffic be removed, he was to make as strong representations as possible

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., Vol. 7, p. 611.

to induce the Chinese government to remove its ban from the trade. He wrote: "Experience has shown that it is entirely beyond the power of the Chinese Government to prevent the introduction of opium into China; and many reasons render it impossible that the British Government can give the Chinese Government any effectual aid towards the accomplishment of that purpose."<sup>1</sup>

That Sir H. Pottinger was not remiss in the duties laid upon him may be gathered from his own words: "I have already urged so strongly and undeniably the advantages of legalizing the trade in opium by barter, that it is out of my power to add an argument to those I have already adduced."<sup>2</sup> The Chinese commissioners replied that the withdrawal of the prohibition against the traffic was impossible, but it would not be necessary to inquire as to whether the merchant vessels of various countries brought opium or not. So, while the Treaty of Nan-king, in 1842, did not mention opium, the effect of the war was to paralyze China in her efforts to exclude the hated stuff.

By the terms of the treaty full security and protection of the persons and property of British subjects were to be accorded and they were to be permitted to reside and trade in the ports of Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo and Shanghai; the island of Hong Kong was ceded to Great Britain; China was to pay six million dollars for the opium destroyed, three million more for the debts of insolvent hong merchants and twelve million dollars war indemnity; the monopoly of the hong was abolished; a fair and regular tariff was to be established; communication between officials was to be upon a footing of equality.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Papers relating to Opium Trade in China, 1842, 1856, p. 2, Brit. Parl. Papers, 1857, Vol. 43.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> See Hertslet, "China Treaties."

The "blessings" of this most unjust war were reaped by other nations as well as Great Britain. The United States and France signed commercial treaties with China in 1844.<sup>1</sup>

China had been forced to take the first step towards internationalism by acknowledging the sovereignty of nations, but a generation was to pass away before full diplomatic relations were established and "five foreign ministers had their first audience with the Emperor Tungchi, June, 1873, and stood before his throne as they presented their credentials."<sup>2</sup> It was extremely unfortunate that the circumstances attending the opening of a great nation to world intercourse, without which complete internationalism is impossible, were such as to outrage her moral sense and to give her grounds for believing that the interest of other nations in her was purely commercial and was inextricably involved with an illicit traffic. Her eyes were blinded to the inevitableness of world-intercourse by which she was to shake off the lethargy of ages and take her place among the nations of the world. E'er atonement was to be made for this grievous wrong through the co-operation of all the civilized powers there was to be great growth in international morality in which a large public recognition of the wrongs she had suffered was to play a conspicuous part. The voice of humanity was to be heard above the commercial clamor and England was yet to acknowledge that the moral degradation of a nation was not to be weighed against the gold of India.

The Treaty of Nanking did not alter the status of the opium traffic and, in 1843, Sir H. Pottinger warned the vessel owners against hoping to bring in opium under the new tariff, saying that the traffic still remained illegal and that they must assume

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<sup>1</sup> *Treaties Between China and Foreign States*, Vol. 1.

<sup>2</sup> S. Wells Williams, "A History of China," p. 124.

all the risks which attended smuggling.<sup>1</sup> But the effect of the war was to weaken the hands of the Chinese government in its efforts to suppress the traffic. This is borne out by the words of Sir John Davis who was appointed Governor of Hong Kong in 1844. He argued with the Chinese Commissioner, Keying, that a legalization of the opium traffic "would remove all chances of unpleasant occurrences between the two governments; that it might provide an ample revenue for the emperor, and check to the same extent the consumption of a commodity, which was at present absolutely untaxed. There seemed the less difficulty in adopting this step, as, since the peace, not a single edict had been issued against opium, which was openly carried about the streets in chests, and sold like any unprohibited article. But the Chinese Government appeared to think that it was less undignified to connive silently at a practice, than directly contradict all its former principles by openly legalizing it."<sup>2</sup>

This, then, was the status of the opium question at the close of the Opium War: the Chinese government, because of the drastic measures it had taken to prevent the importation of opium, had been forced to enter into a treaty with England by which the right of communication between the two nations upon terms of equality was established, and she was being urged by British officials to legalize the traffic which she now seemed powerless to prevent; the United States and France had seized the opportunity to negotiate similar treaties, the violation of which might become a *casus belli*. The last two powers were not interested in, or favorable to, the legalization of the opium traffic, but they were interested in the maintenance of legitimate commerce and they realized that this could only be accomplished through the establishment of diplomatic relations with Peking. Russia was also interested in

<sup>1</sup> Chinese Repository, Vol. 12, p. 446.

<sup>2</sup> Sir John F. Davis, "China During the War and Since the Peace," Vol. 2, p. 44.

the project for she had missionaries in the Chinese Capital.<sup>1</sup>

The treaties were soon a dead letter in China and so lightly did that haughty nation value them that they were not forwarded to Peking, but were found among the effects of the viceroy when Canton was taken by the Allies in 1857. Lord Elgin wrote that year: "It is notorious that every (Chinese) statesman who has shown a disposition, since the Treaty of 1842 was concluded, to carry out its provisions faithfully in this quarter, has been disgraced, and that rewards and honors have been showered by the emperor on all who have pursued an opposite policy."<sup>2</sup>

The immediate occasion for the second war between England and China was the seizure by the latter government of a smuggling lorch, the "Arrow," which, while owned by Chinese, had obtained a British register at Hong Kong and when seized was flying the British flag. Canton was bombarded and captured by the combined British and French forces.

The United States had already been invited to coöperate with France and England in bringing pressure to bear upon China to grant rights of embassy at Peking, the opening of new treaty ports, a reduction in the tariff, religious toleration, coöperation in the suppression of piracy and the extension of the proposed treaty to all other civilized powers.<sup>3</sup> Inasmuch as these measures may fairly be said to contribute to the welfare of the whole social order they offered a legitimate field

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<sup>1</sup> Prior to this time four treaties had been concluded between Russia and China: (1) The Treaty of Nerchinsk, Aug. 27, 1689, fixing the boundary line, providing for passports and recognizing the principles of extritoriality; (2) The Treaty of Kiakhtha, Oct. 24, 1727, refixing the boundary, providing for trading expeditions to Peking once every three years, the establishment in Peking of a Russian ecclesiastical mission, the method of diplomatic correspondence and the treatment of fugitives; (3) a revision of the Treaty of Kiakhtha in 1858; (4) the Treaty of Kuldja, July 25, 1851.

<sup>2</sup> Corres. Earl of Elgin's Special Missions to China and Japan, p. 21. British Parl. Papers, 1859, sess. 2, Vol. 33.

<sup>3</sup> 36th Cong. 1st Sess. Sen. ex. doc. 30, p. 7.

for international coöperation. The invitation of Great Britain plainly involved the use of military force and this the United States was unwilling to sanction. Secretary of State Cass, in his instructions to William B. Reed, who was appointed envoy to China in 1857, said that he was to aid in the accomplishment of the aims of the Allies by peaceful coöperation. Regarding the attitude of the United States to the opium question he wrote: "The effort of the Chinese Government to prevent the importation and consumption of opium was a praiseworthy measure, rendered necessary by the prevalent use and terrible effects of that deleterious drug. . . . Upon proper occasions, you will make known to the Chinese officers with whom you may have communication that the government of the United States does not seek for their citizens the legal establishment of the opium trade, nor will it uphold them in any attempt to violate the laws of China by the introduction of that article into the country."<sup>1</sup>

Upon Mr. Reed's arrival in China the envoys of the four powers, England, France, Russia and the United States, fired a documentary broadside at the dragon throne, demanding compensations for losses, the righting of grievances and diplomatic representation at the Chinese capital.<sup>2</sup> They stipulated that they should be met at Shanghai before the end of the succeeding month by envoys empowered to negotiate new treaties or they would approach nearer the capital. The answer was a refusal of the right to communicate with Peking. From Shanghai the four envoys, with men-of-war, proceeded to the mouth of the Peiho river where the demands were reiterated, only to meet with refusal. England and France determined to capture the Taku forts at the mouth of the river and enforce their demands at Tientsin. The United States and Russia did not participate in the hostilities, but their

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 122 ff.

plenipotentiaries accompanied the others to Tientsin. Here, at last, envoys were found whose powers were full enough to enable them to negotiate treaties.

The first treaty to be signed was that with the United States which established the right of our highest diplomatic representative to correspond on terms of perfect equality and confidence with the officers of the Privy Council at the capital, and to visit and sojourn at Peking when occasion demanded, not oftener than once a year. The next article stipulated that more favorable terms touching residence of the embassy at Peking secured by any other power should at once accrue to the United States. England secured the right to maintain a permanent embassy at the capital and to acquire the necessary property.

No mention was made in the American treaty of opium, although Article 33 of the former treaty expressly prohibited any American from engaging in the trade. The reason for the omission is given by Ambassador Reed: "In one of the few interviews I have had with Lord Elgin he expresses the strong wish that the word 'opium' should be omitted in the American and Russian treaties. He seemed to think, and I thought with some reason, that it was a reflection on England, who derived a large revenue from the trade, and he assured me that if I would accede to this he would not attempt to legalize the trade by treaty, as he was instructed to do."<sup>1</sup> To be sure the English treaty did not mention opium, but according to Article 26, a revision of the tariff was to be agreed upon later and to be made a part of the Treaty of Tientsin. Such a revision was made about three months later at Shanghai. By that agreement opium was removed from the list of contraband and freely admitted upon the payment of a prescribed duty. S. Wells Williams, who was secretary to Ambassador Reed, says: "In this part of the negotiations the controlling power was

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 357.

properly left in the hands of the British, for their trade was worth more than all others combined. They used this power most selfishly, and fastened on the weak and distracted Empire a veritable remora, which has gone on sucking its resources without compunction or cessation.”<sup>1</sup>

This action of Ambassador Reed in agreeing to the tariff which legalized the opium traffic was not in conformity with his instructions, nor consistent with his own estimate of the situation: “The two wars with which China has been afflicted, in 1839 and 1856, have been confessedly wars of injustice and wrong; or, in other words, they were instances of the unscrupulous application of power under the influence of a sordid or sudden impulse, and one effect has been to impress deeply upon these helpless heathens the idea that the power of western nations is at hand, not for purposes of real justice, but as a sort of permanent threat that, if any natural interest be interfered with however illegitimate, this power will be ruthlessly used to their destruction.”<sup>2</sup>

After the Treaty of Tientsin, China was in the anomalous position of legalizing the importation of a drug which it was not legal for its people to use or handle. The imperial prohibition was never abrogated and was to be renewed nearly fifty years later under more favorable international circumstances. Four great nations of Christendom had been allied in bringing pressure to bear upon her to join the glorious company of treaty powers and they had taken advantage of the situation to negotiate a treaty which legalized a traffic which outraged her moral sense, and all this because the British government had a monopoly of Indian opium and wanted a profitable market for her wares.

The United States extricated herself from complicity in the traffic when, in 1880, she signed the Supplemental Treaty of

<sup>1</sup> S. Wells Williams, “The Middle Kingdom,” p. 657.

<sup>2</sup> 36th Cong. 1st sess., Sen. ex. doc. 30, p. 434.

Peking, which prohibited her citizens from trading in opium in China, expressly waiving the most favored nation clause in this particular. Later, in 1887, this prohibition was made a part of the municipal law of the land by an Act of Congress.

It is not for a moment to be supposed that the moral sentiment of England suffered the governmental policy, touching the production and marketing of opium among an unwilling people, to continue unchallenged or unrebuked. Troublesome benevolent and missionary societies did not allow the vested interests to indulge any delusion that they were engaged in a philanthropic work. The revenue of India did not look well when placed in the balances of Christian opinion against the moral and physical degradation of a helpless nation. In 1874, the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade was organized with the Earl of Shaftesbury as its first president. Agitation against the traffic was kept up until, in 1891, 3,352 petitions for the suppression of the opium trade, containing 192,106 signatures, were presented to Parliament and the House of Commons passed a resolution that the system by which Indian opium was raised was "morally indefensible."<sup>1</sup> In 1893, the Queen appointed a Royal Opium Commission which made an exhaustive study of the subject, both in England and India. Its report, in 1895, was very disappointing to the reformers and has the aspect of a defense of vested interests. It held that "the use of opium in India should be viewed in the same light as the use of alcohol in England. It may be harmful, harmless or beneficial according to the measure and discretion with which it is used." The almost unanimous testimony of missionaries to the evils of opium was discounted on the ground that, as total abstainers, they were not qualified to testify as to its deleterious effects.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hansard, 352, p. 285.

<sup>2</sup> Final Rept. Royal Opium Com., Vol. 6, p. 93.

Fate decreed that in 1898, the United States was to become a near neighbor of China and to assume, as a part of its responsibility in administering the affairs of the Philippine Islands, the burden of dealing with the opium problem. Under the Spanish regime it was unlawful for the Filipinos to use opium, but resorts were licensed for Chinese patrons only. The passing away of Spanish law resulted in a large increase in the use of opium, not only by the Chinese but by the natives, and some effective means were sought to suppress the traffic. The proposition that the Philippine Commission farm out the monopoly was strongly opposed and a committee of three was appointed to visit Japan, Formosa, Upper Burma and Java, to make investigations and to report their conclusions and recommendations. The report, made June 15, 1904, recommended a government monopoly until its total prohibition, except for medicinal purposes, on March 1, 1908.<sup>1</sup> In accordance with these recommendations Congress, in fixing the tariff of the Philippines, provided that after March 1, 1908, the importation of opium into the Islands, except for medicinal purposes, should be absolutely prohibited.

The report of the Philippine Opium Commission was largely circulated in China and revived the hopes of that people that now, at length, with the help of England and other powers she might concert measures for the suppression of the opium traffic. This hope was strengthened by evidence that an aroused public opinion in England was creating an atmosphere that was becoming oppressive in the halls of Westminster. A great falling off in the revenues from opium exported to China also had its effect upon a certain type of mind.

Nor was China ignorant that the injustice of the situation forced upon her was causing vigorous agitation in the United States which was seeking an opportunity for mediation with England. Such opportunity was thought to present itself at

<sup>1</sup> 59th Cong., 1st Sess., Sen. ex. doc. 265.

the close of the Boxer uprising when international intervention was necessary to rescue the imperilled legations at Peking. A petition, signed by the representatives of thirty-three missionary organizations at work in China, by college presidents and commercial organizations, was presented to Congress, in 1900, asking that in the revision of treaties which would likely ensue the United States Government use its influence to secure for China the right to exercise its police powers for the exclusion of foreign opium. The measures were ineffective because the Boer War made it an inopportune time to press the matter upon the attention of the British Government.

