THE WORLD WIDE WAR TRUST

FOUR FIRMS CONSTITUTING THE WAR TRUST HAVE RECEIVED ARMY AND NAVY CONTRACTS AGGREGATING $175,000,000.

ARMY AND NAVY OFFICIALS HAVE GENEROUSLY PAID THE WAR TRUST FROM 20 TO 60 PER CENT MORE THAN THE SAME SUPPLIES COULD HAVE BEEN MANUFACTURED FOR IN GOVERNMENT ARSENALS.

THE PRESENT CHIEF OF ORDNANCE WAS FORMERLY IN PARTNERSHIP WITH THE BETHLEHEM COMPANY, ONE OF THE WAR TRUST FIRMS.

POWDER TRUST REPRESENTED IN WASHINGTON BY HIGH EX-ARMY OFFICIAL AND EX-MEMBER OF CONGRESS.

REMARKS

OF

HON. CLYDE H. TAVENNER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE H. TAVENNER,
OF ILLINOIS.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Speaker, I sat recently in the House of Representatives and heard the Hon. AUGUSTUS GARDNER, of Massachusetts, make the statement upon his responsibility as a Member of the American Congress that—

If war were to break out to-day, it would be found that our coast defenses have not sufficient ammunition for an hour's fight!

Whether or not Mr. GARDNER's statement is correct I can not say, because I do not know; but this I do know, that we do not have the ammunition and armament that we have paid for and should have in return for the countless millions of dollars of the American people's money that have been expended from the Public Treasury.

I mean to say that those Army and Navy officers who do the purchasing of war munitions and who are paid a salary by the people and are trusted by the people to see that the Government receives a dollar's worth of material for every dollar expended have permitted a ring of ammunition manufacturers to outrageously overcharge Uncle Sam for armor, guns, powder, and munitions in general.

For instance, the War Department in 1913 purchased seven thousand 4.7-inch shrapnel from the ammunition ring, paying $25.26 each therefor. At the same time precisely the same shrapnel was being manufactured in the Government-owned Frankford Arsenal for $15.45, all overhead charges included.

Mr. Average Citizen, are you willing that the public officials in the War Department who are spending your money should pay $25.23 for an article that they could have manufactured in Government plants for $15.45?

This instance is not the exception; it is the rule. The Army and Navy officers in 20 years have purchased $175,000,000 worth of armor, armament, and munitions from four firms which have a monopoly in this country on the manufacture of such supplies and have paid this grasping war trust from 20 to 60 per cent more than the same articles could have been manufactured for in Government plants.

WHAT BECOMES OF THE $250,000,000 ANNUALLY?

As the result of frequently repeated statements similar to that made by Mr. GARDNER, the average citizen is at last beginning to ask: "What becomes of the $250,000,000 that is being spent annually on our Army and Navy? Who, pray, is getting the money?"

And it is time the people are beginning to show anxiety, because their money has been squandered like water, and unless Mr. Average Citizen wakes up and removes the wool from his eyes it is going to continue to be squandered.

The American people have never been let into the secret of who the profit makers are in the traffic of war and preparation for war in this country, and the methods by which they help themselves at the public trough. I will go further and venture the assertion that not 30 Members of Congress know the iden-

tity of the select ring of patriots for profit into whose pockets the millions of the masses are pouring, which gentlemen have a water-tight monopoly in this country on the traffic of war trading, and who have drawn down every penny of $50,000,000 in excessive and extortionate profits from the Government by direct virtue of their influential friends in the Army, the Navy, and in Congress. Lest any gentlemen in high places should resent the implication of being friends of the War Trust, I hasten at the outset to concede their contentions that they are patriots; yes, all of them.

Congress can investigate the war trust until it is black in the face, and it will get nowhere. The Secretary of the Navy can try as he will to get some one to underbid the armor ring, either in this country or abroad, and he will not be able to escape the net; he has tried and has not been able to escape it.

Armor, armament, and ammunition contractors are not big enough fools to cut each other's throats. Their business is to supply for a gigantic profit the wherewithal for the peoples of the earth to enjoy a monopoly of throat cutting and the pulling of limb from limb. As for themselves, they do not indulge in price-cutting warfare. Their game is purely profit making. They start the ball rolling by making nations distrustful of one another, and then in inducing them to overprepare for war. Does anyone doubt that if the European nations had not been so overprepared for war they would have been so willing to have entered into it?

GOVERNMENT MANUFACTURE ALONE WILL PROTECT TAXPAYERS.

Is there no way whatever, it may be asked, by which the people can protect themselves from the greed of the war trust magnates? Yes; just one way. That is by the Government taking the profit out of war and preparation for war by manufacturing all of its own munitions, armor, cannon, and battleships. Both Washington and Lincoln advocated the nationalization of the manufacture of war munitions as sound public policy. Government manufacture as a policy need have no bearing whatever on the question of whether we shall have a large or small Navy. Those who advocate Government manufacture of all war equipment are not so much concerned for the present whether we build one or more battleships a year, so long as the Government does the manufacturing, because, then, for every dollar Congress appropriates for battleships the people will receive a dollar's worth of battleship.

If the Government will manufacture all of its own war materials, millions of dollars will be saved annually to the taxpayers as a result of the already demonstrated ability of Uncle Sam to manufacture at a cost much below the prices of the war trust, as I shall show. Government manufacture will mean that the workmen who perform the labor of actually making the munitions will receive higher wages and better working conditions than the employees of the ring of private contractors receive, as these firms number among them the most bitter enemies of organized labor in the United States, working 51 per cent of their employees 12 hours a day, according to a report of the United States Bureau of Labor made just after an investigation in 1910.

Fortunate indeed would it be for this Nation to-day if the Government had a monopoly of the manufacture of all munitions of war. It is not the average American, the man who

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will be required to do the fighting and pay the bills if we become embroiled in the European conflict, who is jeopardizing our peace. The average American is remaining at home, attending to his business. It is the ring of war-trafficking private arms and ammunition firms who are endangering the peace and welfare of 100,000,000 people in order that they may satisfy their greed for profit. If we go to war, it will not be on account of anything the average American has done, but because as a Nation we have neglected to safeguard our peace by taking the profit out of war and preparation for war.

WHO THE WAR TRADERS ARE.

Because I believe it is my duty to do so, I desire now to take the responsibility of directing the attention of the American people to the fact that their money appropriated for the Army and Navy is being wasted by the millions, and to take the responsibility of identifying the war traffickers, so that the taxpayers may know where the millions upon millions of their money that has been dumped into the bottomless pit of militarism have being going, are going, and will continue to go unless public opinion shall arise in its might and demand that further waste of public funds shall cease.

To begin with, who and what is the armor ring, if there really is such an animal? Is the term "armor ring" a mere figure of speech, something invisible, or is it possible definitely to place our finger upon it? Answer: It is possible.

The armor ring is the Bethlehem Steel Co., the Midvale Steel Co., and the Carnegie Steel Co. These three firms, exclusive of their subsidiary war-trafficking auxiliaries, have drawn down since 1887 from the Navy Department alone for the single item of armor plate contracts aggregating $95,628,912, divided as follows: Bethlehem, $42,321,237; Carnegie, $32,954,377; Midvale, $20,353,298.

I have just stated that the armor ring is composed of the Bethlehem, Midvale, and Carnegie companies. Remember the names!

Now, the armament ring is composed of Midvale, Bethlehem, and Carnegie. Ammunition ring, Carnegie, Midvale, and Bethlehem. We will add to the ammunition ring, for good measure, the Du Pont Powder Trust, which has no competitors in the sale of smokeless powder to the Government for reasons that will appear most remarkable when explained. The Powder Trust has obtained contracts aggregating about $25,000,000 since 1905.

SOME DEFINITE INFORMATION AS TO THE WASTING OF PUBLIC FUNDS.

Why has the War Department been paying the ring $17.50 for a 3.8-inch common shrapnel when it can manufacture and is manufacturing the identical article at Frankford for $7.94? Seventeen dollars and fifty cents is more than twice $7.94. The Government could manufacture two shrapnel for the price it has been paying the private manufacturers for one and have $1.62 remaining to the people's credit on each transaction. Is it any wonder we do not have as much ammunition as we should have for the money that has been expended? It is the public funds that are being spent here, and the people have a right to have these questions answered.

We are manufacturing a 31-second combination fuse in the Government arsenal for $2.92 for which we have been paying the ring $7.

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These illustrations are not exceptional, as I will endeavor to show by the fact that on a contract given to Frankford Arsenal for ammunition valued at $1,900,064 we are saving $979,840; or, in other words, we are saving approximately $1,000,000 on a $2,000,000 order as compared with what it would have cost had that contract been awarded the ammunition ring.

In a recent speech before Congress President Wilson stated that "like good stewards, we should so account for every dollar of our appropriations as to make it perfectly evident what it was spent for and in what way it was spent." Surely no such thought was in the minds of the Army and Navy officials who have been doing the purchasing for those departments.

Realizing the Government was being overcharged for turbine rotary drums, Secretary of the Navy Daniels—who, with one exception, is the only Secretary of the Navy that I can find any trace of who has ever made a real fight to escape the extortions of the armor and ammunition rings—induced an independent English firm to submit a bid. The Bethlehem and Midvale companies bid $169,568 and $160,272, respectively, while the English firm offered to furnish the drums for $57,436, a saving of $102,836 to the Government over the lowest bid of the ring. I am not referring now to armor, because the Secretary has not been able to obtain armor abroad.

Recently the Secretary awarded a contract for building 100 torpedo flasks, including heads. He induced a new firm to slip in with a bid, and was able to purchase for $58,246 materials which under normal conditions would have cost $115,075. The bids of the Bethlehem and Midvale companies, under real competitive bidding, showed a reduction of 44 per cent as compared with bids for similar forgings submitted by these companies only four months previous.

Personally, I believe that these officers who, in the expenditure of the people's money, have been paying $115,075 for supplies which could have been obtained for $58,246, should, somewhere or in some manner, be required to make a public accounting for their acts. The thing that riles the blood concerning the manner in which the millions have been squandered by our Army and Navy officers is that this money did not come from the pockets of the rich, but that it has been wrung from the poorest of the poor. All of these wasted millions have been collected by a tax on the things that the people eat, wear, and use, none of it having been collected by direct taxation, but every cent of it having come through the customhouses and internal-revenue offices, which means that the people have been paying the cost of militarism in the form of increased cost of living.

HISTORY OF ARMOR IS ONE LONG SCANDAL.

It would require several volumes to cover all the transactions deserving publicity concerning armor. Let it be sufficient in passing to say that the Government purchase of armor has been a scandal from start to finish. The conduct of the armor ring in dealing with the Government averages throughout at least 80 per cent rotten.

There have been nine official estimates as to the actual cost of the manufacture of a ton of armor plate. The average estimate is $247.17 per ton. Yet since 1887 we have purchased 217,379 tons of armor, paying the armor ring an average of $440.04 per ton, or a total of $95,656,240. I believe I am well within the bounds of conservatism when I say that if all this

armor had been manufactured in a Government plant at least $35,000,000 would have been saved to the American taxpayers, and armor is only one of the things being purchased by the Army and Navy under similar conditions.

Secretary Daniels has asked Congress for an appropriation for a Government armor-plate factory, but thus far Congress has refused him.

If the Government builds an armor plant and a padlock is placed on its doors as soon as it is completed, and it is never used, it will, in the opinion of Secretary Daniels, pay for itself simply by enabling him to obtain fair treatment from the armor manufacturers.

TO DEPEND UPON PRIVATE CONTRACTORS FOR MUNITIONS IN TIME OF WAR IS TO PLACE THE GOVERNMENT AT THE MERCY OF PROVEN EXTORTIONISTS.

Army and Navy officers generally are opposed to complete Government manufacture of munitions of war, taking the position that it is the part of wisdom for the Government to encourage private manufacturers to operate plants so that they may be available in time of war. Experience has shown, however, that instead of patriotically coming to the relief of the Government in time of war, the war traders take advantage of the necessities of the Government, which is at their mercy, and boost their prices. For instance, when war with Spain was imminent the armor manufacturers practically issued an ultimatum to the Government that they would not manufacture a single piece of armor plate unless the Government should agree to pay them $100 a ton more than the price fixed by Congress after an investigation as a fair price. And it is also worthy of notice that their patriotism did not prevent them from selling armor to Russia for $249 a ton, while they were asking their own Government $616 a ton.

ARMOR PLATE PATRIOTISM IS WORLD-WIDE.

There appears to be no real competition between the armor manufacturers of the various countries. Once, in 1893, the American armor ring made a noise like competition, when it sold armor to Russia for $249, while charging the United States $616, and for a time great consternation prevailed in the ranks of the war trusts of the various nations.

But during this period the armor manufacturers of the world met in Paris, and since then there has been little or no competition worthy of the name. The armor manufacturers asked themselves why they should cut each others' throats and why it would not be to their advantage to receive $500 or $600 a ton instead of $200 or $300.

In the naval hearings for 1914, page 621, the present Secretary of the Navy, Josephus Daniels, used the following language in referring to an advertisement for bids for armor plate for the dreadnaught *Pennsylvania:*

> When we came to the armor we rejected all the bids, and were then absolutely in a situation from which it appeared there was no relief. Though you can not establish it in black and white, there is no doubt of an Armor Plate Trust all over the world. That is to say, the people abroad who make armor plate will not come here and submit bids, because they know if they do our manufacturers will go abroad and submit bids. They have divided the world, like Gaul, into three parts.

For more definite evidence of the tremendous syndication and wide sympathies of armor-plate patriotism, an examination of the Harvey United Steel Co., of London, is instructive and entertaining.

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The Harvey United Steel Co. (see British Stock Exchange Yearbook, 1912, p. 1211)—

was registered July 16, 1901, to amalgamate or control four other companies holding the rights of the Harvey patents for treating steel, including the Harvey Steel Co. of Great Britain (Ltd.), and the Harvey Continental Steel Co. (Ltd.).

They were also licensors for the Krupp and Charpy processes of hardening armor plate.

The Harvey Co. in a few months effected a world-wide organization for preparation for war which surpasses anything in the nature of an international alliance for peace that all of the peace societies of the world have been able to accomplish in a century of labor. Although paying handsome dividends, it is claimed that this company has been voluntarily wound up during the last year, after the decisions of two extraordinary general meetings held on July 15 and 31, 1912, but it is very difficult to feel sure that this international association of patriots for profit is really dead and that it has not been resurrected in some less discoverable form.

These are the firms which, banded together, were known as the Harvey Steel Co.:

GREAT BRITAIN.

Vickers, (Ltd.). Albert Vickers, chairman of the great English war trafficking firm that bears his name, not only held 2,697 shares in the Harvey Steel Co., but was its managing director, and was one of the two persons intrusted with its alleged winding up.

Wm. Beardmore & Co. (Ltd.) William Beardmore, chairman of this company, was a director of the Harvey Co.

W. G. Armstrong, Whitworth & Co. (Ltd.). J. M. Falkner, a director of this firm, was also on the board of the Harvey Co.

John Brown & Co. (Ltd.), the Coventry Ordnance Co. (Ltd.), and Thos. Firth & Co. (Ltd.) were all represented by C. E. Ellis, with a holding of 7,438 shares.

The Fairfield Shipbuilding Co. (Ltd.), and Messrs. Cammell, Laird & Co. (Ltd.), are, of course, largely interested in the Coventry Ordnance Co. (Ltd.), and are both in alliance with John Brown & Co. (Ltd.), with the last of whom are connected also the Projectile Co. (Ltd.), Messrs. Palmer's Shipbuilding & Iron Co., and the Hadfield Foundry Co. (Ltd.).

UNITED STATES.

The Bethlehem Steel Co. (Ltd.) held 4,301 shares in the Harvey Co. With the Bethlehem Co. was at this time joined Harlan & Hollingsworth, of Wilmington; Union Iron Works, of San Francisco; and Samuel L. Moore & Son, at Elizabeth. Mr. Schwab, the power behind the Bethlehem corporation, had also a $10,000,000 subcontract for armor and gun mountings of two Argentine dreadnaughts building by the Fore River Shipbuilding Co., which he has acquired, and by the New York Shipbuilding Co.

FRANCE.

Schneider & Co. held 9,862 shares in the Harvey Co., while La Cie des Forges et Acieries de la Marine et d'Homécourt held another 150. The Harvey Steel Co. had four French directors, two of whom held 2,000 shares each.

ITALY.

Societa degli Alti Forni Fondiere ed Acciaiene di Terni held 8,000 shares, and was represented by Raffaele Bettini. This firm is in alliance with Vickers (Ltd.) as Vickers-Terni, with

a gigantic arsenal, and Vickers are also allied with Messrs. Odero and Messrs. Orlando.

Messrs. Armstrong, Whitworth & Co. hold the shares of Armstrong-Pozzuoli (Ltd.), whose arsenal is "the chief supply of war material to the Italian navy," and Ansaldo-Armstrong & Co. (Ltd.), of Genoa, is in the same group.

GERMANY.

Actien Gesellschaft der Dillinger Huttinwirke. In alliance with the patriot firms of England and France this company held no fewer than 2,731 shares, and was represented on the board by Fritz Saeftel, of Dillingen, Saad, Germany.

Friedrich Krupp, of the famous Krupp factories, held 4,731 shares, and was represented by Heinrish Vielhaber and Emil Ehrensberger.

Krupps are related to the Skoda Co., of Austria; Schneider & Co., who make the Creusot gun, have interests in Russia; while the Dillinger firm is owned by Deutsche Waffen & Munitions Fabrik, which has holdings in Belgium and in the Mauser Co., in addition to its huge munition factory in Germany.

METHODS OF THE WAR TRAFFICKERS IN KEEPING UP BUSINESS.

There are tricks in all trades. If the peoples of the several powers can be incited to mutual distrust, suspicion, and hatred, for instance, it means increased dividends for the stockholders of the war traffickers in each country.

The several leading powers aim to increase their naval strength in the same proportion. If one of the powers can be induced to take on an additional superdreadnaught, it is used as an argument as to why the other leading powers should do the same. It works as an endless chain, with the war burden ever and ever increasing on the backs of the taxpayers of the world.

If a new design can be worked out, that, too, means more grist for the shipbuilders. It calls for the speedy "scrapping" of the vessels already on hand as "obsolete," "scrapping" meaning throwing on the scrap heap as old junk. So the life of the battleship is ever lessening.