Another opportunity seemed to present itself when the fall of Port Arthur was imminent in 1904. At that time the International Reform Bureau revived the former petition and secured a hearing before the State Department on November 10, at which various missionary, philanthropic and commercial organizations advocated the leadership of the United States in the promotion of international morality. That leadership was to find expression two years later in the proposal for an International Opium Commission.

It was under these favorable conditions that the famous Chinese imperial rescript of September 20, 1906, was issued: "Since the restrictions against the use of opium were removed, the poison of this drug has practically permeated the whole of China. The opium smoker wastes time and neglects work, ruins his health and impoverishes his family, and the poverty and weakness which for the past few decades have been daily increasing amongst us are undoubtedly attributed to this cause. To speak of this arouses our indignation, and, at a moment when we are striving to strengthen the Empire, it behooves us to admonish the people, that all may realize the necessity of freeing themselves from these coils, and thus pass from sickness unto health. It is hereby commanded that within a period of ten years the evils arising from foreign and native opium be

equally and completely eradicated. Let the Government Council frame such measures as may be suitable and necessary for strictly forbidding the consumption of the drug and the cultivation of the poppy, and let them submit their proposals for our approval."<sup>1</sup>

Two months before the promulgation of this edict, Bishop Brent, of the Philippines, who had been a member of the Philippine Opium Committee, wrote to President Roosevelt suggesting some concerted action by the representatives of the nations interested in the opium problem.<sup>2</sup> The letter received the endorsement of Secretary of War Taft, who had transmitted the report of the Philippine Opium Committee to the President, and Secretary of State Root entered into correspondence on the subject with China, France, Germany, Great Britain, Japan, the Netherlands and Portugal.<sup>3</sup>

The problem now entered upon its truly international stage. There had been an international question to be resolved when, in 1858, the Allies determined to force China to accord to all nations the right of embassy and unfortunately, as we have seen, with their success the legalized traffic in opium rode in on the crupper. But the opium trade itself was not then, as it now became, a truly international question. It was a treaty matter in which the paramount interests of England dominated the situation. It will appear more plainly, as we proceed, that the interests of humanity as a whole were served by the coordinated efforts, first of a few and then of all the civilized nations.

Favorable replies were received from all the powers addressed. Sir Edward Grey, for Great Britain, made two valuable suggestions. The first was, that instead of an international conference, as proposed by the Secretary of State, an international commission should be held and, second, that prior

<sup>1</sup> Peking Gazette, Sept. 20, 1906.

<sup>2</sup> 61st Cong., 2d. Sess. Sen. doc. 377, p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> 60th Cong., 1st Sess. H. doc. 926.

to the assembling of the commission each delegation should make a thorough study of the subject of opium and other habit-producing drugs within its own national domain. The difference between a conference and a commission lay in their powers. In the former the plenipotentiaries would have the power to commit their governments to the convention, or resolutions adopted, subject to ratification, while in the latter the conclusions would be suggestive only and without binding effect. England was naturally sensitive upon the subject and was unwilling to have her treaties with China come within the purview of the delegates. Earl Grey said that England was willing to consider means for diminishing the opium habit if the Chinese Government intended to restrict the output of the native product, otherwise it would be useless for England to sacrifice her Indian revenues only to increase the profits of Chinese poppy-growers.<sup>1</sup> The International Opium Commission was accordingly called to meet at Shanghai, February, 1909.

In accordance with the Chinese prohibitory edict of 1906, a series of regulations was promulgated and designed to extinguish the opium traffic in ten years. These regulations provided for a survey of the poppy fields under cultivation with the intent to reduce the acreage by one-ninth each year for nine years. Permits were to be issued to habitual users (estimated to number about a hundred million) which would enable them to buy opium in decreasing quantities until a prescribed time limit for giving up the drug entirely was reached by each. Officials and literati were to be dealt with severely on account of their example and if they persisted in the use of the drug were to lose their positions and diplomas. All opium dens were to be closed in six months and opium to be purchasable only at licensed shops which were to make annual reports. Opium remedies were to be sold at a low, fixed price or given

<sup>1</sup> China Papers, No. 1, Brit. Parl. Papers, 1908, Vol. 125.

away. The formation of anti-opium societies was to be encouraged and a campaign of education conducted. Negotiations were to be entered into with the opium-producing countries looking to the reduction of the exportation of opium into China *pari passu* with her reduction of the cultivation of the poppy.<sup>1</sup>

In conformity with this latter regulation the Chinese Minister transmitted, January 25, 1907, to Sir Edward Grey, from the Wai-wu Pu, or Chinese Foreign Office, a proposal that each year the export of opium from India be reduced one-tenth, looking to its complete cessation in ten years, that a Chinese official be stationed at Calcutta to watch the exports of opium and that the duty on Indian opium be doubled. Inasmuch as the claim had often been made by the apologists for the Indian policy that China was not sincere in her efforts to stop the importation of opium, it was quite natural that England should wish to satisfy herself of China's sincerity. The agreement was entered into in 1907, for three years with the understanding that if China made suitable progress in reducing the area of poppy cultivation the agreement would be extended to the remaining seven years.<sup>2</sup>

Reports from British officials in China charged to investigate the success of China's campaign left no doubt in the minds of the British Foreign Office that she was deadly in earnest.<sup>3</sup> Succeeding edicts strengthened the first one and, in 1908, an imperial commission was appointed to take effective measures to enforce the prohibition against opium smoking among officials and as a result many mandarins lost their buttons. So in 1911, England agreed to progressively reduce the export of opium until it should be extinguished in 1917. It further agreed that Indian opium should not be conveyed to any province of China, that, prior to that time, shall have effectively

<sup>1</sup> Brit. For. Office, China Papers, No. 1, 1908.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> British For. Office, China Papers, No. 1, 1909.

suppressed the cultivation and importation of native opium.<sup>1</sup> Of this agreement Hamilton Wright says in his report of the International Opium Commission: "The agreement of 1907, between Great Britain and China, and the modification of that agreement of May 8, 1911, is perhaps the finest example of the comity of nations recorded in modern times. After a controversy sustained for over 100 years both parties to the Indo-Chinese opium trade have determined upon the gradual and effectual suppression of that trade, and one of them—China—has agreed, and has so far most effectively carried out its agreement, to suppress an internal production of opium six times greater than the foreign traffic in the drug."<sup>2</sup>

The International Opium Commission<sup>3</sup> convened in Shanghai, February 1, 1909. There were representatives from Austria-Hungary, China, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, Persia, Portugal, Russia, Siam and the United States. These powers were felt to have peculiar interests in the problem because of relations with the Far East. But later, when an international conference was held which proposed conventions which should have the force of international law, it became apparent that all nations must co-operate in any regulations that would be effective.

Each delegation to the commission submitted a report of its investigations upon the problem in its own state. In this way a world-wide view of the question was afforded the Commission. Any narrower view of a question will not permit of an international solution, that is, one having in view the interests of the whole social order. It would be reasonable to expect that the conclusions and recommendations of the international commission would be quite different from those of the *ex parte* Royal Opium Commission of 1895, which viewed the question in the light of British advantage.

<sup>1</sup> British Treaty Series, 1911, No. 13.

<sup>2</sup> 62nd Cong., 2d Sess., Sen. doc. 733, p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Report International Opium Commission, 2 vols.

While the commission was restricted in its powers to "recognizing," "finding," "recommending" and so on, it set forth some pretty plain implications as to international duty. It "found" that nearly every country represented had a system of regulating the opium traffic inclining to increasingly severe measures. The implied duty was so plain that the commission did not find it necessary to record it: if the principal powers of the world find it right and expedient to prohibit the importation of opium it is their duty to assist a weaker nation to maintain its defenses against the drug.

The Commission also found that each government represented had strict laws against the smuggling of opium into its territory. They expressed the judgment that reasonable measures should be adopted to prevent the export of opium to a country prohibiting its importation. That is tantamount to saying that a nation that wishes to be considered internationally moral should not permit a sister nation to be debauched by that against which it protects its own citizens. If China wished to exclude opium it was morally wrong for any nation to export the drug to China while excluding it from its own shores. It reminds us of the words of Commissioner Lin in 1839, "Why do you bring to our land opium which in your land is not used?"

The gist of the nine resolutions of the Commission are as follows: (1) recognizes the sincerity of China in her anti-opium struggle; (2) recommends suppressive legislation in every land; (3) urges governments to re-examine their systems of regulation in the light of the experience of other nations; (4) avers it to be the duty of each government to prevent the export of opium to prohibiting countries; (5) urges drastic measures against the spread of the morphine habit; (6) expresses the advisability of a scientific study of anti-opium remedies and of the effects of opium and its derivatives; (7) urges the closing of all opium divans in foreign concessions in China; (8)

recommends coöperation with Chinese authorities to prohibit the manufacture of anti-opium remedies containing opium or its derivatives; (9) recommends an extension of the national pharmacy laws to subjects doing business in China.

The International Opium Commission, because of its limited powers and the few governments participating, did not exhibit a full degree of international coöperation. But it did express a willingness upon the part of the powers most concerned to confer with each other upon a subject of considerable delicacy, and to seek some solution in the light of world conditions. This was an encouraging manifestation of the spirit of internationalism.

The Commission voiced sound principles of international conduct and kept in the foreground international duties rather than national rights. It suggested measures by which coördination might be attained by the various nations in their dealings with the subject. The findings of the Commission indicated the probability that a formally constituted international conference could adopt a convention which would be ratified by the various governments. The Commission therefore prepared the way for the calling of an international conference and suggested the line along which coöperative action was likely to move.

On September 1, 1909, the United States, through its State Department again addressed the powers represented at the International Opium Commission relative to the calling of a conference to conventionalize the recommendations of that Commission. All the governments except Austria-Hungary and Turkey approved the plan. Great Britain expressed the desire that cognizance should be taken of the problem presented by the rapid spread of the use of morphine and cocaine. She also said she would not discuss her treaty arrangements with China.

The First International Opium Conference met at the Hague, December 1, 1912.<sup>1</sup> All the powers represented at the Opium Commission sent envoys except Austria-Hungary. The principle of international conduct, which had been enunciated at Shanghai, relative to the duty of a nation not to export a commodity to another nation not wishing it, was established as a principle of international law. It is now settled, therefore, that when a nation declares that a certain commodity may not be imported within her territory it is the duty of every other nation, which acknowledges the obligation of international law, to prohibit its nationals from exporting said commodity to that country. The emphasis in the new internationalism is being laid upon duties rather than upon rights. Vattel said: "Every state has a right to prohibit the entrance of foreign merchandise; and the nations that are affected by such prohibition have no right to complain of it, as if they had been refused an office of humanity."<sup>2</sup> The newer point of view is: It is the duty of every state to prohibit its citizens from engaging in a traffic with another state which contravenes the laws of that state. This is not a derogation from the sovereignty of the state, but an acknowledgement that there are other sovereign states whose laws must limit the freedom of its own citizens.

Without taking up the articles in detail it may be said that they commit the nations who shall ratify them to undertake effective measures for the suppression of opium, morphine, cocaine and other habit-forming drugs, for other than medicinal purposes, prohibiting or regulating foreign and domestic commerce in the same. Chapter 4, provides for coöperation with China in her efforts to suppress the traffic in opium, morphine and cocaine.

Here, then, were the plenipotentiaries from twelve of the

<sup>1</sup> 62nd Cong., 2d Sess. Sen. doc. 733.

<sup>2</sup> Vattel, "The Law of Nations," (Chitty's ed.), p. 38.

leading states of the world who had formulated and signed a convention whose aim was the total suppression of opium and other habit-forming drugs for other than medicinal purposes. They were convinced that nothing short of the coöperation of all the powers of the world would render their work effective. The abstention of any nation would render nugatory the effects of the convention, for that country might become the base for the supply of the drugs which the other nations, for moral reasons, had agreed to suppress. The question was how to accomplish the universalization of the project. The measure adopted was novel in international procedure. An article was adopted by which the other thirty-four powers were to be invited to sign the anti-opium pledge, ratification by the signatory powers being made contingent upon the result. The Netherlands' Government was to correspond with the nations not represented at the conference and it was understood that the United States would use its influence to secure the adherence of the Latin-American republics. Accordingly, the Department of State instructed its diplomatic representatives to present to those republics arguments why they should coöperate in this important measure affecting world morals. The success of the United States in securing the promises of all but one of the American States to sign the convention speaks well for the solidarity of the western nations which has been fostered for several years by the Pan American Union. It was further agreed that if all the powers had not signed by December 1, 1912, the Netherlands' Government was to invite the signatory powers to send delegates to a second conference at the Hague to examine into the possibility of nevertheless depositing their ratifications.

The failure to secure the adherence of some twelve states was the occasion for the calling of the Second International Opium Conference which met at the Hague, July 1, 1913.

Before taking up the problem of the second conference mention should be made of the action taken by Great Britain whereby she freed herself from all complicity in the Chinese trade. On May 7, 1913, a resolution was introduced into the House of Commons again declaring the Indo-Chinese opium trade to be "morally indefensible" and calling upon the government to release China from her treaty obligation to admit the Indian drug, thus anticipating by four years the date at which China, according to the "ten-year agreement," should be free from importations from India. During the debate which followed, Under-Secretary of State Montague announced that India had abandoned the revenue derived from the sale of opium to China and, should China prove to be sincere in her efforts, no more opium would be sold to her. Thus ended, as far as the government was concerned, a trade which had existed since the British occupation of India in 1767.<sup>1</sup>

The problem before the second conference was how to secure the coöperation of the states which had not measured up to their international responsibility. An analysis of the situation was made and it was found that Austria-Hungary, Norway and Sweden had held back under a misunderstanding that adhesion required immediate changes in their municipal law which they were not ready to make. Switzerland took the ground that her position, as a non-opium producing country, could make no difference either way. Turkey and Greece alone declined to sign—Turkey for financial reasons, Greece assigning no reason. Three states sent no reply—Montenegro, Servia and Peru. Bulgaria and Uruguay had promised to sign but had failed to do so, and Rumania was unable to state her position.

It was plain that here was a chance for some missionary work upon the part of those nations that were convinced of the

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<sup>1</sup> Hansard, H. C. Deb. 5s. p. 2150 ff.

righteousness of the cause. The number of converts had grown from twelve to thirty-four, and of the twelve delinquents only two had refused to sign. So there was good reason to believe that with such moral suasion as might be exerted upon sovereign states the action might be made unanimous. During the session of the conference Peru signified her adherence. This added moral weight inasmuch as it had been felt that her reluctance to sign had been due to the fact that the coca leaves, from which cocaine is extracted, are principally grown in that country. Thus America stood solidly for the convention of 1912.