Another trick in the trade of the war traders which is obviously profitable, otherwise it would not be continued, is the hiring of retired Army and Navy officials and ex-Members of Congress by the powder, armor, and shipbuilding concerns. These ex-officials know the inner workings of the military branches of the Government, know the personnel in an intimate way, and by private conversation, by correspondence, and in various ways are in a position to obtain much useful information. They know how to go about things for results. Through these ex-officials the War Trust has become thoroughly at home in Washington.

There seems to be no limit to the extremes to which the war traders are willing to go for business.

Although scarcely believable, it is the proven fact that British and German war trusts many years ago actually set about to represent to their respective home Governments that their rivals were planning to build and building great armadas of giant fighting craft, which have since been proven absolutely to have been figments of the imagination pure and simple. The same character of campaigns has been going on between France and Germany, between the countries in the triple alliance and the triple entente, and it is yet to be established whether the United States of America has not also been the victim of a similar

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brand of commercialism, in which patriotism is the means and profit the end.

Misrepresentation as to the building programs of Great Britain and Germany were carried on to such an extent that the papers became full of it, and the suspicion of the people toward each other grew and grew. It was inevitable that there could be but one end to such proceedings, and that end war.

Specific information, replete with details, is available to show just how the work was carried on.

Briefly, this is the story: Beginning in 1906, Mr. H. H. Mulliner, managing director of the Coventry Ordnance Co., of England, one of the great British war trafficking concerns, gave himself to the work of propagating the myth of a gigantic expansion of Krupp's works in particular and German military acceleration in general.

It was an underground campaign, but subsequent letters and speeches (Mulliner's communications to London Times, Aug. 2 and 16, Sept. 21, Dec. 14 and 17, 1909; Jan. 1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 12, 15, and 18, 1910, etc.) indicate that Mr. Mulliner's "information," sent first to the war office in May, 1906, was "passed on to the Admiralty," "was discussed by them with several outsiders," and then "passed from hand to hand so that hundreds have read it."

Of this "information" it need only be added that as soon as it became public it was contradicted by Messrs. Krupp, through Hon. John Leyland, member of Parliament, in England, and other correspondents. After some years it was practically admitted by the British Government to have been false. Time has proved that it never had any real basis.

But the "information" had its effect, the effect that Managing Director Mulliner, of the Coventry Ordnance Co., desired that it should have. The "information," becoming public, swept Great Britain off its feet. The people took up and repeated the war traders' slogan: "We want eight, and we won't wait," meaning battleships.

Ten days after Mr. Mulliner presented his "information" to the supreme governing body of the British Empire the statement explanatory of the navy estimates was made. It showed a total of $170,793,522 for 1909–10, an increase of $13,720,752; new construction accounting for an increase of $6,512,400.

As a result of the "tip" furnished by the managing director of the war munition firm, the British Government foretold that Germany would have 17 dreadnaught battleships by March, 1912, and Leader Balfour, still more impressed by the fake "scare," declared Germany would have 25, or, in any case, 21 dreadnaughts in March, 1912.

On almost the same day the predicting was going on in England, the German admiral, Von Tirpitz, told the budget committee of the German Reichstag that the Germany Navy would have only 13 dreadnaughts in the autumn of 1912.

Germany had, in fact, according to the British Naval Annual, only 9 dreadnaught battleships and cruisers on March 31, 1912, and only 14 on March 31, 1913.

GERMANY AND FRANCE EXPLOITED BY ARMAMENT FIRMS.

Germany, too, has had its scandal on account of the war-trust octopus. In his speech in the Reichstag on April 18, 1913, Herr Liebknecht made exposures and revelations which created a

profound sensation throughout the world. I will call attention briefly to the remarkable conditions of affairs revealed by him:

The German Arms and Ammunition Factory, one of the greatest ordnance establishments in the world, employing an agent—Brandt by name—whose special duty it was to corrupt and keep in his pay officials of the military departments of the German Government.

Government documents of the most confidential nature finding their way by mysterious channels into the safes of Herr von Dewitz, one of the managers of Krupp Works.

A great illustrated journal of Leipzig preparing, with the open cooperation of the Government and the armament firms, a special number designed to smooth the passage of the military and naval appropriations.

Herr von Gontard, director of the German Arms and Ammunition Factory, inspiring in the Pan-German organ—Die Post—the most violent diatribes against France; giving orders to have a French newspaper publish articles representing that the French war department was increasing its number of machine guns when it was doing nothing of the kind; first exciting French opinion by provocative matter in the German press, and then instigating a German demand for armaments by means of bellicose utterances in the French press.

Here is a letter published in Vorwarts, a German newspaper, which affords an inside glance of the business methods of a war-trafficking firm:

PERSONAL DOCUMENTS.

(Sheet 15.)

Mr. ——— ———, *Paris:*

(G. No. 8236. Geheim-registratur, i. e., number in register of secret documents.)

We have just wired you: "Please await in Paris our letter sent today."

The reason for this message was that we should be glad for you to get an article into one of the most widely-read French newspapers—the Figaro, if possible—to the following effect:

"The French ministry of war has decided to accelerate considerably the provision of new-pattern machine guns and to order double the quantity at first intended."

Please do your utmost to secure the acceptance of an article on these lines.

Yours, faithfully, VON GONTARD, *Posegarten,*
(For the German Arms and Ammunition Factory).

To explain this missive—if, indeed, any explanation is necessary—it may be suggested that the Waffenfabrik, a German ammunition firm, desiring to obtain an order for machine guns, which the Reichstag did not seem disposed to agree to, sought to obtain the insertion of a news item in the Figaro, one of the great dailies of Paris, to the effect that France was doubling the quantity of its machine guns. It can readily be conceived how such a clipping from a leading Paris newspaper would be an effective exhibit to accompany a request to the Reichstag for an order for more machine guns for Germany. Such is armor-plate patriotism.

JAPAN HAS RECENTLY HAD BIG NAVAL SCANDALS.

The war trust does not confine its operations to the Christian nations, but gathers the pagan governments into its net as well. The arm of the war trust is long. It has reached across the Pacific and laid hold of Japan. In the last year and a half Japan has had army and naval scandals that have shaken it to the core. There have been arrests, courts-martial, convictions, imprisonments, and attempted suicides of high military

officers, all due to the fact that profit has not been taken out of war and preparation for war.

POWDER TRUST NO BETTER THAN ARMOR TRUST.

The history of the transactions between the United States Government and the Du Pont Powder Trust average with the history of the dealings between the Government and the armor makers. The aggregate of the sums paid the Du Pont trust in excessive and extortionate profits no doubt runs into the tens of millions.

In the period between 1905 and 1913 alone the Government purchased 29,565,512 pounds of powder from this trust, paying on an average of 80 cents a pound for 3,297,712 pounds of .30-caliber powder and an average of 65 cents a pound for 29,565,512 pounds of Army and Navy smokeless powder, or a total of $21,998,250.

The Government is now manufacturing powder for 36 cents a pound, all overhead charges included, and the larger the quantities it manufactures the lower the cost. If the Government had manufactured all of the powder it purchased between 1905 and 1913, it would have cost $11,830,754 instead of $21,998,250, or have resulted in a saving of $10,167,496, enough to build a first-class battleship.

The Du Ponts boast they have been selling the Government its powder since the Civil War. If a saving of $10,167,496 could have been effected by complete Government manufacture in eight years, how much do you imagine could have been saved by Government manufacture in the half century between the Civil War and the present day?

When the Supreme Court entered its decree ordering the dissolution of the Du Pont Trust, Pierre S. Du Pont, acting president, wrote the Secretary of War, imploring him to use the influence of the War Department with the Attorney General's Office to prevent the separation of those units of the trust manufacturing powder for the Government; or, in other words, to arrange it so that the Du Ponts would continue to have a monopoly on the sale of smokeless powder to the Government!

The plan as now proposed—

wrote acting president Du Pont in this most remarkable letter, which was dated November 15, 1911—

contemplates a complete dissolution of our military smokeless powder department and its reorganization into two or more separate and distinct corporate units, each to be operated independent of the other and in competition with each other, with all that this implies.

* * * * * * *

We * * * believe that if the Attorney General could be informed through your department or otherwise of the real facts surrounding the smokeless powder industry and its relations to the United States Government he might feel inclined to permit the situation to remain as at present.

What a sublime confidence the head of the Du Pont Trust must have had in the Secretary of War to make such a request, and that in writing!

The Secretary of War referred this letter to Gen. Crozier, who made certain indorsements upon it and returned it to the Secretary.

Under existing conditions—

Reported Gen. Crozier in part—

I consider that the department is doing very well. The Du Pont Co. has a considerable reserve capacity available for war's needs, while a new company could not be expected to bring into existence and main-

tain, with expense, plant in excess of that employed in time of peace. * * * Established confidence is worth something. The department does not find itself pressed by any necessity for a change in the present situation.

The end of the matter was that the Supreme Court left the "military plants" of the Du Pont Co. in one group. So far as the Government is concerned, the Du Pont Trust remains a trust.

The attitude of Gen. Crozier was a service worth large sums to the Powder Trust, and the Du Ponts are realizing on it to this day, because the trust is still without competition in the sale of smokeless powder to the Government.

POSITIVE EVIDENCE OF INTERNATIONAL COMBINE.