At the time of writing all the powers had signed the convention, except Austria-Hungary, Greece, Servia and Turkey. In February, 1915, the United States Minister to the Netherlands deposited the ratification of the United States.

The ratification of the Opium Convention of January, 1912, by the powers involves the passage by each of suitable legislation to carry out the intentions of the convention. The United States performed this part of its duty by the passage of two bills which were approved January 17, 1914.

It will be of great encouragement to reform agencies to reflect how agitation in a great moral cause, which at the time may seem futile, may ripen into international measures of universal scope. No moral problem is capable of a purely national solution. Agitation is at first generally carried on by a comparatively small number of enthusiasts and idealists, generally designated as "cranks," whose views are denounced as impractical by those whose ears are filled with the clamor of the market place. When a strong enough sentiment has been aroused to call for governmental action it is found that such is the intimate relation between states, owing to the marvelous growth of the means of communication, that effective measures cannot be attained short of international coöperation. What is true of moral measures is coming to be increasingly true of

economic and social measures. Hence the interest in internationalism as the ultimate stage of all problems which affect the general welfare.

It is a matter of congratulation that the United States led in this, as she has in other measures of international comity. She proposed the coming together of twelve nations to discuss the opium question. These twelve nations formulated measures for the suppression of the traffic which have been adopted without modification by all the principal powers of the world, establishing the principle that it is the duty of each nation to prevent its nationals from disregarding the prohibitions of another nation touching articles of import. And the adoption by the nations of the canons of these twelve apostles of international morality is destined to carry into the municipal law of every land penalties for engaging in a commerce which was once condoned and defended.

This may be some atonement for the wrongs inflicted upon China, and the redemption of the world from the trammels of the opium curse may be credited in no small degree to that non-Christian, but not non-moral country.

## CHAPTER XI.

### PRINCIPLES AND CONCLUSIONS

In the foregoing chapters we have studied the beginnings of a movement that is growing in proportions and significance each year. Before this particular mode of human activity was possible in any large degree it was necessary that the world should be discovered and delimited and that communication should be possible between the men of every race and clime. These results were accomplished by a neighborhood of European states so nearly equal in power that they became units capable of coöperating when the necessity or advantage became apparent. The changes wrought by modern inventions in the production and exchange of nations, caused a division of labor and an interdependence upon a world scale undreamt of in the days of national economic self-sufficiency. The nations were forced to recognize the necessity of coöperation even from the purely individualistic point of view.

We have seen what a unifying effect the theory of evolution gave to scientific thinking and how an awakened religious conscience sent men everywhere to hunt out the spiritually needy and bring them within the reach of a religion that teaches the unity of the race and the behoof of human brotherhood.

We have confronted a bewildering array of conferences, congresses, associations, and other manifestations of the international life of the world. These cannot all be of equal value from the point of view of the benefits which the growth of internationalism seems likely to confer upon the human race. They must represent different degrees of approach to what may be considered as ideal or normal internationalism. The question naturally arises, What are the elements in that form of coöperation which we call internationalism which

distinguish it from other movements for material or moral betterment? Upon what principles can we determine whether a collective or organized activity is entitled to be considered as a mode or manifestation of internationalism?

Normal internationalism may be said to contain three elements, (1) equality of status, (2) fullness of participation and (3) universality of interest. It will thus appear that internationalism is both qualitatively and quantitatively determined. Any form of collective activity which contains these elements may be said to be a mode of internationalism, and its approach to normal internationalism is measured by the proportions in which these three elements are present. It will be convenient to discuss these elements in the form of principles.

1. *The agents must coöperate upon a basis of equality.* This is indeed implied in the very notion of coöperation. As touches the relationship of states the principle is fundamental. Only sovereign states are considered capable of entering into treaty relations and only such participate in international conferences. "A state is sovereign, from the point of view of the law of nations, when it is independent of every other state in the exercise of its international rights externally, and in the manner in which it lives and governs itself internally."<sup>1</sup> In an international conference the smallest state stands upon an equal footing with the largest. "Russia and Geneva have equal rights."

China's refusal to have any intercourse with the other nations of the world, except upon the basis of their acknowledged inferiority, was a practical denial of the doctrine of sovereignty. There could be no full and complete internationalism as long as any nation assumed such an attitude. So the Allies considered themselves justified, in 1858, in using force to secure from China the admission of equality of status for all the

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<sup>1</sup> J. B. Moore, "Digest of International Law," Vol. I, p. 18.

powers. Since that episode China has acknowledged the obligations of international law and has taken her place in many international conferences.

It is not possible to enter into a discussion of the sovereignty of states, but some questions affecting internationalism thrust themselves forward. There are some fifty states and principalities, large and small, that are accepted as free and independent, capable of entering into negotiations with other powers and of taking part in an international conference. These are the nations which are capable of coöperating upon a basis of equality. While internationalism, as far as its official conferences are concerned, is limited, by the unwritten political constitution of the world, to independent states, there is a spirit about it that chafes under political conventionalities and the demands of etymological accuracy. In one of its manifestations it is coöperation between sovereign nations, but is it therefore settled that there are not large and important political groups, outside the pale of the admittedly independent states, whose racial solidarity or geographical situation entitle them to participation in world councils and whose coöperation seems to be demanded to round out a full measure of the international life of the world? Canada, India, Australasia, Cape Colony and other portions of the British Empire take no part in international conferences at which Cuba and Monaco, Luxemburg and Liberia have equal rights with the envoys of Great Britain, who sign conventions for and in behalf of her colonies and protectorates. Egypt lacks a degree of independence which would give her a seat at the council board. The former kingdoms of Finland and Poland have no voice.

When we recollect what part the vicissitudes of war and political fortune have played in the independence or subordination of peoples which seem to possess the characteristics of nationality, we do not feel at all confident that the whole human race is so nicely distributed within the half-hundred

independent states that there is even an approximation to representative participation in a world project. This is not saying that leadership must not remain with the enlightened and advanced nations of the world, or that the attainment of an internationalism that shall be thoroughly representative of all races and political groups of the world must not be gradual. But there are no grounds for congratulating ourselves that we have attained a full measure of internationalism when those nations which are recognized to-day as sovereign unite in a project. [There are many political and racial groups that are still in their childhood and are not capable of becoming independent states. For such, internationalism should mean the assistance of the strong nations to self-help and self-expression—not to exploitation and condemnation to a state of helpless and hopeless dependency.]

[There are indications of a growth in international morality and a disposition on the part of nations to assume the obligations which close association in a practically frontierless world plainly imposes. It is coming to be recognized that even the doctrine of national sovereignty has its limitations. No one holds today that any nation has the right to do anything it pleases regardless of the rights of others. It would be physically impossible for a nation to live in absolute seclusion to-day. The day of hermit nations has passed. Finding itself in a society of states with equal rights it must admit such a modification of the doctrine of sovereignty as a peaceful life with its neighbors requires. National individualism is as unsocial and anarchistic in its effects as individualism in persons.]

There was a clear recognition of the demands of international morality in the Opium Convention of 1912, which laid down the principle that a government must not permit its nationals to ship from its shores to another country any commodity to which that other nation refuses entrance at its ports. So it cannot be maintained with rigor that a sovereign nation is

"independent of every other state in the exercise of its international rights externally." And even the way it "lives and governs itself internally" is affected by the acts of international conferences in which it has participated and which involve changes in, or additions to, its municipal law.

There have been several attempts to deal with questions affecting the conditions of the child-races that show an appreciation of international duty on the part of the strong nations. One of the first questions of a broad character that was discussed in a council of nations was the African slave trade. Later the question of the importation of arms and alcohol into Africa received the attention of the same powers. The opium question involved international justice to a nation struggling against heavy odds to free itself from a habit that was rapidly destroying its people.

The principle of equality of status was violated in the attempt to establish a Confederation of Europe following the Congress of Vienna, in 1815. At the Conference of Troppau, in 1820, Austria, Prussia and Russia signed a protocol declaring that "states which have undergone a change of government due to revolution, the results of which threaten other states, *ipso facto* cease to be members of the European Alliance, and remain excluded from it until their situation gives guaranties for legal order and stability. If, owing to such alterations, immediate danger threatens other states, the Powers bind themselves, by peaceful means, or if need be by arms, to bring the guilty state into the bosom of the Great Alliance." That is, these three powers constituted themselves a committee on the credentials of sovereign states and passed a rule by which they might exclude from the society of equals any nation whose form of government did not satisfy them as meeting the requirements of "legitimacy." Great Britain, who was represented at the conference, declined to take part in the "creation of a species of general government in Europe, with

a superintending Directory, destructive of all correct notions of internal sovereignty."<sup>1</sup>

When we come to the consideration of the principle of equality of status as regards unofficial, or private congresses we find that these are more apt to be representative of all national groups than the official, for membership and status are determined by interest in the particular project and not by political distinctions. The representative of a national group is not debarred because his state does not enjoy complete independence. To secure the broadest results in any collective activity it is essential that all who take part in a congress have equal rights. Any abrogation of this principle prevents a near approach to normal internationalism.

2. *Participation must be open to all those who have like interests, and must be general.* The highest degree of participation is that in which every national group is represented. This may be termed omni-nationality, to use a word suggested by M. Paul Otlet.<sup>2</sup> In the realm of official conferences this degree has been attained by the Universal Postal Union which has the adherence of all the sovereign states. Omni-nationality may be attained gradually by the subsequent adherence of powers which were not represented when the original project was formed by a comparatively small number of nations. The Latin-American republics were not represented at the First Hague Conference, but later they signified their acceptance of its principles. They took official part in the Second Hague Conference. The twelve powers which took part in the First Opium Conference saw that the effectiveness of the measures concerted for the suppression of the traffic in opium, and other habit-producing drugs, depended upon their adoption by all the other powers. Accordingly steps were taken to secure the adherence of the remaining thirty-four states.

There may be full participation without omni-nationality

<sup>1</sup> Cambridge Modern History, Vol. 10, pp. 27-29.

<sup>2</sup> *Annuaire de la Vie Internationale*, 1908-9, p. 38.

when there is free coöperation between all who are interested in any particular project which, from its very nature, is limited to a comparatively small number of national groups. When the phylloxera was destroying the vines of Europe in the late 70's an international conference was called to adopt means to exterminate the pest. In this conference twelve vine-growing countries took part. The limited scope of a project of course affects the quality of its internationalism, as will be shown in considering the next principle, but as far as fullness of participation was concerned the Phylloxera Conference probably fulfilled the requirements of internationalism. Participation as wide as the interests involved is demanded.

Participation by other nations in a project of general interest may be stimulated by those powers which have led a movement. When the success or failure of the measures proposed by the First Opium Conference seemed to turn upon general coöperation by all the powers, it was not thought sufficient to simply invite them to sign the convention, but efforts were made through diplomatic channels to urge upon their attention cogent arguments why they should give their adherence to a matter of such vital interest to a large proportion of the human race. Peru was urged, in the interests of international good morals, to take a stand which seemed to be opposed to her own selfish interests. Moreover, Switzerland's position, that inasmuch as she had no opium problem to deal with, her adherence was a matter of indifference to the cause, was shown to be not well taken. Both these countries were persuaded to sign the convention. This reveals an educational side to internationalism even within diplomatic circles which, while necessarily quite limited, is nevertheless of value. It suggests some possibilities of international diplomatic missionary work which are interesting.

In the domain of unofficial congresses and associations the approach to normal internationalism is to be similarly determined. If the aim of an organization be to associate all

groups pursuing the same end, without distinction as to nationality or race, it possesses a high degree of internationalism. Those who restrict their coöperative efforts to a small number of nations possess a low degree of internationalism. There are some associations on this side of the Atlantic whose only claim to the title "international" is in the fact that they have a membership both in the United States and Canada. The same limitations apply to some European organizations. Anything "pertaining to or mutually affecting two or more nations" may properly be said to be "international," but it is not necessarily a mode of internationalism. A bridge across Niagara River is an international bridge, but can hardly be said to be an example of internationalism. On the other hand, the lighthouse on Cape Spartel, in the Straits of Gibraltar, is a manifestation of internationalism, for, in 1865, eleven powers signed a convention to coöperate with Morocco in its maintenance.

A glance at the chart on page 70 will show how far short of full participation some questions of very general interest fall.

3. *The end aimed at must be universal, that is, in the interests of the whole social order.* This does not mean that every movement which merits consideration as a mode of internationalism must envisage the entire interest of humanity. That would, of course, be an absurdity. But its aim should be such that, within the range of activity which the organization has set for itself, the interests of society in general, both within and without the bounds of race and nation, would be served. The sphere of activity may be very restricted, but the aim must be universal within that sphere. A very commonplace example may make the meaning clear.

In 1911, there was organized in Copenhagen the International Association for the Extermination of the Rat. Now the rat plays a very minor role in the whole social order. Yet the association would show a high degree of internationalism if its coöperative efforts should reach every rat-infested country so effectively that the bubonic plague should be suppressed

and the loss of property and life through fire caused by rats should be prevented. The universality in this case would reach the whole situation as far as the rat is concerned.

There have been many international conferences upon questions of a local or particular interest. For example, nations interested in certain systems of coinage have formed monetary unions. There is a Scandinavian Monetary Union of three members, a Latin Union of five countries, while the five Central American states have a similar union. These are all local. But interests of a much broader nature were represented at the four International Monetary Conferences held between 1865 and 1892.

The policing of the fishing waters of the North Sea, which was undertaken by six powers in 1882, concerns a smaller portion of mankind than the task of the Permanent International Council for the Exploration of the Sea in which eight nations, including the United States, have a part.

Certain technical questions connected with the operation of railways upon the continent have drawn seventeen powers into the *Unité technique des chemins de fer*. But the International Railway Congress, which has held eight congresses and maintains a permanent bureau at Brussels, represents a much wider interest, although it is an unofficial congress.

On this side the Atlantic there are international unions to advance particular interests. The Pan-American Union is formed of American republics which are presumed to have mutual interests to be conserved. Another union, still more restricted in its scope, is that of the five Central American states.

These official conferences and unions, which are limited in their interests and membership, must be considered to approach less nearly to ideal internationalism than such organizations as the Universal Postal Union, the Universal Telegraphic Union, the Universal Sanitary Union and the International Geodetic Association.