The powder makers of the world, like the armor makers, have been in an international combine for years. Here are two paragraphs in the world agreement entered into in 1897, which agreement was used by the Government in its suit against the Du Pont trust:

Whenever the American factories receive an inquiry for any Government other than their own, either directly or indirectly, they are to communicate with the European factories through the chairman appointed, as hereinafter set forth, and by that means to ascertain the price at which the European factories are quoting or have fixed, and they shall be bound not to quote or sell at any lower figure than the price at which the European factories are quoting or have fixed. Should the European factories receive an inquiry from the Government of the United States of North America or decide to quote for delivery for that Government, either directly or indirectly, they shall first in like manner ascertain the price quoted or fixed by the American factories and shall be bound not to quote or sell below that figure.

* * * * * * *

The American factories are to abstain from manufacturing, selling, or quoting, directly or indirectly, in or for consumption in any of the European territory, and the Europeans are to abstain in like manner from manufacturing, selling, or quoting, directly or indirectly, in or for consumption in any of the countries of the American territory. With regard to the syndicated territory, neither party is to erect works there, except by a mutual understanding, and the trade there is to be carried on for joint account in the manner hereinafter defined.

Nor is this the worst: The Du Ponts and the Government have always been in the habit of exchanging all secrets in the manufacture of powder. Government chemists and Government officers are continually experimenting to improve the quality of powder, and whenever they make a discovery of any character full information is furnished the Du Ponts.

And the Du Ponts have been in an agreement with a German firm—the United Rheinisch Westphalian Gunpowder Mills—to keep it informed of all improvements in the processes of powder making.

Here is the actual wording of the contract:

Tenth. That any and every improvement upon said processes of either of them made by either of the parties hereto at any time hereafter shall forthwith be imparted to the other of the parties hereto.

And even this is not all. The Du Ponts agreed to keep the German concern informed at all times of all powder furnished to the United States Government, stating in detail its quality and characteristics, and even the quantity, making themselves, to all practical ends, paid informers of a foreign Government.

Here is the exact language:

Thirteenth. That the parties of the second part (the Du Ponts) will, as soon as possible, inform the party of the first part (the German concern) of each and every contract for brown powder or nitrate of

ammonia powder received by the parties of the second part from the Government of the United States, or any other contracting party or parties, stating in detail quantity, price, time of delivery, and all of the requirements that the powder called for in such contract has to fulfill.

As the German Government maintains a strict supervision over German military manufacturing concerns, there can be little doubt but that the German Government knows of every pound of powder we purchased during the life of this agreement, its exact quality, and exactly the extent of our reserve supply.

I quote the following from an article by Charles Johnson Post in Harper's Weekly for May 9, 1914:

Do you recall the friction with Germany in 1898 over the German naval squadron in Manila Bay? A German admiral brought on a situation that might have held momentous consequences. And Germany knew to a pound what our powder reserves were and what their qualities were.

The names attached to the German contract were Eugene Du Pont, Francis G. Du Pont, H. A. Du Pont, William Du Pont, trading as the E. I. Du Pont de Nemours Co.

FORMER EMPLOYEE OF DU PONTS ESTIMATED THEIR COST AT 21 CENTS A POUND.

Mr. Robert S. Waddell, of the United Safety Powder Co., of Louisville, Ky., who was with the Du Pont Co. as general sales agent for the United States for 21 years, and who has built several powder mills, estimated, in the hearings on the fortifications appropriation bill in 1912, page 187, that the cost to the Du Pont concern in making ordnance smokeless powder is $0.218, exclusive of selling costs, which estimate aroused Admiral Twining, Gen. Crozier, and Vice President Buckner, of the Du Pont trust, to a high state of fury.

Testifying at the hearing on the fortifications bill, February 18, 1908, Gen. Crozier, discussing the question of a fair price to be paid the Powder Trust for powder, scoffed at the idea that powder could be manufactured for 33 cents a pound, as had been charged, as he said—

by some people who objected to what they called a private monopoly.

A board of which Maj. Hoffer was a member—

Stated Gen. Crozier—

finally concluded that 67 cents would be a proper price to pay private manufacturers, and they have accepted that (p. 82, hearings on fortifications bill, 1908).

Contrast this "proper price" of 67 cents with the fact that the Du Pont Trust is now glad to receive 53 cents and that the Government is itself manufacturing powder for 36 cents.

Page 282 of the 1912 hearings contains a table supplied by Gen. Crozier, in which he fixes the cost of powder in the Army powder plant at 40 cents and in the Du Pont plant at 50 cents, exclusive of profit.

This table is valuable to the Powder Trust, because it would indicate that it costs the trust 50 cents a pound to manufacture powder without any profit included. The trust is now accepting 53 cents a pound for powder. But when an effort is again made to bring about a reduction in price, the representatives of the trust will be in a position to say:

How can the Government ask for any reduction, when Gen. Crozier, who is in charge of the Army powder factory, and in a position to know, has estimated that it actually costs us, net, 50 cents a pound to manufacture our product?

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POWDER TRUST PAID 18 PER CENT DIVIDEND ON $35,000,000 OF WATERED CAPITAL.

Touching the question as to whether the Du Ponts have been able to make a profit, Mr. Waddell, while on the witness stand, declared:

I know by the sworn testimony of the Du Ponts that they have been paying 18 per cent dividends on $35,000,000 of watered capital, and have created a surplus fund in addition to that of $16,000,000, so that they are not losing any money on the investment of their capital.

Mr. Waddell was testifying that although there was large profit in the powder business, it was impossible to get investors to build a plant to compete with the Du Ponts in Government business, because, he declared, the Du Pont Co. maintained a lobby and enjoyed such close connections with Government officials that it would be impossible to successfully compete with them.

Mr. WADDELL. I should say that my statement in regard to the potency of the Du Pont lobby in Washington is the fact that they maintained here a Mr. Buckner, who was the president of the International Smokeless Powder Co. and a vice president of the Du Pont Trust. He devotes his entire time and attention to Washington business; makes this his headquarters. He does not do anything else. When I was with the company they paid their vice presidents $30,000 a year, and I presume he is getting a good, rich salary and a liberal account for expenditures.

* * * * * * *

Mr. WADDELL. The Du Pont Trust, so far as I know, have never been accused of unwarranted generosity and throwing away money, and the fact that they spend hundreds of thousands of dollars in Washington is one that they can explain the reason for better than I can.

Question. What evidence have you for that statement—the fact that they spend hundreds of thousands of dollars in Washington?

Mr. WADDELL. The fact of their testimony and the continuous presence here of Mr. Buckner and their publicity agents and many others. I have witnesses to the expenditure of some of the money and to the fact that they kept for some time on the Potomac River a private yacht of T. C. Du Pont, the president of the Powder Trust. That yacht is called the *Tech*, which the skipper told me was for general entertainment purposes, and that the larder of it was magnificently supplied with everything that could contribute to that end. This yacht made excursions between Washington and Indianhead, and the general information of the country in regard to the actions of the Powder Trust in Washington was sufficient for anyone to have information in regard to them.

* * * * * * *

Mr. WADDELL. The main reason why an outside company can not compete for the trade of the Army and Navy is the prestige of the Du Pont Co. that has built up here through a system which has been installed here in Washington and is being worked to the limit.

Question. Let us understand what you mean by that. How do you consider that what you designate as the prestige of the Du Pont people would militate directly against a competitor seeking a contract with the Government?

Mr. WADDELL. The officers of the Army and Navy, and particularly of the Army, come into intimate contact with Senator HENRY A. DU PONT, of Delaware, who is chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs of the Senate. [Senator DU PONT is not now chairman, but a member of the Military Affairs Committee.] That position gives him a strong influence compared with that of an outside manufacturer, and in stating this I do not want to reflect on any officer, but at the same time the influence of a man high in authority in the Senate and at the head of West Point does have a very potent power over the members of the Army, and it would be foolish for me to ignore that fact.

* * * * * * *

Question. You stated awhile ago that you thought there were two plans open to the Government—one the entire manufacture of this powder and the other the purchase of it under regulations as to price. Which do you consider more advisable, and why?

Mr. WADDELL. I would very strongly recommend the building of Government plants and making their own powder, for the reason that you keep within your own councils in the Army and Navy the information that should be retained there. The people of this Nation are bitterly opposed to the fostering and upbuilding of great monopolies, and we

have recently had a judicial monopoly created out of the Du Pont Trust, through the courtesy of Mr. Wickersham, Attorney General, which ratifies the world agreement and gives the exclusive sale of all foreign smokeless powder in the United States into the hands of the Du Pont Co. It avoids the tariff laws to the extreme; it is an influence that should not be fostered by Congress.

* * * * * * *

Question. I notice you refer to the fact that $35,000,000 of common stock, upon which a dividend of 18 per cent was declared, was watered stock, so called. What is the basis for that statement?

Mr. WADDELL. The capital stock of the Du Pont Trust, which is organized under the laws of New Jersey, is $25,000,000 preferred, and, at first, $25,000,000 of common, and later increased to $35,000,000 of common, making the total capital stock $60,000,000. The preferred stock represented their property, their holdings, and their assets of all descriptions, and was put on the market at $70 a share. Taking their own estimate of their own wealth at that time the complete assets, 70 per cent of $25,000,000 would be $17,500,000, which would be the actual value of the assets, and the common stock was water, all of it.

Question. Do you know to whom the common stock was issued at the time of the organization or subsequently?

Mr. WADDELL. At the death of Eugene Du Pont in January, 1902, the president of the company, the old company, three men, T. C. Du Pont, Pierre Du Pont, and Alfred Du Pont, formed what was known as the "Delaware 1902 Corporation," with a capital of $20,000,000, and they issued $12,000,000 of stock. The cash paid in by the three was $3,000, or $1,000 apiece. The three men—I called them the triumvirate—took 75 per cent of the stock, $9,000,000 of the stock, for promotion fees, giving $3,000,000 of the stock to the 1899 Delaware corporation, the old company, and they also gave the notes of this company for $12,000,000, unsecured. Later they formed the big holding company, the E. I. Du Pont de Nemours Powder Co., of New Jersey, with a capital of $50,000,000, $25,000,000 of common and $25,000,000 of preferred. These three fellows, the triumvirate, for their Delaware corporation, of which they owned 75 per cent, took about 64 per cent of the combined common and preferred stock, the control of it, for promotion fees, and they made the New Jersey corporation pass a resolution guaranteeing payment of the $12,000,000 that they had given the Delaware corporation for the purchase of their stock, and they did it. The total investment of the three men in the Du Pont Trust was $3,000 in cash; that is all the money they ever put in it, and that is the testimony of Pierre Du Pont, treasurer of the trust.

Question. In the Government's case?

Mr. WADDELL. Yes. You can get it in the brief of the facts, if you desire it.

FORMER DU PONT EMPLOYEE SAYS GOVERNMENT SHOULD MANUFACTURE ITS OWN POWDER.

It will be noted that Mr. Waddell, who has been in the powder business for a quarter of a century, advocates the Government manufacture of this military commodity. It may be of interest to my constituents to know that Mr. Waddell has a son living in our congressional district, Mr. Robert S. Waddell, cashier of the Maple City Manufacturing Co., of Monmouth, Ill.

Mr. WADDELL. I believe that the time has come when the Government should make its own powder in its own works. It does not cost anything to let a plant lie idle. You can paint the machinery and the wooden tanks do not get hurt much if you keep them full of water. There is very little about a smokeless-powder plant that would deteriorate from standing idle.

HIGH EX-ARMY OFFICER AND EX-MEMBER OF CONGRESS REPRESENT POWDER TRUST IN WASHINGTON.

Col. Buckner, vice president of the Du Pont Trust and its Washington lobbyist, is now testifying. Note carefully what he says. After stating positively that the Powder Trust has no lobby in Washington he recites that, in addition to himself, it is represented in Washington by a high ex-Army officer and an ex-Member of Congress:

Col. BUCKNER (vice president of the Du Pont Trust). His statements on that subject are all false. There has never at any time in the history of the Du Pont company existed a lobby. I am the only repre-

sentative of the Du Pont Powder Co., except that I have employed in my service Gen. Humphrey, who looks after small details. I have to have a representative here in this city, and when he retired I employed him to look after such little details as getting information from all of the departments that affect the Du Pont Powder Co.

* * * * * * *

Q. You spoke of Gen. Humphrey, a retired Army officer, now being a representative of the company. What other persons at any time has the company had employed in connection with contracts with the Government?

Col. BUCKNER: No one, except since I have been out of the country so much I have turned the business over to Mr. Landis to look after this business down here in a measure, but not entirely, because I have been away from the country.

The Mr. Landis referred to by Mr. Buckner is Hon. C. B. Landis, an ex-Member of Congress from Indiana.

The Gen. Humphrey referred to in the testimony of the vice president of the Du Pont Co. as being employed in Washington by the powder company to "look after such little details as getting information from all of the departments," is Maj. Gen. Charles F. Humphrey, retired, who, *although representing the Powder Trust*, still draws a salary of $6,000 a year from the Government as a retired Army officer.

On the subject of retired naval officers taking employment with concerns having dealings with the Government, the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs, following its discovery of a great deal of this practice in 1896–97, had the following to say in its report made to the Senate on February 11, 1897:

No man can well serve two masters, and if contractors having large dealings with a department of the Government can take into their employment, with no limit as to compensation, officials of that department, and through them learn the secrets and the purposes of the department, and, moreover, insidiously influence its action, great injury may result to the public service. The fundamental principle upon which all legitimate business is transacted—that each side shall be represented solely by persons wholly devoted to its own interests—is viciously violated by a custom which allows one side to take into its pecuniary employment a representative of the other side.

An effort was made in the debate to draw a distinction between officers on the active list and officers on the retired list. The committee deny that any well-founded distinction exists which ought to influence the decision of the question. Retired officers of the Navy remain officers to all intents and purposes, with an important exception. Section 1462 of the Revised Statutes provides that "no officer on the retired list of the Navy shall be employed on active duty except in time of war."

But notwithstanding this statute exempts retired officers from all obligation to render any service for the liberal retired pay which they receive for life, amounting usually to three-fourths of their active duty pay, yet they remain a part of the Navy of the United States, available in any emergency of war. They are entitled to wear their uniforms on public occasions and are allowed free access to every bureau of the Navy Department, on the theory that they are still ready to serve the interests of the Government by fidelity, sound advice, and an earnest spirit of devotion to public duty. It is quite enough to allow such officers to enter into ordinary private employment for compensation. To permit them to take sides against the Government and to enter into the employ of contractors having dealings with the Government reaching to millions of dollars will certainly, if the custom continues, become most pernicious and injurious to the public interests. Proclaim that such officers may be so employed by repealing the clause which has now become a law, and a bold and wealthy contractor, willing to spend enough money to take into his employ a sufficient number of naval officers on the active and retired list, would be able thoroughly to weaken the department in its dealings with such contractor and to put the Government at his mercy in making bargains, which would be substantially entered into with the representatives of one side alone conducting all the negotiations.

BUSINESS RELATIONS BETWEEN ARMY OFFICER AND BETHLEHEM CO.

When the Army bill was before the House on June 13, 1914, I called attention to the fact that Brig. Gen. William Crozier,

the present Chief of Ordnance, was formerly in partnership with the Bethlehem Iron Co., now the Bethlehem Steel Co., one of the great firms composing the war trust.

His remarkable promotion over 27 officers of greater age and longer service, his clean jump over three entire grades—major, lieutenant colonel, and colonel—to his present position, in which he determines the specifications, arranges the terms of contracts, and makes the purchases of powder, guns, shrapnel, and all other military supplies for the Ordnance Department, furnishes an excellent illustration of the rapid advancement possible to officers who make themselves agreeable to and are on friendly terms with the war traders.

While a captain in the Army, Gen. Crozier perfected what is known as the Buffington-Crozier disappearing gun carriage. The gun was constructed in Government gunshops by Government workmen at Government expense, hundreds of thousands of dollars being used to perfect the carriage.

When the device was perfected a patent was taken out on it by Capt. Crozier and Gen. Buffington—then Chief of Ordnance—in their own names. The application for the patent was made by Capt. Crozier and Gen. Buffington at the suggestion of the Bethlehem Co.

In 1894 the two officers sold the patent to the Bethlehem Co., giving them the rights as against all makers or users except the Government of the United States. (See S. Doc. 387, 1st sess. 57th Cong.)

The two officers were paid $10.000 cash by the Bethlehem Co., which concern further agreed to pay Capt. Crozier and Gen. Buffington royalties on all gun carriages sold to foreign nations until the same should amount to $40.000 or $50.000 in all. The amount of the royalties was to be as follows:

For each 8-inch carriage	$1,000
For each 10-inch carriage	1,500
For each 12-inch carriage	2,300

Immediately after the contract was entered into, I am informed, the Bethlehem Co. sent agents to Europe to reap the harvest. Various European nations, according to my information, tested the gun carriages, but none would buy, not believing them practical. Many American officers had also expressed doubt as to the practicability of the invention. Senator Redfield Proctor, of Vermont, ex-Secretary of War and then acting chairman of the Military Affairs Committee, gave the carriage much adverse publicity in the Senate at the time. (See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, pp. 5409–5414, pt. 6, vol. 35, 57th Cong.)

Capt. Crozier was still a party to the contract with the Bethlehem Co., when, to the amazement of Army circles, he was nominated in March, 1902, for the position of Chief of Ordnance.

This advancement meant a jump over the heads of 27 officers and three grades, which was a violation of at least the spirit of an act approved February 2, 1901, "An act to increase the efficiency of the permanent military establishment of the United States," which provided:

> That when vacancies shall occur in the position of chief of any staff corps or department the President may appoint to such vacancies, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, officers of the Army at large not below the rank of lieutenant colonel, and who shall hold office for terms of four years.

The rank of captain is the next grade below that of lieutenant colonel.

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HOLDS OFFICE IN VIOLATION OF LAW.

Appointment to the position of Chief of Ordnance also made Capt. Crozier a member of the Board of Ordnance and Fortification, and his appointment therefore was in direct violation of an act approved February 18, 1893, which contained the following:

Provided, That hereafter no person shall be a member of or serve on said board who has been or is in any manner interested in any invention, device, or patent which, or anything similar to which, has been considered or may be considered by or come before said board for test or adoption; or who is connected with or in the employ of any manufacturer who has or shall have contracts with the United States for any ordnance materials.