The multitude of unofficial congresses and associations represent all degrees of internationalism from the lowest to the highest. While many of them are narrow in their scope and limited in their membership, yet taken altogether they present remarkable evidence of the proportions which the international life of the world has attained.

What of the future growth of internationalism? Has it exhibited any tendencies which enable us to form a judgment as to what its growth will mean to the human race? Does it promise a fuller measure of self-realization to the life of the world?

We need not expect to find any tendencies in internationalism that are distinct from those observable throughout the world to-day. It is simply the life of the world showing above the fences. It is the aggregate of all the interests of thousands of groups distributed through all nations, each striving to attain the ultimate and universal in its own sphere. So the tendencies which internationalism may exhibit cannot be very different from the tendencies of life nearer the ground, so to speak.

1. *Internationalism leads away from absolutism towards democracy.* Absolutism stays itself upon authority. Internationalism does not concern itself with the "legitimacy" of any form of government if it be capable of coöperating to advance the general good. It germinated in those steamy days of unrest when men were questioning the grounds of legitimacy and were seeking to establish authority on something more substantial than patents of nobility and accidents of birth. The effort, in the early decades of the nineteenth century, to establish peaceful relations in Europe by the grace of three "holy" powers, pledged to suppress the rising tide of constitutionalism and democracy, was a failure. It had not yet been learned that the coöperation which was to advance world-unity and peace was not only quantitatively but also qualitatively different from secret treaties and diplomatic cabals

from which the people were excluded. Absolutism arranged the foreign affairs of a state to meet the needs of a royal exchequer, the interests of a dynasty, the whims of a monarch or his mistress. It had been a great shock to absolutism in Europe when a band of *sans culottes* in Paris had touched the holy ark entrusted to the hands of the ministries for foreign affairs. What the growth in constitutionalism, so much feared by Metternich and the Holy Alliance, meant for absolutism could hardly be missed inasmuch as the experiment of admitting the people to a voice in foreign affairs had been so conspicuously successful in the case of the American republic whose Constitution provided that all treaties with foreign powers should be made by the President "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate," and that the declaration and conduct of war were functions of Congress alone. In constitutional England the accountability of the office of foreign affairs to the people of England "in Commons" was clearly expressed by Secretary Canning in words already quoted.<sup>1</sup>

In marked contrast to the traditions of secret diplomacy are the conferences held by the powers to-day. The questions proposed for discussion are generally submitted to each government months, and sometimes years, before the assembling of the envoys. This gives time for the crystallization of public opinion on the subject which has undoubted weight in the decisions of the conference. Furthermore, it is demanded to-day that the proceedings of an international conference be made public.<sup>2</sup> Nations are coming to scrutinize the public acts of their envoys and foreign offices. The world at large is no less critical of the position which any individual nation takes in questions affecting the general welfare of the world. The trend, therefore, is away from absolutism and bureaucracy towards democracy under the strong feeling that public officials and foreign ministers are accountable to the people for

<sup>1</sup> Supra, p. 25

<sup>2</sup> Supra, p. 64

the policies they support and the adherence they give or withhold from measures which an enlightened public opinion hold to be for the good of society.

2. *Internationalism tends to be more and more concerned with the higher interests of mankind.* The first thing a nation has to fight for is its domain. So the early congresses were largely to settle boundaries and to determine status. When a nation is firmly established within its domain it can treat with its neighbors on such questions as the use and control of boundary rivers.

When its borders are crossed by railways and telegraph lines and its nationals engage in enterprises making use of the high seas, such as fishing, navigation and the laying of submarine cables, it finds it necessary to agree with other nations as to the control and regulation of these in the interests of the world's business. Then, too, it finds that the health of its people and protection against plagues that destroy man, beast and plant can only be secured through measures concerted with other nations. The expanding business of its nationals demands freer scope and enlarged facilities. So it joins with others in the establishment of a universal postal system, the standardization of weights, measures and time, the measurement of the earth's surface and the exploration of the sea, the publication of customs' tariffs, the exchange of official documents, the protection of industrial, artistic and literary property by international copyright and patent. Matters of mutual interest between nations were formerly settled by treaty, and the most favored nation clause was an attempt to establish some sort of uniformity. Now matters which affect many or all nations are gathered together in agreements or conventions in which the participation of all nations concerned is invited.

When the premises were once established that the growing oneness of the world from a commercial and sanitary point of view demanded international coöperation it was not difficult to argue that social and moral questions must seek the same

solution. So the African slave trade was finally abolished and the importation of firearms and alcohol into the Dark Continent regulated. Measures were adopted looking to the suppression of the white slave traffic and the circulation of obscene literature. The need of legislation to protect the working classes against dangerous employments and processes received the attention of the powers. One of the earliest concerns of international conferences was the mitigation of the evils of war and the definition of the rights of neutrals. Then the hope of the settlement of international disputes by arbitration was stimulated by the Hague Conferences. A long step forward in the establishment of an international ethical standard was taken in the Opium Conference of 1912.

The earlier conferences were largely engaged in the establishment of rights, the later in the adjustment of national life to the demands of international duties and obligations. This seems to justify the hope that even in the official international life of the world the moral and spiritual interests of mankind will have a larger attention and, under the influence of a growing world-consciousness, the dependent and backward peoples of the world will experience the force of an international brotherhood which narrow and selfish nationalism denied them.

In the domain of the unofficial congresses the spiritualizing tendencies are even more marked. There is no plan for the betterment of mankind that has not its international expression.

3. *Internationalism seeks to establish permanent relations between all interested in advancing the material and moral betterment of mankind.* Many of the earlier congresses were ephemeral. The representatives met, exchanged views and separated without any definite organization for continuing the work. Many of the congresses which came together under the somewhat artificial stimulus of the early world's fairs functioned but once and then ceased to exist. But the tendency towards permanency will be seen by examining the list of congresses and conferences given in the appendix and noting how

many of them have bureaus or some other form of continuation agency to render the work of the group permanent, cumulative and therefore efficient. Many of these bodies have fixed headquarters with a salaried staff. Berne, Brussels, the Hague and Paris are the favorite cities for such headquarters.

The fact that there are now so many international unions composed of states has stimulated the hope that the nations are moving rapidly towards world federation. This idea is particularly attractive to Americans who point to the federation of the forty-eight states of the Union and ask whether the federative tendencies of internationalism may not eventually result in a world union. The establishment of the Hague Tribunal and the increasing favor with which the project for international arbitration has been received everywhere have done much to stimulate this hope. It is hardly the time, when the nations of Europe are at war and the minds of men are confused with the strife, to make any bold predictions as to the success of future attempts at world federation.

There are conditions favorable to federation in the United States which do not obtain in the world at large. The language, the legal system, the educational ideals of the original states were an English heritage which has passed on to nearly all the succeeding states and the cosmopolitan population which has spread from sea to sea has been moulded into a national homogeneity under the influence of these ideals. The federation of forty-eight states, however varied their geographical features, with a homogeneous population, speaking the same language, is a far different matter from the federation of nations speaking different languages, with varying national ideals, possessing different degrees of culture and composed of different races. [What we are called upon to do in this study is to note the tendency of the various activities we have reviewed to unify the life of the world, and make a larger degree of co-operation possible in the future.] The need of an international language is recognized in the various attempts to create a

practical auxiliary language. But the situation in this regard is not very hopeful. Some progress has been made towards harmonizing the legal systems of the various states and remedying the conflict of laws. A body of international law has been accumulated, but with no power to enforce it. The educational systems of the world tend toward unification. Much international business is now carried on by means of successful unions supported by a large number of states. Racial prejudices are being softened through contact and association is increasing in many different ways. But the divisive force of a narrow nationalism still powerfully operates in the world and the subject which engages the attention of the world today is how to bring about a lasting peace in Europe. It is the same question which agitated the minds of nations weary of war one hundred years ago. It remains to be seen how the growth of internationalism during the past fifty years will cause the terms of peace to differ from those of the Congress of Vienna. It will rest very largely upon the terms of the peace how soon the influences which have produced such a large international life shall be permitted to resume their pacific work of unifying the world. It is not possible at this time to do more than to express the belief that after this fresh proof of the futility and destructiveness of war has had its effect upon the mind of the race that there will be a quickened interest in promoting the growth of internationalism which will result ultimately in world peace.

4. *Internationalism tends to equalize world conditions.* Conditions of economic and social inequality throughout the world tend to create unrest. This is especially the case when facilities for quick and cheap transportation are as abundant as they are to-day. The laborer, seeking to improve his economic condition, becomes a bird of passage whose flight north or south, east or west, is determined by industrial inequalities in the world field. Capital flows quickly to that part of the world which promises the largest and quickest returns, rather

than the surest. Men seek to escape the social and political inequalities and disabilities imposed by states that are reactionary and stagnant because unresponsive to modern stimuli.

The effect of internationalism is to level up the social and economic life of the world. It syndicates the knowledge of the best in the interests of all. As conditions are improved in the backward state, and the contrasts in economic opportunity become less sharp, the ties of the native land will be less easily sundered. The chances for immensely profitable investments in undeveloped and exploitable countries will fade away with improved conditions of control in their governments. The ignorance of values upon the part of natives which enabled the European trader to barter brass rings for ivory tusks or glass beads for furs is fast disappearing. Foreigners will receive fewer valuable concessions when native students return from American or European mining and technical schools equipped with the latest scientific knowledge.

5. *Internationalism tends to promote peace among the nations.* Internationalism means the association of men of various nations along the line of some particular interest, be it economic, scientific, aesthetic, religious or social. Whatever may be their political differences or national peculiarities they are united in the one interest that calls them together. They seek the best means of attaining a common purpose. Acquaintance begets respect, sympathy and a spirit of mutual helpfulness. As they plan together, enjoy the exchanges of courtesy and hospitality, the peculiarities of race, custom and speech fade away. The real unity of humanity is seen to be a spiritual one which underlies all the incidents of geographical distribution, climatic influences and isolation. So men come to understand each other, to feel that there is a substratum that is omni-national and omni-racial. Such an experience leads to world-consciousness, to a feeling that the interests of the whole social order are vaster than the interests of any one nation.]

Men who have caught such a world-vision, it may be only along some particular line of progress, are impatient of anything which interrupts and disturbs those helpful relations, anything which exalts the purely sectional and national. They loathe war, not only for its inhumanity and waste, but because it fosters that hatred which hinders the self-realization of the human race. Those who have attained the "international mind," are bound to be lovers of peace and haters of war.

There can be no doubt but that the bitter feelings engendered by the present war will retard the resumption of those cordial relations which existed between the men of the warring nations. But it cannot be doubted that when the smoke of battle rolls away and the misunderstandings caused by war-lies and hate-inspired misrepresentations have been cleared up, the wounds of war will heal far more quickly because internationalism has attained such a growth.

## VITA

The writer was born in Rochester, Minnesota, June 5, 1867, and six months later was taken to Minneapolis which was his home until 1905. He attended the public schools and was graduated from the University of Minnesota in 1889, receiving the degree of A. B. He was graduated from the McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, in 1893, and the same year was ordained to the ministry of the Presbyterian Church. After one year in city mission work in Minneapolis he spent a year in a tour of the world, traveling in Japan, China, India, Egypt and the Levant. Returning to Minneapolis in 1895, he lectured upon the Orient and a year later became editor and publisher of *The North and West*. During this time he served a term as a trustee of Macalester College. After the consolidation of *The North and West* with *The Interior*, of Chicago, in 1902, he continued to do editorial writing until he accepted a call to the Glen Avon Presbyterian Church of Duluth, Minnesota, in 1905. During his pastorate, he was a member of the Duluth Public Library Board and president of the Central Council of the Associated Charities. His interest in social problems led him to resign his pastorate in 1912 to take up graduate work at Columbia University under the Faculty of Political Science. He received his A. M. from Columbia in 1913. His subject of major interest was Social Economy and he attended the Seminars conducted by Professors Edward T. Devine and Samuel McCune Lindsay. His minors were Sociology and Economics.

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## APPENDIX

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The purpose of the Appendix is to exhibit to English readers the international life of the world as shown (1) in the official international conferences and (2) in private international congresses and associations.

The list of official conferences includes only those which deal with matters of a general and non-political character. The first column gives the date of the first conference on the subject, the second column the matter considered, the third column the number of states participating in the conference or adhering to the convention, the fourth column the number of conferences held, the fifth column the form of permanent organization and the sixth its headquarters.

The English names in the unofficial congresses in the second list may not in every case be the exact equivalents of the French or German titles, but comparison has been made with lists of the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library and the Columbia University Library. The first column gives the first congress as far as ascertainable, the third column the number of meetings held up to 1914, the fourth column the form of permanent organization and the fifth its headquarters.

The lists have been compiled largely from data furnished by *L'Annuaire de la Vie Internationale*, 1908-1909, 1910-1911, and bound volumes of *La Vie Internationale*, which are invaluable compendiums on the subject. It is hoped that English readers will hereby be enabled to judge of the development and scope of Internationalism.