Earnest opposition was made before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs to the confirmation of Gen. Crozier's nomination. No reflection was made on Gen. Crozier's personal character or upon his efficiency. Attention was directed to the fact that he had been in partnership with the Bethlehem Co. (it was not known then that at that particular time he was a party to the contract with the Bethlehem Co., which he did not terminate until 8 months after his confirmation), from which concern, in conpetition with others, he would be called upon, as Chief of Ordnance, to purchase materials aggregating millions of dollars in value.

It was also pointed out that if his disappearing gun carriage should be O. K.'d by this Government and installed in large numbers by our Government for defense purposes it would tend to make it more attractive to foreign nations, and thus create a demand for it abroad, which would mean royalties to Gens. Crozier and Buffington.

The propriety of an officer of the United States Army offering for sale and seeking to profit by the sale to foreign nations of a weapon of defense perfected at the expense of the American people was also raised.

When in the debate on the Army bill I ventured to call attention to the fact that Gen. Crozier had formerly been in partnership with the Bethlehem Co., and that ever since his confirmation as Chief of Ordnance he had been awarding that concern contracts running into the millions annually, generously paying the Bethlehem Co. from 20 to 60 per cent more than it would have cost to manufacture such supplies in the Government arsenals, the general was eulogized as a "soldier without fear" and a halo was placed upon his head.

But let us see whether Gen. Crozier's clearance papers were "absolutely" clear, as stated to the House.

COMMITTEE THAT HEARD EVIDENCE FOR AND AGAINST WAS 8 TO 2 AGAINST CONFIRMATION.

The only vote taken by the committee that heard the charges against Capt. Crozier, and his defense to the arguments in opposition to his confirmation, was a vote 8 to 2 against confirmation.

The files of the Army and Navy journals for the period during which the Crozier nomination was pending indicate that "powerful pressure," reaching even to the President of the United States, was being used to bring about the confirmation of the then Capt. Crozier as Chief of Ordnance.

In spite of the fact that effort was made to cause the members of the Senate Military Affairs Committee to change their votes and vote for confirmation, they refused, and the best compromise that could be obtained was an agreement to refer the matter back to the Senate without recommendation.

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Capt. Crozier was confirmed by the Senate in executive—secret—session June 20, 1902.

In the meantime the War Department has installed $9,000,000 worth of the Buffington-Crozier carriages.

INVENTIONS PERFECTED WITH AMERICAN TAXPAYERS' MONEY SHOULD NOT BE OFFERED TO FOREIGN NATIONS.

I do not desire to do Gen. Crozier the slightest injustice, and on the other hand I am equally anxious that he do no injustice to the taxpayers of this country, 90 per cent of whom are the poor, and 99 per cent of whom are kept too busy looking after their private affairs to give personal attention to the manner in which their money is being expended in Washington, and who rely upon their paid Representatives in Congress to look after their interests. The Buffington-Crozier disappearing carriages may be as deadly in warfare as Gen. Crozier claims, and their purchase and manufacture by this Government through Gen. Crozier may be an excellent investment. I do not know.

What I take particular exception to, and what I believe the American people would take exception to if they knew of these facts, is that Army officers should have any business connection whatever with the ammunition ring, and that instruments of war perfected as a result of the expenditure of money raised by taxing the American people should be even offered to foreign Governments by an American Army officer.

If this Nation should engage in war with nations equipped with such weapons, American sailors and soldiers would be mowed down with engines of death perfected with the American people's money.

What is the use of this Government spending huge sums to perfect guns if after they are perfected they are to be offered for sale to foreign nations, any one of which may possibly become our enemy?

SOME OFFICERS HAVE BEEN IN POWER AT HEADQUARTERS TOO LONG; TOO CLOSE AN INTIMACY HAS GROWN UP WITH AMMUNITION CONTRACTORS.

When a political party is in power too long, it becomes careless of the people's rights. An organization grows up that is not for the best interests of the public.

Occasionally, however, political parties are taken out of power, and the organization is thus broken up. But in the Army and Navy the machine goes on building forever. It has $240,000,000 to spend every year. Army and Navy officers never have to go before the people and answer for their acts. There has never been a real investigation of the business methods of the War and Navy Departments, and no doubt those in charge figure that because there never has been there never will be.

Just how far the armor concerns in this country go in entertaining Army and Navy officials would be interesting to know. It is well known that the Krupp concern in Germany spends a large sum of money for the entertainment of visiting military officers, who come to the big works at Essen from all countries of the world commissioned to pass for payment work ordered by their Governments.

The firm of Krupps, whose customers the army officers are, has built a hotel, the Essen Hotel (Essener Hof), where the officers receive princely hospitality at its expense.

"This Krupp hotel," writes M. Jules Huret, who was a guest there, "is a very curious place. With its double marble stair-

case, with columns of rose-colored marble and banisters of gilded copper, it has dignity. In the vestibule, on either side of a vast stone chimney piece, sculptured masks represent the five continents. The ground is covered with red tiles, along which carpets are run; red leather settees and armchairs are lined along the walls. The guests of the firm dine in a special hall. * * * After a few days they all know one another and they soon meet around a large round table. Nothing could show better than these occasions how much that is artificial our civilization contains. Turks, Bulgars, Serbs, Japs, Chilean, and Argentina and Philippine representatives will be there.

"There will also be Scandinavians, Russians, Belgians. At the end of the meal, when the French wines have got a little into their heads, the voices will rise, and all these enemies will clink glasses for a long time like brothers, amid laughter and the smoke of long cigars, at the cost of the Krupps—a thousand leagues from the thought of the reasons that brought them there. All these gentry will perhaps be slaughtering one another one fine day with these guns which they have come to see bored. But while they are waiting for the steel to cool they 'booze,' as William II said to Jules Simon."

GOVERNMENT MANUFACTURE OF WAR SUPPLIES IS THE ONLY SURE METHOD OF PROTECTING TAXPAYERS FROM MILITARY EXTRAVAGANCE.

Nationalization of the manufacture of the munitions of war offers a program on which everybody, whether in favor of disarmament, increased armament, or maintaining the present armament, can meet on a common ground. Those who desire greater armament can get it at little more than one-half the cost of private manufacture.

It is argued by some who oppose complete Government manufacture as a policy that the Government should give to private manufacturers such an amount of work "as will justify them in keeping up plants which would be of inestimable value to the Government in case necessity arises." This is not a reason for the present wasteful policy, merely an excuse.

By complete Government manufacture the Government could save enough money annually to buy a plant equal to that of the largest private concern. In a few years the Government could save enough by complete Government manufacture to own all of the plants in the country and have the munitions and ships which would have been purchased in those years as well.

It can scarcely be argued that the Government could place more dependence during war upon a privately owned plant than upon a Government-owned plant if capacity was equal. The advantage would be on the side of Government manufacture, because the Government-owned plant could not increase the cost of its products in time of war when the Government is at its mercy, as the Armor and Powder Trusts did during the Spanish War.

Both France and Russia have Government armor plants. In the matter of cost the Russian Government claims to be able to produce armor at a saving of about $200 a ton.

Should the Government manufacture all of its munitions, I predict that the Navy League would not only lock the doors of its suite in the National Capitol, from which it carries on its lobbying morning, noon, and night, but that the same patriots for profit who are now clamoring for a bigger and

bigger Navy, in the certain knowledge that if their agitation is successful they will draw down contracts worth millions, will be among the loudest in their protestations against an annual expenditure of $250,000,000 for war in time of peace. Later I will identify some of the men back of the league and mention their business connections to show why I think they would be likely to close up their busy little lobby headquarters in Washington if Uncle Sam should determine to nationalize the manufacture of everything pertaining to war.

PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF ARMOR AND MUNITION FACTORIES IS A STANDING MENACE TO PEACE.

Every man who opposes war and favors peace can support a policy of Government manufacture, because as long as these hydra-headed capitalistic cliques which thrive and fatten on international distrust and suspicion remain in our midst we are in danger, not so much from the peoples beyond the seas as from the war traders at home, who, if permitted to ply their trade to its final analysis, will lead us to the very brink of desolation and then, to satisfy their sordid greed of gold, plunge us headlong into the bottomless abyss of war itself.

Permit me here to quote the words of Minority Leader OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD, uttered in the debate on the Naval bill in the House of February 5, 1915:

> I believe we ought to have a reasonable Navy and a reasonable Army, but I do not want to see my country have either a Navy or an Army that will invite us to make issues that may precipitate our people into the caldron of bloodshed and disaster. [Applause.] I believe that if you propose to enter into a race of armaments the end of the story will mean war. [Applause.]

INCREASE IN COST OF NAVY IS ABNORMAL.

The increase in the cost of our Army and Navy in the last 20 years is enough to stagger the imagination and bewilder the senses. The cost of our Army and Navy is greater in proportion to its size than that of any other nation on earth. The increase in cost is absolutely abnormal when considered in proportion to the increase in our population, or the increase in wealth, or when considered with the increased cost of preparation for war in other countries in time of peace. In this connection it is legitimate to ask to what extent the awful increase in cost is due to the systematic agitating of he possibility of war by those who profit financially from the ever-increasing expenditures of the military branches of our Government.

In the last 30 years our population has increased 85 per cent, our wealth 185 per cent, and our expenditures 400 per cent.

In 1883 our appropriation for the Navy was $14,903,559; in 1890, approximately $20,000,000; in 1914, $140,000,000! Our appropriations for the Army and Navy combined for the ensuing year will be in the neighborhood of $240,000,000.