### ABBREVIATIONS USED

Al.=Alliance	Cn.=Commission	Per.=Permanent
As.=Association	Cv.=Convention	Sec.=Secretariate
Bu.=Bureau	Fed.=Federation	Soc.=Society
Ce.=Committee	Inst.=Institute	U.=Universal
Cf.=Conference	Lg.=League	Un.=Union
Cg.=Congress	Of.=Office	Unif.=Uniform
Cl.=Council	Or.=Order	Vs.=Against

## OFFICIAL CONFERENCES

Org'd	SUBJECT	No. States	No. M'tings	Per. Org'n	Headqu'rs
1815	African Slave Trade . . . .	16	5	Bu.	Brussels
1826	I. Cf. of Panama . . . .	4			
1851	I. Sanitary Cf. . . . .	36	12	Un.	Paris
1863	U. Postal Un. . . . .	50	11	Bu.	Berne
1863	Sugar Union . . . . .	11	10	Bu.	Brussels
1864	Geneva (Red Cross) Cf. . .	10		Ce.	Geneva
1864	I. Geodedic As. . . . .	21	16	Bu.	Berlin
1865	Cape Spartel Lighthouse . .	11	1		
1865	Latin Monetary Un. . . .	5	8		
1865	U. Telegraphic Un. . . .	30	10	Bu.	Berne
1867	I. Monetary Cf. . . . .	19	4		
1872	Scan. Monetary Un. . . .	3			
1875	I. Cf. on Wts. & Measures .	28	5	Bu.	Paris
1878	I. Phylloxera Cf. . . . .	12	2		
1878	Railway Freight. . . . .	12	7	Of.	Berne
1880	I. Patents . . . . .	20	8	Bu.	Berne
1881	Suez Sanitary Cl. . . . .	15		Cl.	Alexandria
1882	Policing North Sea . . . .	6			
1882	Protec. Submarine Cables .	31	4		
1882	Railway Technique . . . .	15	3		
1884	I. Copyright . . . . .	33	5	Bu.	Berne
1885	I. Exch. of Works of Art . .	9	1		
1886	I. Exch. of Pub. Doc's.. . .	31	1		
1886	Sale Alco. to Fishermen . .	6	1		
1888	S. A. Cg. Private I. Law . .	5	1		
1888	Pub. Customs' Tariffs . . .	29	2	Bu.	Brussels
1888	I. Cf. on Penal Law . . . .	5	1		
1889	I. Maritime Cf. . . . .	19	1		
1889	Pan-American Cf. . . . .	18	4	Bu.	Washington
1890	Legal Protec. of Labor . . .	13	3		
1893	Private I. Law . . . . .	16	4		
1898	Meas. of Cargoes . . . . .	4	1		
1899	First Peace Cf. . . . .	27	1		
1899	Hague Tribunal . . . . .	41		Bu.	Hague
1899	Marine Exploration. . . . .	8	11	Bu.	Copenhagen
1899	Reg. Alcohol in Africa . . .	11	2		

## OFFICIAL CONFERENCES—Continued

Org'd	SUBJECT	No. States	No. M'tings	Per. Org'n	Headqu'rs
1899	Classif. Causes of Death . . .	33	2	Bu.	Paris
1900	Preser. African Wild Animals . .	6	1		
1902	Unif. Form. Power. Drugs . . .	16	1		
1902	Pan-Amer. Sanitary Un. . . . .	15	5	Bu.	Washington
1902	Protec. of Useful Birds . . . .	11	1		
1902	Suppres. White Slavery . . . .	15	3		
1903	I. As. of Seismology . . . . .	21	1	Bu.	Strasburg
1905	I. Cf. on Maritime Law . . . .	24	4		
1905	I. Inst. of Agriculture . . . .	40	1	Ce.	Rome
1906	Radiotelegraphic Un. . . . .	27	2	Un.	Berne
1906	Cen. Amer. Cf. . . . .	4	5	Bu.	Guatemala
1907	Cen. Amer. Ct. of Justice . . .	5	1		San Jose
1907	Pan-American Ry. . . . .		1		
1907	Second Peace Cf. . . . .	45	1		
1908	I. Naval Cf. . . . .	10	1		
1908	Cen. Amer. Pedagog. Inst. . .	5	2		San Jose
1908	I. Saccharine Cf. . . . .	10	2		
1908	Reg. Arms in Africa . . . .	13	1		
1909	World's Map . . . . .	22	1	Ce.	London
1909	Cen. Amer. Monetary Un. . .	5	2		
1909	Running of Automobiles . . .	19	1		
1909	I. Opium Cn. . . . .	12	1		
1910	Commercial Statistics . . . .	20	1	Bu.	
1910	Aerial Navigation . . . . .	17	1		
1911	S. Amer. Postal Un. . . . .	10	1	Bu.	Montevideo
1911	Fur Seals. . . . .	4	1		
1912	I. Opium Cf. . . . .	42	2		
1912	I. Cf. of the Hour . . . . .	16	1		

## UNOFFICIAL CONGRESSES, ASSOCIATIONS, ETC.

Org'd	I. ECONOMIC INTEREST	No. M'tings	Per. Org'n	Headqu'rs
1848	I. Cg. of Agriculture . . . . .	13	Cn.	Paris
1860	I. Brewers' Cg. . . . .	5		
1862	I. Cg. of Pomology . . . . .	4		
1869	I. As. of Hotel Men . . . . .	42	Cl.	Cologne

## UNOFFICIAL CONGRESSES, ASSOCIATIONS, ETC.—Continued

Org'd	I. ECONOMIC INTEREST	No. M'tings	Per. Org'n	Headqu'rs
1872	I. Cg. of Silk Culture . . . . .	4		
1873	I. Cg. of Agric. & Forestry . . . . .	2		
1873	I. Cg. on Indus. Prop. . . . .	3		
1874	I. Cg. for Unif. Meas. of Textiles . . . . .	3		
1877	I. Cg. of S. Amer. Lawyers . . . . .	1		
1878	I. Engineering Cg. . . . .	5		
1878	I. Cg. for Devel. of Transportation . . . . .	1		
1878	I. Cg. of Commerce & Industry . . . . .	7	Cn.	
1880	I. Cf. on Agric. Meteorology . . . . .	1		
1881	I. Cg. of Direc's Agric. Sta's. . . . .	3		
1881	I. Cg. of Contractors of Pub. Works . . . . .	1		
1883	I. Soc. of Electricians . . . . .		Ce.	Paris
1883	I. Cg. of Horticulture . . . . .	6		
1885	I. Tramway Cg. . . . .	18	Ce.	Brussels
1885	I. Railway Cg. . . . .	8	Cn.	Brussels
1886	I. Cg. of Glassworkers . . . . .	13	Sec.	Berlin
1889	I. Cg. of Printers . . . . .	6	Sec.	Stuttgart
1889	I. Cg. of Pigeon Fanciers . . . . .	2		
1889	I. Un. of Hatters . . . . .	8	Sec.	Altenburg
1889	I. Cg. of Marine Works . . . . .	2		
1889	I. Cg. for Utiliz. of Rivers . . . . .	1		
1889	I. Cg. of Mines & Metallurgy . . . . .	6		
1889	I. Grain & Flour Cg. . . . .	1		
1889	I. Cg. of Bakers . . . . .	5		
1889	I. Cg. of Proces. of Construction . . . . .	1		
1890	I. Cg. of Agric. Botany . . . . .	1		
1890	I. Un. of Tobacco-workers . . . . .	8	Sec.	Bremen
1890	I. Fed. of Miners . . . . .	23	Sec.	Manchester
1891	I. Un. of Wood-workers . . . . .	7	Sec.	Berlin
1892	I. Un. of Elec. Stations . . . . .	8	Bu.	Dresden
1892	I. Fed. of Glovers . . . . .	6	Sec.	Berlin
1893	I. Un. of Shoemakers . . . . .	4	Sec.	Nuremberg
1893	I. Un. of Forestry Stations . . . . .	6		
1893	I. Cg. of Agriculture . . . . .	1		
1893	I. Irrigation Cg. . . . .	3		
1893	I. Fed. of Metal-workers . . . . .	7	Sec.	Stuttgart
1893	I. Cg. of Ry. Employees. . . . .	10		

## UNOFFICIAL CONGRESSES, ASSOCIATIONS, ETC.—Continued

Org'd	I. ECONOMIC INTEREST	No. M'tings	Per. Org'n	Headqu'rs
1893	I. Patent Cg. . . . .	1		
1893	I. Cg. of Naval Architecture . . .	3		
1893	I. Cg. of Authors . . . . .	1		
1893	I. Insurance Cg. . . . .	1		
1893	U. Cg. of Bankers . . . . .	1		
1893	I. Cg. of Journalists . . . . .	1		
1894	I. Fed. of Potters. . . . .	2	Sec.	Berlin
1894	I. Fed. of Textile-workers . . . .	8	Sec.	Manchester
1894	I. Fed. of Furriers . . . . .	3	Sec.	Hamburg
1894	I. Fed. of Brewery-workers . . . .	3	Sec.	Berlin
1894	I. Un. of Press As's . . . . .	12	Ce.	Paris
1894	I. Cg. of Paper Mfrs. . . . .	2		
1894	I. Textile Cg. . . . .	1		
1895	I. Fed. of Cooks . . . . .	1	Bu.	Frankfort
1895	I. Cg. of Actuaries . . . . .	7	Ce.	Brussels
1896	I. Cg. of Leather-workers . . . .	2		
1896	I. Fed. of Tailors . . . . .	3	Sec.	Berlin
1896	I. Fed. of Lithographers. . . . .	8	Sec.	Berlin
1896	I. Fed. of Ship & Dock-workers . .	3		
1896	I. Cg. of Publishers . . . . .	8	Cn.	Berne
1896	I. Cg. of Maritime Fishing . . . .	5		
1896	I. Cg. of Dockers. . . . .	3		
1897	I. Fed. of Transpor. Workers . . .	8	Ce.	Hamburg
1897	I. As. of Indus. Prop. . . . .	15	Ce.	Berlin
1897	I. Fed. of Commercial Travelers . .	6	Ce.	
1897	I. Cg. of Agriculture . . . . .	5	Cn.	Huy
1897	I. As. Leather-trade Chemists . . .	11	Ce.	Leeds
1898	I. Cg. of Moulders . . . . .	2		
1898	I. Cg. of Screw-threading . . . .	1		
1898	I. Cg. vs. Destruc. of Birds . . .	1		
1898	I. Fishery Cg. . . . .	7		
1898	I. Acetylene Cg. . . . .	7		
1900	I. Cg. of Fruits of the Press. . . .	1		
1900	I. Cg. of Grape Culture . . . . .	3		
1900	I. Cg. of Sylviculture . . . . .	1		
1900	I. Cg. vs. Cochylis . . . . .	1		
1900	I. Real Estate Cg. . . . .	2		

## UNOFFICIAL CONGRESSES, ASSOCIATIONS, ETC.—Continued

Org'n	I. ECONOMIC INTEREST	No. M'tings	Per. Org'n	Headqu'rs
1900	I. Cg. of Millers . . . . .	2		
1900	I. Cg. of Gas Industry . . . . .	1		
1900	I. Grocery Cg. . . . .	1		
1900	I. Un. of As's of Inventors . . . . .	4	Ce.	Paris
1900	I. Agric. & Fishery Cg. . . . .	2		
1900	I. Cg. on Rational Food for Cattle. . . . .	2		
1900	I. Cg. of Christian Textile-workers . . . . .	6		
1900	I. Cg. of the Merchant Marine . . . . .	1		
1900	I. Fed. of Employees. . . . .	5	Bu.—	Ghent
1900	I. Fed. of Employees in Commerce . . . . .	4	Sec.	Hamburg
1900	I. Textile Cg. . . . .	1		
1900	I. Cg. of Wines, Spirits, etc. . . . .	5	Ce.	Paris
1900	I. Ramie Cg. . . . .	1		
1900	I. Cg. of Agric. Syndicates . . . . .	1		
1901	I. Marine As. . . . .	3	Ce.	
1901	I. Good Roads Cg. . . . .	1		
1901	I. Cg. for Protec. vs. Hail . . . . .	1		
1901	I. Cg. of Hybridization of Vine. . . . .	1		
1900	I. Cg. of Rice Culture . . . . .	3		
1902	I. Cg. on Plant Breeding & Hybrid. . . . .	2		
1902	I. Navigation Cg. . . . .	12	Bu.	Brussels
1902	I. Cg. of Denatured Alcohol . . . . .	2		
1903	I. Fed. of Masons . . . . .	3	Sec.	Hamburg
1903	I. Dairy Cg. . . . .	6	Fed.	Brussels
1903	I. Confed. of Musicians . . . . .	6	Ce.	Paris
1903	I. Cg. of Stonecutters . . . . .	4	Sec.	Zurich
1903	I. Cg. of Quarrymen . . . . .	1		
1903	I. Fed. of Dyers & Scourers. . . . .		Sec.	Paris
1904	I. Cg. of Alpine Gardens . . . . .	2		
1904	I. Cg. on Running of Autos. . . . .	1		
1904	I. Cg. of Painters. . . . .	3		
1904	I. Fed. of Pavers . . . . .	2	Sec.	Berlin
1904	I. Cotton Cg. . . . .	9	Ce.	Manchester
1904	I. Cf. on Hospital Construction . . . . .	1		
1904	I. Cg. of Lawyers. . . . .	1		
1904	I. Cg. of Public Accountants . . . . .	1		
1905	Gen. As. of Munic. Engineers, etc. . . . .	9	Ce.	Paris

## UNOFFICIAL CONGRESSES, ASSOCIATIONS, ETC.—Continued

Org'n	I. ECONOMIC INTEREST	No. M'tings	Per. Org'n	Headqu'rs
1905	Baltic & White Sea Cf. . . . .	7	Ce.	Stockholm
1905	I. Cg. of Colonial Agronomy . . .	3	As.	
1905	I. Cg. of Aviculture . . . . .	5		
1905	I. Cg. of Agric. Mechanics . . . .	1		
1905	I. Cg. of Chambers of Commerce .	5	Ce.	Brussels
1905	I. Cg. of Chauffeurs . . . . .	2		
1905	I. Fed. of Book-binders . . . . .	4	Sec.	Berlin
1905	U. Al. of Diamond-cutters . . . .	3	Sec.	Antwerp
1905	I. Fed. of Porcelain-makers . . . .	2	Sec.	Charlot'b'g
1905	I. Petroleum Cg. . . . .	5	Cn.	Karlsruhe
1905	I. Cg. of Aerated Water . . . . .	1		
1905	I. Sugar & Distilling Cg. . . . .	2		
1905	I. Cement Cg. . . . .	1		
1905	I. Cg. on Construc. & Pub. Wks. .	2	Cn.	Brussels
1905	I. Cg. of Line-fishermen . . . . .	2		
1905	I. Cg. of Public Works . . . . .	1		
1905	I. Cg. of Town Clerks . . . . .	3		
1905	I. Cg. of Ceramic-workers . . . .	1		
1905	I. Ry. Time-table Cf. . . . .	4		
1906	I. Cf. on Unif. Anal. Stock foods .	1		
1906	I. Cg. on Seed-testing . . . . .	2		
1906	I. Cg. of Postal Employees . . . .	1		
1906	I. Saddlery As. . . . .	3	Sec.	Berlin
1906	I. Fed. Post., Tel. & Teleph. Wks.	3	Sec.	Paris
1907	I. Cg. of Builders . . . . .	4		
1907	I. Press Museum . . . . .		Cl.	Brussels
1907	I. Cg. of Silk Printers . . . . .	1		
1907	I. Cg. of Net-makers . . . . .	1		
1907	I. Fed. of Hairdressers . . . . .	2	Sec.	Berlin
1907	I. Cg. of Dry Farming . . . . .	8		
1907	World Cg. of Butchers . . . . .	1		
1907	I. Fed. of Carpenters . . . . .	1	Sec.	Hamburg
1907	I. Fed. of Factory-workers . . . .		Sec.	Hanover
1907	I. Fed. of Wks. in Pub. Ser. . . .	3	Sec.	Berlin
1907	I. Fed. of Bakers . . . . .	2	Sec.	Hamburg
1907	I. Cg. of Periodical Press . . . .	3	Bu.	Brussels
1907	I. Fed. of Per. Expos. Coms. . . .	3	Cl.	Brussels