During the year 1912 our entire revenue, not including postal receipts, amounted to $702,000,000. Of this we expended $654,000,000 to defray the entire expense of the Government; $444,000,000, or 67.88 per cent, was paid out for war and on account of war. Just before the outbreak of the present European war Germany was spending 55 per cent of her revenues for war and on account of war; Japan, 45 per cent; Great Britain, 37 per cent; and France, 35 per cent.

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Our Army contained 91,416 men; Navy, 52,757 men. German Army, during the year indicated, contained 870,000 men; navy, 66,783 men. Japan: Army, 250,000 men; navy, 51,054 men, with a reserve naval force of 114,000 men. Great Britain: Army, 254,500 men; navy, 137,500 men. France: Army, 720,000 men; navy, 60,621 men.

Germany's revenue exceeded ours by $60,000,000, but our expenditures for war and on account of wars exceed hers by more than $50,000,000, yet her army is more than eight times as large as ours.

The revenue of France is more than $233,000,000 greater than ours, but our expenses for war and on account of wars is nearly $150,000,000 more than hers, notwithstanding her army is eight times as large as ours and her navy excels ours by 10,000 men.

How the cost of our Navy is soaring.

1883	$14,903,559
1893	23,543,267
1894	22,104,061
1898	33,003,234
1899	56,098,783
1900	48,099,969
1903	78,856,363
1908	98,958,507
1909	122,662,485
1910	136,935,199
1911	131,410,568
1912	126,405,509
1913	123,151,538
1914	140,718,434

It is interesting to note that the per capita appropriations by Congress for all purposes is climbing up just about in proportion to the increased cost of the Navy, as the following figures will show:

Year.	Navy appropriations.	All appropriations per capita.
1890	$20,000,000	$6.15
1900	48,000,000	9.05
1912	126,000,000	10.73
1914	140,000,000	11.09

It is pertinent to inquire where the millions that have been poured into militarism to the enrichment of the armor and ammunition capitalists came from. These millions were not picked up in the streets, and they were not contributed by the rich. Our citizens have not contributed in proportion to their wealth, but the poor man has paid on an average almost as much as the rich; and since there are 99 poor to every rich man, it means that the millions that have piled up in the pockets of the armor-plate magnates have come from the pockets of the poor.

And this is the feature of militarism-gone-mad that strikes home—the fact that the wasted millions did not come from an income tax or inheritance tax levied on those best able to bear the burden, none of it having been collected by a direct tax, but that practically every penny of the $2,000,000,000 expended on the Army and Navy in the last 10 years came through the customhouses and the internal-revenue offices. Since customhouses and internal-revenue offices do not levy taxes on men according to their wealth or ability to pay, but solely upon

things the people eat, wear, and use, it means that the people pay the armor-plate makers' bills in the increased cost of living.

Therefore it is but logical that the cost of living must increase in proportion to the cost of militarism—and it does, as the table heretofore given shows beyond successful contradiction. The people may as well know that as the cost of militarism increases in the future so will the cost of living.

To make clearer my statement that the poor man has been paying almost as much toward defraying the expenses of the Federal Government as the rich man, permit me to correct the impression of the average person that some part of the taxes he has been paying to his local tax collector has been sent to Washington for the purpose of maintaining the Federal Government. The truth is that not one penny of the taxes we have been paying our local tax collectors has come to Washington. Every penny of such taxes has gone toward defraying the expenses of township, city, county, and State. Therefore if a millionaire pays a heavy State tax none of it goes toward defraying the cost of the Army and Navy or maintaining the Federal Government. The manner in which the people have been supporting the Army and Navy and meeting all other Federal expenses has been by paying increased prices for things eaten, worn, or used. The local grocer and dry-goods merchant has been the Federal tax collector without knowing it or without his average customer knowing it. To the extent that the average poor man eats the same amount of food as the rich man he has been paying as much tax. Funds for the maintenance of the Army and Navy, as well as all other Federal expenses, have thus in the past been raised wholly in the form of increased cost of living.

It is true, of course, that we now have an income-tax law on the statutes, and this will help some; but until the tax on incomes in excess of $10,000 annually is increased much above the present rates, and until there is a stiff Federal inheritance-tax law, so that those who derive the greatest benefit from military expenditure will bear the heaviest burden of their cost, as they should, the poor man will continue to carry the heaviest load in proportion to his ability to pay, just as he always has done and just as the stone in the bottom of the wall bears more weight than its more fortunate brethren on the top.

GET READY TO PAY IN EARNEST FROM NOW ON.

Two billion dollars have been collected in 10 years from the men, women, and children of our Nation for militarism, a sum sufficient to dig the Panama Canal, pay off the national debt, with enough left to defray for one whole year the entire expenses of all the churches, including foreign missions, all the free schools, colleges, and universities in America.

And the end is not yet. The war traffickers have not finished reaping their harvest; they are just getting in good trim to make us pay the cost of militarism in real earnest. American people, listen to this little colloquy which occurred recently at one of the hearings of the Naval Affairs Committee between Representative FINLY GRAY, of Indiana, and Admiral Vreeland, a big-Navy booster:

"Mr. GRAY. I wish to inquire of the admiral if it is not the policy of other Governments to increase their navies with all the other leading powers?

"Admiral VREELAND. It is, sir.

"Mr. GRAY. What would be the advantage to us or any other powers if the navies were increased equally by all the nations of the world? Would there be any advantage to us or to any other power?

"Admiral VREELAND. Not if you mean in the same ratio.

"Mr. GRAY. Would not the same grounds exist after an increase for a further increase?

"Admiral VREELAND. It would seem so.

"Mr. GRAY. There would be no advantage gained by any nation, then. How long could that be maintained, that even increase, and what advantage would it be to any nation?

"Admiral VREELAND. If it continues to increase, the poorer nation will eventually exhaust itself, and then the other nations, the United States included, will have a free hand—I mean be free to build in accordance with the changed conditions.

"Mr. GRAY. Then it is only a question of the limit of taxation?

"Admiral VREELAND. Yes, sir."

In other words, the only thing that the international war trust has to fear on the score of reduction of profits is the limit of the ability of men, women, and children to keep on paying the ever and ever increasing per capita appropriation tax in the form of higher prices for foodstuffs and wearing apparel. This is certainly a bright prospect for the Armor, Powder, Battleship, and Ammunition Trusts. But for the taxpayers the prospects are not so bright.

If the taxpayers of the world want to escape being forced to pay higher and higher taxes until they get so high they simply can not pay them; there is but one thing to do, and that is for the people of all the nations to insist that their Governments manufacture their own munitions of war.

If the millionaire and multimillionaire war-trust magnates can not make huge profits in supplying the armor, guns, powder, and battleships, they will take the same attitude toward the wasting of public funds that the rest of us do.

TESTIMONY BEFORE SENATE LOBBY COMMITTEE.

United States Senator GEORGE T. OLIVER, of Pennsylvania, testified before the Senate lobby investigation committee that he owned 1,000 shares of stock in the United States Steel Corporation and held a "considerable" interest in copper mining. He testified he also owned 7,700 shares in the Pittsburgh Coal Co. and two newspapers—the Pittsburgh Gazette-Times and the Pittsburgh Chronicle-Telegraph. Increased armament requires great quantities of both copper and coal.

The United States Steel Corporation is the owner of the Carnegie Steel Co., which concern has obtained $32,000,000 worth of contracts from the Navy Department for armor alone, and other millions of dollars' worth of contracts for other materials used in the increasing of the Army and Navy.

On February 2, 1915, one of Senator OLIVER'S newspapers editorially asked:

"But what is meant by that resounding mouthful "disarmament by the United States?" Isn't it the fact that the United States is pretty well disarmed as matters stand? * * * There isn't much sense in talking of the United States disarming before it is armed.

THE ARMOR RING AS EMPLOYERS OF LABOR.

The concerns comprising the armor ring are notorious as being among the most bitter enemies of organized labor in the

United States, and reports following investigations of conditions in the plants reveal that they are cruel and inhuman in their treatment of unorganized labor.

A survey of living conditions in Pittsburgh was made in 1909 by the Sage Foundation under the direction of especially qualified investigators.

Edwin Bjorkman, a magazine writer, was furnished with the material gathered by the foundation and presented its findings in condensed form in the World's Work for April, 1909. I quote the following from Mr. Bjorkman's résume of the Sage Foundation report:

> Among 16,000 men employed in the three largest plants of the United States Steel Corporation in 1907 there were 120 men working only eight hours a day. * * * Among the steel and iron workers the 12-hour day is practically law now, so that, for instance, there were only ninety-three 10-hour men to one thousand five hundred and seventeen 12-hour men at the Homestead Steel Works in 1907.
>
> This law, slightly modified—and modified largely for the worse—holds good seven days of the week all the year through. Neither Sundays nor holidays exist for these toilers. Once every fortnight they work 24 hours in a stretch in order that they may have a full day of 24 hours free the next week.

MR. WORKINGMAN, HOW LONG DO YOU PROPOSE TO STAND FOR THIS?

Thanks to an investigation of the Bethlehem Steel Co.'s strike in 1910, information is available as to conditions of labor in that armor-making concern's plants.

When this strike began there were no labor organizations in the plant; the company would not permit them.