## UNOFFICIAL CONGRESSES, ASSOCIATIONS, ETC.—Continued

Org'd	I. ECONOMIC INTEREST	No. M'tings	Per. Org'n	Headqu'rs
1907	I. Fishery Cg. . . . .	1		
1907	I. Cotton Planters' Cg. . . . .	1		
1907	I. Cg. of Ship-owners . . . . .	1		
1907	I. Cg. of Postal Clerks . . . . .	1		
1907	I. Cg. of Cotton Exchanges. . . . .	2		
1908	I. Road Cg. . . . .	3	Cn.	Paris
1908	I. Cg. of Oil-culture . . . . .	3		
1908	I. Cf. of Navigation Co's. . . . .	1		
1908	I. Cf. of Europ. Telep. & Tel. Adms	2	Ce.	
1908	I. Cg. on Refrigeration . . . . .	3	Cl.	Paris
1908	I. Un. of Hotel Employees . . . . .	2	Sec.	Berlin
1908	U. Fed. of Soc. of Hotel Men . . . . .	3	Ce.	Cologne
1908	I. Cg. of Ry. Engrs. & Firemen . . . . .	1		
1909	I. Fed. of Moto-culture . . . . .	2	Ce.	Paris
1909	I. Agrogeological Cf. . . . .	2	Cn.	
1909	I. Fed. of As's of Linen Mfrs. . . . .	5	Ce.	Ghent
1909	I. Cost Cg. of Empl. Printers . . . . .	4		
1910	I. Cg. of Fire-arms Testing . . . . .	1		Liege
1910	I. Cg. of Drilling Engineers . . . . .	1		
1910	I. Cg. of Breeding & Feeding . . . . .	1		
1910	I. Chrysanthemum Cg. . . . .	1		Paris
1910	I. Rose Cg. . . . .	1		Paris
1910	I. Cg. of Tropical Agronomy . . . . .	2	Bu.	Paris
1910	I. Cg. of Agric. As's . . . . .	1	Cn.	Brussels
1910	I. Fed. of Merchant Tailors. . . . .	2	Bu.	Brussels
1910	I. Fishery Cf. . . . .	1	As.	Brussels
1910	I. Cg. of Notaries . . . . .	1		
1911	I. Drilling As. . . . .	1	Sec.	Vienna
1911	I. Cg. of Farm Women . . . . .	3		
1910	I. Cg. of Indus. & Agric. Protec. As's	1		
1910	Pan-Amer. Commercial Cf. . . . .	1		
1911	I. Fed. of Bank Employees . . . . .	2	Bu.	Brussels
1911	I. Rubber Cg. . . . .	3		
1911	I. Steel Cf. . . . .	1		
1911	I. Drug Cg. . . . .	2		
1911	I. Cg. of Chocolate Mfrs. . . . .	1		
1912	I. Cg. of Mfrs. of Paper Money . . . . .	1		

## UNOFFICIAL CONGRESSES, ASSOCIATIONS, ETC.—Continued

Org'd	I. ECONOMIC INTEREST	No. M'tings	Per. Org'n	Headqu'rs
1912	I. As. of Linen Exporters . . . .	1		
1912	I. Cg. of Fish Merchants, etc. . . .	1		
1912	I. Cg. of Cinematograph Co's . . . .	1		
1913	I. Fed. of Hardware Merchants . . . .	1		
1913	I. Cg. on Fruit-tree Growing . . . .	1		
1913	I. Forestry Cg. . . . .	1		
1913	I. Cg. of Watchmakers . . . . .	1		
1913	I. Cg. of Consulting Engrs. . . . .	1		
1913	I. Fed. of Carvers . . . . .		Sec.	Berlin
1913	I. Cg. of Ins. Agents. . . . .	3		
1913	I. Cynologic Fed. . . . .	3		
1913	I. Tax Cf. . . . .	4		
1913	I. As. for Preven. of Smoke . . . .	6		
II. RECREATIONAL INTEREST				
1867	I. Chess Cg. . . . .	2		
1878	I. Cg. of Alpine Clubs . . . . .	2		
1889	I. Cg. of Physical Exercise . . . . .	1		
1892	I. Skating Un. . . . .	10	Ce.	Stockholm
1892	I. Fed. of Rowing As's . . . . .	22		Turin
1894	I. Olympic Ce. . . . .	15	Ce.	Paris
1896	I. Velocipede Cg. . . . .	1		
1897	Bu. of Europ. Gymnas. Fed's . . . .	6	Cl.	Antwerp
1897	I. League of Tourist As's . . . . .		Ce.	Baarn
1897	I. Fencing Cg. . . . .	4		
1900	I. Cyclist Un. . . . .	24	Ce.	Paris
1900	I. Automobile Cg. . . . .	4		
1903	I. Turners . . . . .	5		
1904	I. Cf. of Automobile Clubs . . . . .	1		
1905	I. Cg. of Prestidigitation . . . . .	1		
1906	I. Bull-fighting Cg. . . . .	1		
1907	I. Hunting Cg. . . . .	4	Cn.	
1908	I. Fed. of Foot-ball As's. . . . .	2		
1908	I. Autonautic Fed. . . . .	1		
1909	I. Cf. of Gun Clubs . . . . .	1		
1910	I. Gymnastic Cg. . . . .	1		
1910	I. Skii Cg. . . . .	4		

## UNOFFICIAL CONGRESSES, ASSOCIATIONS, ETC.—Continued

Org'd	II. RECREATIONAL INTEREST	No. M'tings	Per. Org'n	Headqu'rs
1910	I. Cf. of Aero Clubs . . . . .	1		
1912	I. Cg. of Athletic Sports. . . . .	1		
1912	I. Alpine & Skii Cg. . . . .	1		
1912	I. Cg. of Swimming As's . . . . .	1		
1912	I. Motorcycle Fed. . . . .	2		
III. ARTISTIC INTEREST				
1861	I. Art Cg. . . . .	6		
1867	I. Cg. of Architects . . . . .	9	Ce.	Paris
1873	I. Cg. of History of Art . . . . .	10		
1878	I. Lit. & Artistic As.. . . .	31	Ce.	
1889	I. Cg. of Photography . . . . .	5		
1889	I. Cg. of Protec. for Works of Art . . . . .	1		
1889	I. Cg. of the Soc. of Writers . . . . .	1		
1891	I. Photographic Un. . . . .	13	Cl.	Brussels
1891	I. Cg. of Numismatics . . . . .	3		
1893	I. Cg. of Music . . . . .	4		
1898	I. Cg. of Public Art . . . . .	3		Brussels
1900	I. Cg. of Theatrical Art . . . . .	1		
1904	I. Cg. of Arts & Sciences . . . . .	1		
1904	I. Fed. of Teaching of Design . . . . .	4	Ce.	Fribourg
1904	I. Soc. of Music . . . . .	5	Cl.	London
1904	I. Cg. of Religious Music . . . . .	1		
1904	I. Dance Cg. . . . .	2		
1904	I. Garden City Cg. . . . .	1		
1905	I. Cg. of Gregorian Chant . . . . .	1		
1905	I. Cg. of Theatre & Dramat. Art . . . . .	1		
1907	I. Fed. of Amat. Theat. Soc's . . . . .		Cl.	Cirey, s. V.
1907	I. Cg. for Man. of Mountains . . . . .	1		
1908	I. Un. of Dancing Masters . . . . .	3	Ce.	Altenburg
1909	I. Cg. of Applied Photog. . . . .	1		
1909	I. Cg. for Protec. Landscape . . . . .	3		
1910	I. Cg. of Art & History . . . . .	1		
1910	I. Cg. of Cinematography . . . . .	2		
1910	I. Townplanning Cg.. . . .	1		
1911	I. City planning Cf. . . . .	1		
1911	I. Municipal Cg. . . . .	1		

## UNOFFICIAL CONGRESSES, ASSOCIATIONS, ETC.—Continued

Org'd	III. ARTISTIC INTEREST	No. M'tings	Per. Org'n	Headqu'rs
1913	I. Cg. of Musical Pedagogy . . . . .	1		
1913	I. Cg. of Cities . . . . .	1	Sec.	Brussels
	Women's I. Art Club . . . . .			London
	I. Art Circle . . . . .			Paris
	I. Water Color Soc. . . . .			Paris
	<i>Associazione Artistica Int.</i> . . . .			Rome
	<i>I. Modern Kunstkring</i> . . . . .			Amsterdam
IV. SCIENTIFIC INTEREST				
1847	I. Cg. of Economists . . . . .	1		
1853	I. Cg. for Unif. Obser's at Sea . . . .	2		
1853	I. Cg. of Statistics . . . . .	9		
1856	I. Cg. for Customs' Reform. . . . .	1		
1857	I. Positivist Soc. (reorg. 1906) . . . .			Paris
1857	I. Cg. of Ophthalmology . . . . .	11	Bu.	
1862	I. As. for Prog. of Soc. Sci's . . . . .	4		
1862	I. Geodedic As. . . . .	16	Bu.	Berlin
1863	I. Veterinarian Cg. . . . .	10	Cn.	Budapest
1864	I. Cg. of General Averages . . . . .	1		
1865	I. Cg. of Pharmacy . . . . .	11		
1865	I. Cg. of Astronomy . . . . .	23		Leipzig
1865	I. Cg. of Anth. & Prehist. Arch. . . .	14	Cl.	Geneva
1865	I. Paleo-ethnolog. Cg. . . . .	1	Cn.	Hague
1867	I. Medical Cg. . . . .	17	Cn.	Hague
1867	I. Cg. of Archaeology . . . . .	5		
1871	I. Geographical Cg. . . . .	10		
1871	I. Meteorological Cf.. . . .	6	Ce.	
1873	I. Law As. . . . .	28	Cl.	London
1873	Inst. of I. Law . . . . .	28	Ce.	Ghent
1873	I. Cg. of Orientalists . . . . .	14		
1873	I. Meteorological Ce. . . . .	12		
1875	I. Cg. of Americanists . . . . .	17		
1876	I. Cg. of Homeopathy . . . . .	12	Cl.	
1876	U. Scientific Alliance. . . . .		Ce.	Paris
1876	I. Cg. of Otology . . . . .	10		
1877	I. Cg. of Archivists & Librarians . . .	5	Ce.	Brussels
1878	I. Cg. of Bibliography . . . . .	3		

## UNOFFICIAL CONGRESSES, ASSOCIATIONS, ETC.—Continued

Org'd	IV. SCIENTIFIC INTEREST	No. M'tings	Per. Org'd	Headqu'rs
1878	I. Cg. of Mental Medicine . . .	2		
1878	I. Cg. of Demography . . .	1		
1878	I. Geological Cg. . . . .	12	Sec.	Stockholm
1878	I. Cg. of Commercial Geog. . . .	2		
1878	I. Cg. of Ethnography . . . . .	2		
1878	I. Cg. of Botany & Horticul. . . .	3	Ce.	Brussels
1878	I. Cg. of Anthropology . . . . .	4		
1878	I. Cg. of Geom. Experts. . . . .	1		
1878	I. Cg. of Army Med. Service . . .	1		
1879	I. Polar Commission . . . . .	4		
1880	I. Cg. of Rhino-laryngology. . . .	3	Ce.	Berlin
1880	I. Cg. of Laryngology . . . . .	2		
1880	I. Geographical Inst. . . . .			Berne
1881	I. Cg. of Shorthand Writers . . .	4		
1881	I. Electrical Cg. . . . .	7		
1882	I. Cf. on Electrical Units . . . .	4	Ce.	
1882	I. Cg. of Criminal Anthropol. . . .	8		
1883	I. Cg. of Tropical Medicine . . .	2		
1884	I. Cg. of Ornithology . . . . .	5	Ce.	
1885	I. Cg. of Neurology . . . . .	3		
1885	I. Cg. of Commercial Law . . . .	2		
1885	I. Inst. of Statistics . . . . .	14	Bu.	Hague
1885	I. Cg. of Testing Materials . . . .	10	As.	Vienna
1886	I. Cg. of Hydrology, etc. . . . .	8	Bu.	Paris
1886	I. Phonetic As. . . . .		Cl.	Bourg la R.
1887	<i>Academia pro Interlingua</i> . . . .		Cl.	Turin
1887	I. Shorthand Cg. . . . .	11		
1887	I. Ce. on Photo. Celestial Map . .	5	Ce.	Paris
1887	I. Astrophotographic Cg. . . . .	1		
1888	I. Catholic Sci. Cg. . . . .	5	Ce.	Rome
1889	I. Medico-legal Cg. . . . .	2		
1889	I. Aeronautical Cf. . . . .	7		
1889	I. Dental Fed. . . . .	8	Cl.	Geneva
1889	I. Cg. of Dermatology . . . . .	7		
1889	I. Cg. of Therapeutics . . . . .	1		
1889	Interparliamentary Union . . . .	18	Cl.	Brussels
1889	I. Un. of Penal Law . . . . .	11	Bu.	Berlin

## UNOFFICIAL CONGRESSES, ASSOCIATIONS, ETC.—Continued

Org'd	IV. SCIENTIFIC INTEREST	No. M'tings	Per. Org'n	Headqu'rs
1889	I. Colonial Cg. . . . .	3		
1889	I. Emigration Cg. . . . .	1		
1889	I. Cg. of Physiology . . . . .	9	Ce.	
1889	I. Cg. of Psychology . . . . .	7	Ce.	
1889	I. Cg. of Physiol. Psychology . . . . .	1		
1889	I. Cg. of Hypnotism . . . . .	2		
1889	I. Cg. of Zoology . . . . .	9	Cl.	Paris
1889	I. Folk-lore Cg. . . . .	4		
1889	I. Cg. of Accounting . . . . .	2		
1889	I. Cg. of Chronometry . . . . .	2		
1889	I. As. of Academies . . . . .	6	Ce.	Rome
1890	I. Book Cf. . . . .	1		
1891	I. Commission on Clouds . . . . .	2		Upsala
1892	I. Cg. of Gynecology . . . . .	6	Ce.	Brussels
1892	I. Cg. for Customs' Legis., etc. . . . .	5		
1893	Pan-American Med. Cg. . . . .	5		
1893	I. Cg. of History . . . . .	2		
1893	I. Inst. of Sociology . . . . .	8	Bu.	Paris
1893	I. Mathematical Cg. . . . .	5	Ce.	Geneva
1893	I. Cg. of Pub. & Admin. Law . . . . .	1		
1893	I. Cg. of Eclectic Medicine . . . . .	1		
1893	I. Cg. of Philology . . . . .	1		
1894	I. Cg. of Thalassotherapy . . . . .	5	Cn.	Paris
1894	I. Colonial Inst. . . . .	15	Bu.	Brussels
1894	I. Cg. of Applied Chemistry . . . . .	8	Cn.	
1894	I. Cg. on Atmosphere . . . . .	2		
1895	<i>Conciltum Bibliographicum</i> . . . . .			Zurich
1895	I. Cg. of Bibliog. & Documen. . . . .	5	Bu.	Brussels
1896	I. Cn. on Radiation . . . . .	1		Zurich
1896	I. Telegraphic Cn. . . . .	5		London
1896	I. Cn. on Sci. Aerostation . . . . .	6		Strasburg
1896	I. Cn. on Terres. Magnetism . . . . .	5	Sec.	Potsdam
1896	I. Cf. on Fixed Stars. . . . .	1		
1897	Catalogue of Sci. Literature . . . . .	4	Cl.	London
1897	I. Cg. of Climatotherapy . . . . .	4		
1897	I. Maritime Ce. . . . .	3	Bu.	Antwerp
1897	I. Cg. on Leprosy . . . . .	3		

## UNOFFICIAL CONGRESSES, ASSOCIATIONS, ETC.—Continued

Org'd	IV. SCIENTIFIC INTEREST	No. M'tings	Per. Org'n	Headqu'rs
1897	I. Cn. for Unif. Sugar Analysis . . .	7		Vienna
1898	I. Cg. for Preservation of MSS. . .	1	Cn.	
1898	I. Cg. of Hist. of Diplomacy . . .	1		
1898	I. As. of Marey Institute . . .		Bu.	Boulogne s. S.
1899	I. Cg. of Electrobiology, etc. . .	7	Cn.	
1899	As. of Anatomists . . . . .	12		Paris
1899	I. As. of Exam. Phys. of Ins. Co's . .	4		
1899	I. Council of Nurses . . . . .	3	Cl.	London
1899	I. Cf. on Hybridization . . . . .	4	Ce.	Paris
1899	I. As. for Explor. Cent. Asia . . .		Ce.	Petrograd
1899	I. Pure Food Cg. . . . .	1		
1900	I. Cn. on Photometry . . . . .	3		
1900	I. Cg. of Christian Archaeology . . .	1		
1900	I. Cg. on Study of Basques . . . .	1		
1900	I. Cg. on Sci's. of Writing . . . .	1		
1900	I. Cg. of Physics . . . . .	1		
1900	I. Cg. of Philosophy . . . . .	2	Cn.	Heidelberg
1900	I. Cg. of Compar. Hist. . . . .	1		
1900	I. Neo. Malthusian Bu. . . . .	4	Bu.	Hague
1900	I. Cg. of Popular Credit . . . . .	1		
1900	I. Cg. of Colonial Sociology . . . .	1		
1900	I. Cg. of Transferable Securities . .	1		
1900	I. Cg. for Gold & Silver Stan. . . .	1		
1900	I. Cg. of the Medical Press . . . .	8	As.	Paris
1900	I. Cg. of Pharmacal Specialities . .	1		
1900	I. Cg. of Alcaloidotherapy . . . .	1		
1900	I. Cg. of Applied Mechanics . . . .	2		
1901	Latin-Amer. Medical Cg. . . . .	4		
1901	I. As. of Botanists . . . . .	1	Ce.	Harlem
1902	I. Anti-tuberculosis As. . . . .	9	Ce.	Berlin
1903	I. Inst. on Probs. Mid. Classes . . .	4	Ce.	Brussels
1903	I. Cg. of Historical Studies . . . .	3		
1903	I. Solar Cn. . . . .	3		London
1904	I. Un. for Solar Research . . . . .	5	Ce.	Manchester
1904	I. Cg. of Experimen. Psychol. . . .	1		
1904	I. As. of Mechanotherapeuts . . . .		Bu.	Antwerp
1904	I. Cg. of Army Surgeons . . . . .	1		

## UNOFFICIAL CONGRESSES, ASSOCIATIONS, ETC.—Continued

Org'd	IV. SCIENTIFIC INTEREST	No. M'tings	Per. Org'n	Headqu'rs
1904	I. Cg. of Arts & Sciences . . . . .	1		
1905	I. Inst. of Social Bibliog. . . . .		Ce.	Berlin
1905	I. Cg. for Reprod. of MSS. . . . .	1		
1905	I. Surgical Soc. . . . .	4	Ce.	Brussels
1905	I. Cg. on Ankylosis . . . . .	1		
1905	I. Economic Cf. . . . .	1		
1905	I. Soc. of Physical Medicine . . . . .		Ce.	Paris
1905	I. Cg. of Physiotherapy . . . . .	4	Cn.	Paris
1905	I. Fed. Cg. of Anatomists . . . . .	2	Ce.	Paris
1905	I. As. of Lawyers . . . . .	1	Ce.	Brussels
1905	I. Cg. on World Econ. Expansion . . . . .	1		
1905	U. Cg. of Esperanto . . . . .	9	Ce.	Paris
1905	I. Fed. to Extend French Cul. & Lang. . . . .	3	Bu.	Brussels
1905	I. Cg. of Radiology . . . . .	2		
1905	I. Cg. of Radiol. & Electricity . . . . .	2	Cn.	Brussels
1905	I. Glacial Cg. . . . .	1		
1905	I. Aeronautic Fed. . . . .	9	Bu.	Paris
1906	I. Inst. on Mental Diseases, etc. . . . .	3	Ce.	Zurich
1906	I. As. for Study of Cancer . . . . .	4	Cn.	Berlin
1906	I. Cg. of Dietetic Hygiene . . . . .	2		
1906	I. Economic Un. . . . .	7		
1906	Esperantist Med. As. . . . .			Aix-la-C.
1906	I. Electrotechnical Cn. . . . .	4	Cn.	London
1906	I. Sci. Esperantist As. . . . .		Bu.	Paris
1906	I. As. of Esperan. Jurists . . . . .	6		Paris
1906	I. Cg. of Photo Documen. . . . .	1		
1906	I. Philatelist Cg. . . . .	1		Milan
1907	I. Polar Inst. . . . .			Uccle
1907	I. Cf. on Sleeping Sickness . . . . .	2		
1907	I. Somatological As. . . . .	4	Bu.	Antwerp
1907	I. As. of Medical Museums . . . . .		Ce.	Montreal
1907	I. Cg. of Soc. & Econom. Sci's . . . . .	1		
1907	I. Inst. of Esperanto . . . . .			Geneva
1907	I. Soc. of Esperan. Free Thinkers . . . . .			Sens
1907	I. Soc. of Roman Dialectology . . . . .		Ce.	Brussels
1907	I. Cg. of Stenography . . . . .	2		
1907	I. Cn. on (Meteor.) World System . . . . .	2		Upsala

## UNOFFICIAL CONGRESSES, ASSOCIATIONS, ETC.—Continued

Org'd	IV. SCIENTIFIC INTEREST	No. M'tings	Per. Org'n	Headqu'rs
1908	I. Inst. of Tech. Bibliography . . .			Berlin
1908	I. Soc. of Tropical Medicine . . .	1	Ce.	Cambridge
1908	I. Panceltic Cg. . . . .	6	Ce.	Brussels
1908	I. Free Trade Cg. . . . .	2		
1908	I. Un. of Esperan. Vegetarians . . .			Hamburg
1908	I. As. of Esperan. Teachers . . .		Ce.	Lille
1908	U. Esperantist As. . . . .	2	Ce.	Geneva
1908	I. Sci. Entente for Aux. Lang. . . .		Ce.	Brussels
1908	I. Positivist Cg. . . . .	1		
1908	I. Polar Cn. . . . .	3	Bu.	Brussels
1908	I. Cv. of Heraldry . . . . .			Paris
1908	I. American Sci. Cg. . . . .	3		
1908	I. Cg. of Applied Electricity . . .	2		
1908	I. Cg. of Catalane Hist. . . . .	1		
1909	I. Cg. on Epilepsy . . . . .	4	Ce.	Amsterdam
1909	Brain Commission . . . . .	2		Berlin
1909	I. Inst. for Diffus. of Soc. Exper. . .		Ce.	Paris
1909	I. As. of Esperan. Bankers . . . .			Dresden
1909	Un. for an I. Language . . . . .		Ce.	Solothurn
1909	I. Cg. of Ophthalmology . . . . .	1		
1910	I. Bu. for Educ. Documen. . . . .	1		Ostende
1910	<i>Intermediare Sociologique</i> . . . .			Brussels
1910	I. Pediatric As. . . . .	1	Ce.	Paris
1910	I. Cg. of Urinology . . . . .	2		
1910	I. Pharmaceutical Fed. . . . .		Cn.	Hague
1910	I. Juridical Ce. of Aviation . . . .	2		
1910	I. Juridical Cg. of Aviation . . . .	1		
1910	I. Cg. of Experimen. Psychology . .	2		Paris
1910	Central Meteoric Bu. . . . .		Ce.	Antwerp
1910	I. Inst. of Ethnography . . . . .		Bu.	Paris
1910	I. Cg. of Entomologists . . . . .	2	Ce.	
1910	I. Cg. of Administrative Sci's . . .	2	Cn.	Brussels
1910	Slav Cg. . . . .	1		
1910	Un. of I. As's . . . . .	1		Brussels
1911	<i>Medizin-Literarische Zentralstelle</i> .			Berlin
1911	I. Cg. of Museum Directors . . . .	1		
1911	Cg. I. des Sages femmes . . . . .	1		

## UNOFFICIAL CONGRESSES, ASSOCIATIONS, ETC.—Continued

Org'd	IV. SCIENTIFIC INTEREST	No. M'tings	Per. Org'n	Headqu'rs
1911	I. Cg. of Pathology . . . . .	1		
1911	I. Cg. on Aerial Law. . . . .	2		
1911	I. Lg. for Rights of Peoples . . .		Cl.	Paris
1911	Universal Races Cg. . . . .	1		
1911	I. As. of Compar. Polit. Econ. . .	1	Sec.	Berlin
1911	U. Un. of Esperan. Litterateurs . .			Dresden
1911	I. Lg. of Esperan. Postal Empl's . .			Breslau
1911	I. As. for Creating an I. Lang. . . .		Ce.	Berne
1911	I. Monist Cg. . . . .	1		
1911	I. Soc. for Psychical Research . . .		Bu.	Paris
1911	I. Cg. of Pedology . . . . .		Ce.	Brussels
1911	I. Inst. of Embryology . . . . .			
1911	I. Inst. of Plasmology . . . . .		Ce.	Brussels
1911	I. Entomological As. . . . .	2	Ce.	Frankfort
1911	I. As. of Accounting . . . . .	3	Cl.	Brussels
1911	I. As. of Chemical Soc's . . . . .	3	Cl.	Gross-Bothen
1911	I. As. of Jurid. & Econom. Philos. .	2		
1912	I. Cg. of Dermatology . . . . .	1		
1912	I. Cg. of Compar. Pathology . . .	1		
1913	I. Orthopedic Cg. . . . .	1		
1913	<i>Of. Central des Nationalités</i> . . .	1	Sec.	Paris
	I. Cg. of Neurology & Psychiatry . .	3		
	Esperan. Theosophical Lg. . . . .			Paris
	I. Soc. of Friends of Esperan. . . .			Paris
	I. Soc. of Esperan. Stenographers . .			
	I. Lg. of Esperan. Typographers . .			Paris
	I. As. of Esperan. Pharmacists . . .			Antwerp
	I. As. of Esperan. Ry. Empl's . . .			
	I. Un. of Esperan. Philatelists . . .		Sec.	Paris
	I. Soc. of the Apochrypha . . . . .		Cl.	London
V. EDUCATIONAL INTEREST				
1876	I. Cg. of Education . . . . .	4		
1876	I. Cg. of Teachers of Blind . . . .	11		
1878	Free I. Cg. of Education . . . . .	4		
1880	I. Pedagogical Cg. . . . .	2		
1886	I. Cg. on Technical Ed. . . . .	10	Ce.	Paris

## UNOFFICIAL CONGRESSES, ASSOCIATIONS, ETC.—Continued

Org'd	V. EDUCATIONAL INTEREST	No. M'tings	Per. Org'n	Headqu'rs
1887	I. Cg. of School Gymnastics . . .	2		
1888	I. Cg. of School Colonies . . .	2		
1889	I. Cg. of Primary Ed. . . . .	3	Ce.	
1889	I. Cg. of Secondary Ed. . . . .	5	Sec.	Brussels
1889	I. Cg. of Higher & Sec. Ed. . . .	3		
1889	I. Cg. of Private Pop. Instruc. . .	1		
1899	I. Cg. of Horticultural Ed. . . .	1		
1900	I. Cg. of Agricul. Ed. . . . .	2	Cn.	
1900	I. Cg. of Social Ed. . . . .	1		
1900	I. Cg. of Teaching of Social Sci's .	1		
1900	I. Cg. of Educational Press . . .	1		
1900	Per. I. Ce. on Physical Ed. . . .	5	Ce.	
1900	I. Cg. of Alumni of Commer. Scs.	2		
1900	I. Cg. of Profs. of Living Langs. .	2	Bu.	Paris
1901	I. Soc. for Devel. Commer. Ed. . .	5	Ce.	Trieste
1903	I. Soc. for Exch. of Chil. & Y.P. .		Cl.	Paris
1903	I. Cg. on School Hygiene . . . .	4	Ce.	
1904	I. As. for Comple. Med. Ed. . . .		Ce.	Paris
1905	I. Cg. on Family Education . . .	3	Cn.	Brussels
1905	I. Bu. of Teachers' Fed's . . . .	4	Ce.	
1906	I. Cg. of Popular Ed. . . . .	4	Bu.	Brussels
1908	I. Cg. of School Adminis. . . . .	3	Of.	Fribourg
1908	I. Moral Ed. Cg. . . . .	2	Cn.	London
1908	I. Cn. on Math. Instruction . . .	7	Ce.	Geneva
1908	I. As. on Study of Quaternions . .		Cl.	Urbana
1909	I. Ce. for Comple. Med. Ed. . . .	3	Ce.	Berlin
1910	I. Cath. & Pedagogical Fed. . . .	1		
1910	I. Cf. of Popular Universities . . .		Sec.	Brussels
1910	I. Cg. of Higher Tech. Ed. . . . .	1	Sec.	Brussels
1910	I. As. of Med. Inspectors of Schools	1	Bu.	Paris
1911	I. Inst. of Physical Ed. . . . .	2	Bu.	Brussels
1911	I. Cg. for Christian Ed. . . . .	1		

## VI. RELIGIOUS INTEREST

1846	Evangelical Alliance . . . . .	12	Ce.	London
1850	World's Missionary Cf. . . . .		Ce.	Edinburgh
1855	U. Al. of Chris. Young People . .	18	Ce.	Geneva

## UNOFFICIAL CONGRESSES, ASSOCIATIONS, ETC.—Continued

Org'd	VI. RELIGIOUS INTEREST	No. M'tings	Per. Org'd	Headqu'rs
1860	<i>Alliance Israelite U.</i> . . . .		Ce.	Paris
1865	Salvation Army . . . . .			London
1872	I. Un. of Old Catholics . . . .	9	Ce.	Bonn
1875	Pan Presbyterian Council . . .			
1875	Theosophical Soc. . . . .	4	Cl.	Madras
1880	I. Cg. of Free Thinkers . . . .	19	Cl.	Brussels
1881	Eucharistic Cg. . . . .	21	Ce.	Paris
1886	World's Sunday School As. . . .	7	Ce.	Chicago
1889	I. Cg. of Spiritism . . . . .	5	Bu.	Liege
1892	Ecumenical Methodist Cf. . . .			
1893	World's Parliament of Rel's . .	1		
1895	U. Fed. of Christian Students . .	5	Ce.	New York
1895	World Wide Christian Endeavor .	3	Trus.	Boston
1896	I. Un. of Ethical Soc's . . . .	3	Ce.	London
1897	I. Zionist Orgn. . . . .	10	Ce.	Berlin
1897	I. Cg. of Religious Sci's . . . .	1		
1898	World's Young Wom. Chris. As's. .	6	Ce.	London
1899	Congregational World's Cl. . . .	2		
1900	I. Cg. of Catholic Students . . .	2		
1900	I. Cl. of Unitarians, etc. . . . .	6	Ce.	Boston
1900	I. Cg. of the Hist. of Rel. . . .	4	Cn.	Leyden
1902	I. Cg. of Mary . . . . .	6		
1904	Fed. Europ. Sec's of Theos. Soc. .	4	Cl.	
1905	Baptist World Alliance . . . . .	2	Ce.	London
1908	I. Or. for Eth. & Moral Culture .		Bu.	Zurich
1908	Indep. Theosophical Lg. . . . .	2	Cl.	Benares
1910	Swedenborg Cg. . . . .	1	Ce.	London
1910	Esperantist Cath. Un. . . . .	4		Brussels
1911	I. Mission Study Cl. . . . .	3	Ce.	Amsterdam
1911	Christian Science . . . . .	1		
	Gen. Ecumen. Cf. Luth. Ch. . . .	14		
	I. Catholic Institute . . . . .		Cl.	Rome

## VII. SOCIAL INTEREST

1839	Anti-Slav. & Abor. Protec. Soc. .	5	Ce.	London
1843	U. Peace Cg. . . . .	28	Bu.	Berne
1846	I. Prison Cg. . . . .	10		

## UNOFFICIAL CONGRESSES, ASSOCIATIONS, ETC.—Continued

Org'd	VII. SOCIAL INTEREST	No. M'tings	Per. Org'n	Headqu'rs
1852	Indep. Or. of Good Templars . . .			Glasgow
1856	I. Cg. of Charities . . . . .	4		
1860	I. Cg. of Soc's for Protec. Animals. .	14		
1863	I. Ce. of the Red Cross . . . . .	9	Ce.	Geneva
1864	I. Workingmen's As. . . . .	9		
1867	I. Lg. of Peace and Liberty . . .		Ce.	Berne
1875	Scottish Rite Masons . . . . .	3		
1875	I. Fed. for Abol. Reg. Prostitution .	11	Cn.	Geneva
1876	I. Cg. of Hygiene & Demography . .	14	Cn.	
1876	I. Fed. of Cremation Soc's . . . .	5	Bu.	Brussels
1876	I. Cg. on Sunday Observance . . .	14	Ce.	Geneva
1877	I. Un. of Friends of Young Girl . .	7	Bu.	Neuchatel
1877	I. Fed. of the Blue Cross . . . . .	7	Ce.	Geneva
1878	I. Cg. on Ed. of the Blind . . . . .	7		
1878	I. Cg. on Ed. of Deaf-mutes . . . .	5		
1878	I. Cg. of Provident Institutions . .	2		
1880	I. Anti-vaccination Cg. . . . .	7		
1883	World's Chris. Temp. Un. . . . .	8	Ce.	Evanston
1883	I. Cg. for Wel. & Protec. of Chil. .	8	Bu.	Brussels
1885	I. Cg. on Alcoholism . . . . .	14		
1887	I. Or. King's Daughters & Sons . .			
1888	I. Council of Women . . . . .	6	Ce.	Berlin
1889	I. Jurid. Cg. of Coöp. Soc's . . . .	3		
1889	I. Housing Cg. . . . .	10	Ce.	Brussels
1889	I. Soc. for Study of Ques. Charity . .		Bu.	Paris
1889	I. Cg. of Pub. & Private Charity . .	6	Ce.	Paris
1889	I. Lifesaving Cg. . . . .	6		
1889	I. Cg. on Indus. Acc's & Soc. Ins. . .	9	Ce.	Paris
1889	I. Cg. of Women's Work . . . . .	2		
1889	I. Socialist Labor Cg. . . . .	9	Bu.	Brussels
1889	I. Cg. of Popular Clubs . . . . .	1		
1889	I. Cg. of Labor Contract . . . . .	1		
1889	I. Cg. on Price of Food . . . . .	1		
1889	I. Cg. of Aid in Time of War . . . .	1		
1889	I. Cg. of Agric. & Soc. Reform . . .	1		
1890	<i>Un. I des Patronages</i> . . . . .	5	Cn.	Brussels
1891	I. Cg. of Firemen. . . . .	13	Cl.	Amsterdam

## UNOFFICIAL CONGRESSES, ASSOCIATIONS, ETC.—Continued

Org'd	VII. SOCIAL INTEREST	No. M'tings	Per. Org'n	Headqu'rs
1892	I. Co-operative Alliance . . . .	9	Ce.	London
1893	I. Cg. vs. Immoral Lit. . . . .	1	Bu.	Geneva
1893	I. Temperance Cg. . . . .	1		
1894	I. Masonic Cg. . . . .	5	Bu.	
1895	<i>Internationalis Concordia</i> . . . .		Ce.	Paris
1895	I. Cg. of Aid to Injured Cyclists .	1		
1895	I. Cg. of Hygiene on Ry's., etc. .	2		
1895	Nobel Foundation . . . . .			Stockholm
1896	Women's U. Al. for Peace by Ed. .			Paris
1897	Round About Club . . . . .			London
1897	I. Cath. As. for Protec. of Girls .	6	Ce.	Fribourg
1897	I. Cg. for Prog. in Mine Manag. .	1		
1897	I. As. for Labor Legislation . . .	11	Bu.	Basle
1898	<i>Corda Fratres</i> . . . . .	9	Ce.	Ithaca
1898	<i>Kosmos</i> . . . . .			Amsterdam
1898	I. Cg. of Lifesaving at Sea . . . .	3		
1899	I. Soc. for San. & Moral Prophyl. .	2	Ce.	Brussels
1900	I. Cg. of Cond. & Rights of Women	1		
1900	I. Vegetarian Cg. . . . .	4	Un.	Brussels
1900	I. Profit-sharing Cg. . . . .	5	Fed.	
1900	I. Cg. Coöp. Soc's of Consumption	2		
1900	I. Cg. of Aid to Working Girls . .	1		
1900	I. Cg. of Aid to Discharged Pris. .	1		
1900	I. Cg. Coöp. Soc's of Production .	1		
1900	I. Anti-tobacco Cg. . . . .	2		
1900	I. Cg. of Secur. vs. Ac's by Steam .	2		
1901	I. As. for Rep. White Slavery . .	6	Bu.	London
1901	I. Cf. of Syndicalists . . . . .	8	Sec.	Berlin
1902	I. Woman Suffrage Al. . . . .	7	Ce.	Rotterdam
1902	I. Cg. on Care of Insane . . . . .	6		
1902	I. Museum of Peace & War. . . .			Lucerne
1902	I. Anti-vivisection Cg. . . . .	2	Cl.	Washington
1903	I. Fire Prevention Cg. . . . .	2		
1903	I. Institute of Peace . . . . .			Monaco
1903	Cg. I des Oeuvres du Coin de terre	3		Brussels
1904	I. Un. of Abstin. Ry. Empl's . . .	4	Sec.	Utrecht
1904	I. Cg. for Sanitary Dwellings . .	4	Cn.	Paris

## UNOFFICIAL CONGRESSES, ASSOCIATIONS, ETC.—Continued

Org'd	VII. SOCIAL INTEREST	No. M'tings	Per. Org'n	Headqu'rs
1904	I. Med. As. for Suppres. of War . . . . .			Paris
1904	I. Cg. for Reg. of Jewish Emig. . . . .	1		
1904	Carnegie Institute . . . . .			Washington
1905	International Conciliation . . . . .			Paris
1905	I. Esperan. Peace Soc. . . . .			Neuilly s. S.
1905	Indep. Or. of Good Templars . . . . .	2		Berne
1905	I. Cf. on the Blind . . . . .	4		
1905	I. Med. Cg. on Indus. Accidents . . . . .	1		
1905	I. As. for Race Hygiene . . . . .		Ce.	Munich
1906	I. Lg. vs. Abuse of Alcohol . . . . .	1		Berlin
1906	I. Cn. to Study Occupat. Diseases . . . . .	2	Cl.	Milan
1906	I. Anti-Masonic Cg. . . . .	1		
1906	<i>Mezzofantibund</i> . . . . .	2	Ce.	Wiesbaden
1906	I. Confed. of Agric. Coöp. Soc's . . . . .	3	Ce.	
1907	As. of Cosmopolitan Clubs . . . . .	5		Milwaukee
1907	I. Temperance Bu. . . . .		Cn.	Lausanne
1907	I. Un. for Protec. of Children . . . . .		Bu.	Brussels
1907	U. White Cross Soc. . . . .		Ce.	Geneva
1907	I. Cf. of Socialist Women . . . . .	2		
1907	I. Cf. of Socialist Journalists . . . . .	4		
1907	I. Anarchist Cg. . . . .	1		
1907	Lg. of American Students . . . . .	3	Bu.	
1908	I. Cg. vs. Duelling . . . . .	2	Cl.	Budapest
1908	<i>Welt-vereinigung Kosmopolit</i> . . . . .			Leipzig
1908	I. Cg. vs. Indecent Pictures. . . . .	1		
1908	I. Child Welfare Cg. . . . .	2		
1908	Perm. I. Ce. on Social Ins. . . . .	2	Ce.	Paris
1908	I. Food Cg. (White Cross Soc.) . . . . .	2		Geneva
1908	I. Cg. of Consumers' Leagues . . . . .	2	Sec.	Fribourg
1909	I. Cath. Lg. vs. Alcohol . . . . .	2	Bu.	Maestricht
1909	Soc. I. des Intellectuels . . . . .			Catane
1909	I. Prohibitionist Fed. . . . .	3	Ce.	London
1909	<i>I. V. für Wirtschaftphilosophie</i> . . . . .	2	Ce.	Berlin
1910	Gen. Sec. of Abstinent Socialists . . . . .	2	Sec.	Berlin
1910	<i>Pro Gentilezza</i> . . . . .		Bu.	Rome
1910	I. Humane Cf. . . . .	1		
1910	World Fed. of Pacifist Y. P. . . . .			Milan

## UNOFFICIAL CONGRESSES, ASSOCIATIONS, ETC.—Continued

Org'd	VII. SOCIAL INTEREST	No. M'tings	Per. Org'n	Headqu'rs
1910	I. Cg. of Mining Prop., Hyg., etc. . .	3	Ce.	Paris
1910	I. Cg. vs. Street Noises . . . .	2		
1910	I. Homework Cg. . . . .	2	Bu.	Brussels
1910	I. As. on Unemployment . . . .	3	Ce.	Paris
1910	Carnegie Endowment for I. Peace .			Washington
1910	World's Peace Foundation . . . .			Boston
1911	I. Pacifist Catholic Lg. . . . .			Brussels
1911	<i>Die Brücke</i> . . . . .			Munich
1911	I. Al. of Men for Wom. Suffrage .	2	Sec.	Utrecht
1911	I. Fed. Protec. Native Races vs. Al.		Ce.	
1911	I. Cg. of Cent. Amer. Students. .	1		
1911	I. Juvenile Courts Cg. . . . .	1	Sec.	Paris
1911	I. Soc. for Protec. Sponge Fisher. .		Ce.	Canea
1911	I. As. for Destruction of Rats . .		Ce.	Copenhagen
1911	I. As. for Protec. Motherhood . .	1	Ce.	Berlin
1911	U. Cg. of Mussulmans . . . . .	1		
1912	As. for I. Interchange of Students .			London
1912	I. Feminist Cg. of Brussels . . . .	1		
1912	I. Cg. on the Negro . . . . .	1		
1912	I. Tech. Cg. for Preven. Indus. Ac.	1		
1912	I. Eugenics Cg. . . . .	1		
1912	I. Cf. on Public Baths . . . . .	1		
1913	<i>Cg. I. "Pour Mieux se connaître"</i>	1		
1913	I. Cg. vs. Adulteration, etc.. . .	1		
	I. Cg. of the Deaf & Dumb . . . .	3		
	I. Purity Cg. . . . .	8		
	I. Theosophical Peace Cg. . . . .	1		
	I. Bu. of Abstinent Students . . .		Sec.	Zurich
	U. As. of Esperan. Good Templars			Worms
	I. Un. of Abstaining Teachers . .			London
	I. Fed. of Abstinent Physicians . .		Sec.	Carlsbad
	I. Ce. of Abstinent Priests . . . .		Sec.	Cologne
	<i>Die Weltwarte</i> . . . . .			Leipzig
	<i>Internacia Ligo</i> . . . . .		Ce.	Zurich
	<i>Welt Werein</i> . . . . .			Munich

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