The Government investigation revealed this:

That out of every 100 men 29 were working 7 days every week.

That out of every 100 men 43, including these 29, were working some Sundays in the month.

That out of every 100 men 51 were working 12 hours a day.

That out of every 100 men 25 were working 12 hours a day 7 days a week.

That out of every 100 men 46 were earning less than $2 a day.

These are the grim figures which the United States Bureau of Labor gives us of the working shifts of the Bethlehem Steel Co. as drawn from the company's own time books. This is the manner in which the concerns that have drawn down $175,000,000 of the people's money were treating their employees in 1910. Since that time considerable 8-hour-day legislation has been passed, and there is no record of the number of 12-hour shifts now in force.

Workingmen of the Nation, are you willing that your Government shall continue to give contracts running into the millions annually to firms that have mistreated and underpaid their employees as have these great war trafficking concerns? If you are not willing, then protest against it. But let me assure you at the outset that one protest will not be sufficient. The chances are you will have to speak loud and often before your voice will be heard in far-off Washington.

ENTER MR. ANDREW CARNEGIE, PATRIOT.

One of the strongest arguments in favor of a policy of complete Government manufacture of all munitions of war is that such a policy will remove all incentive for the defrauding of the Government by private manufacturers. The war trust has never hesitated to cheat the Government when it found an opportunity to do so, and it has managed to find the opportunities.

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Any discussion as to armor frauds necessitates the mention of one of our prominent millionaires who travels about the country posing as a great patriot—Mr. Andrew Carnegie, who holds $300,000,000 worth of bonds in the United States Steel Corporation, which in turn owns the Carnegie and other war-trafficking subsidiaries, which never hesitate to take advantage of their strangle hold of our Army and Navy, Mr. Carnegie's protestations of patriotism notwithstanding. Mr. Carnegie's slice of pork resulting from his $300,000,000 worth of bonds amounts to approximately $16,000,000 annually. The American taxpayers contribute the greater portion of this in the form of increased cost of living.

On January 7, 1911, Mr. Carnegie made a speech before the Republican Club in New York City, in which he told how he came to go into the armor-plate business.

I was coaching in Scotland—

He said—

when I got a cablegram from Secretary Tracy—

This is the same Secretary of the Navy Tracy who, after leaving the Government service, became the attorney for the Carnegie Co.—

saying in effect, "the President says he understands it to be your duty to enter into the manufacture of armor and save the ships from waiting on the stocks for want of it."

Mr. Carnegie proceeded then to say:

That telegram settled it, for whenever the public calls on me for anything I can do, unless I fall dead, it is my glory to respond.

That is what I did, because the President asked me to do it, and if the President thinks it is my duty to do anything or to go anywhere for my country, I consider it the voice of God.

Mr. Carnegie went into the armor business as a result of listening to the "voice of God," but there is a sufficiently large amount of documentary evidence to indicate that once in the armor business, with Uncle Sam as a customer, his hearing must have become defective.

VOICE OF GOD OR VOICE OF GREED?

On the 22d of May, 1894, the House passed a resolution authorizing the Committee on Naval Affairs to investigate the charges of fraud filed against the Carnegie Steel Co., then Carnegie, Phipps & Co. The evidence was large and convincing. Here is some of the evidence bearing directly upon the question of fraud in the manufacture of armor plate by this apostle of peace, to whom the voice of the President is the same as the voice of God.

Charles M. Schwab was then superintendent of the company, but is now president of the Bethlehem Steel Co., and one of the 43 Carnegie-made millionaires. He testified that the armor plate did not "receive uniform treatment"; that they did not make any armor plate that did not "have blowholes"; that the "blowholes" were secretly "plugged" and kept "concealed" from the Government inspectors; that he knew of this fraudulent work. The document which contains all this evidence is House of Representatives Report No. 1468, Fifty-third Congress, second session.

The superintendent of the works, W. A. Cline, testified that he almost invariably changed the figures so that false reports of the treatment of the plates were systematically made to the

Government inspectors; that he discharged some of the workmen because they told the truth about this fraudulent work.

Mr. T. F. Van Kirk, a workman in this company's works, testified that on April 11 and 12, 1892, a plate, x–9, 13 inches, was—

plugged and hammered up. Forty holes in top and bottom of plate. This plate was afterwards finished, stamped x–8, 13 inches, April 23 and 24, 1892. Holes in top of plate run in wire 4 feet or more. The material in this plate was very bad, and in trying to plug the plugs would fall in, but we finally doctored it up and it passed inspection.

Mr. T. F. Farley says in his testimony:

When I first went there they were plugged by taking cuttings from the same plates. * * * hammering them in with a punch, and placing more and more in the hole until it was level, until it could stand no more plugging. I have run wires in to the depth of 18 inches into these plates, and I know that plates that I run a wire in 18 inches passed and is now somewhere.

WAR TRAFFICKERS CAN DEFRAUD UNCLE SAM AND KEEP OUT OF THE PENITENTIARY, BUT ORDINARY CITIZENS BETTER NOT TRY IT.

Mr. Carnegie's company was found guilty of fraud upon the Government, and damages of $600,000 were assessed against his company, but he managed to compromise for $140,000. The fact that the Carnegie Company defrauded the Government did not seem to impair in the least its standing with the Navy Department. Mr. Carnegie was given larger contracts than ever.

While Mr. Carnegie was on the witness stand before the Stanley Steel Trust investigating committee, Congressman BEALL of Texas inquired whether it was his habit to consult his attorney to learn the law, so as to be able to operate his business accordingly. Mr. Carnegie, pointing to his head with his index finger, replied:

I never bothered my head about the law.

Perhaps this explains it.

Mr. Carnegie, testifying before the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations on February 5, 1915, read a carefully estimated summary of his benefactions, amounting to $324,657,399. That is, in addition to creating his 42 or 43 millionaires, he has actually given away $324,657,399, and his fortune is still large enough to permit him to give away as much again. It would be interesting to know how many of these millions were collected from Uncle Sam in the form of excessive prices for armor and munitions, after Uncle Sam had collected them from the men, women, and children of the United States through a tax on their food, clothing, and other necessaries of life.

It is noticeable that in philosophizing on the art of money-making Mr. Carnegie reserves to himself exclusively the right to acquire millions by the methods he has acquired them.

In his address to the working girls of New York on February 10, 1911, reported in the Washington Post February 11, 1911, he said:

I have made 42 or 43 millionaires in my time, but I want to say that the only right a man has to wealth lies in his acquiring it by his own labor.

FRAUDS CONTINUE TO PRESENT TIME, IS BELIEF.

Representative HENRY T. RAINEY, of Illinois, one of the best-known and most courageous Members of the House, has devoted considerable time to the subject of defective gun forgings palmed off on the Government by the ammunition ring. He expresses the conviction that these frauds are being perpetrated

upon the Government even to this day. I quote from his speech delivered in the Sixty-first Congress:

The fact of the continuance of these frauds is evidenced by the frequency with which guns explode on our battleships and on land, killing and maiming men; by the frequency with which boilers on our ships blow up, with such awful results to human life.

Guns while being tested by other great nations of the world do not explode with disastrous results. We do not read in the papers that boilers frequently explode on the war vessels of England or Germany or any other nation. The very large number of these accidents in our own Navy and in tests made by our Navy officers leads to the irresistible conclusion that there are defects in the castings of the guns and in the castings for the steel tubes and boilers furnished by our steel companies. I desire to insert here in my speech a few of the more important accidents of this character as recorded in the news items of our metropolitan papers.

DISASTERS CAUSED BY EXPLOSIONS, BURSTING GUNS, FAULTY BREECH BLOCKS, ETC.

1904, April 13. Battleship *Missouri*, off Pensacola Fla.; explosion; 32 killed.

1905, July 21. Gunboat *Bennington*, San Diego, Cal.; boiler explosion; 34 killed, 66 injured.

1906, January 10. Battleship *Massachusetts;* gun explosion; 9 killed.

1906, April 13. Battleship *Kearsarge*, in Caribbean Sea; explosion; 6 killed.

1907, July 15. Battleship *Georgia*, Massachusetts Bay; explosion; 6 killed, 15 injured.

1908, June 5. In California waters, cruiser *Tennessee;* bursting of boiler tube; 6 killed.

1910, March 28. Cruiser *Charleston*, in Philippine waters; gun explosion, alleged faulty breech block; 8 killed, 7 or 8 wounded.

1910, July 21. Explosion of gun, Fort Monroe; 12 killed.

1911, January 17. Battleship *Delaware;* boilers exploded; 9 killed; just outside Hampton Roads.

Total killed in nine years, 147.

Total maimed in nine years, 102.

As a result of the accidents I have enumerated, and there have been others, in nine years 147 men have been killed and 102 maimed for life. In other words, by these accidents, in nine years of profound peace, we have killed or maimed for life more of our men than were killed in action in the Spanish-American War.

In order to show that the frauds continue to this day, I have original affidavits, made within the last few months up here at Bethlehem.

ARMOR RING, INSTEAD OF TAXPAYERS, ARE PROTECTED.

The naval bill now pending before the Congress, which was reported from the House Naval Affairs Committee on January 16, 1915, and was passed by the House February 5, and is now waiting to go before the Senate, is loaded to the guards with fat, juicy pork for the armor ring.

When the bill was reported it contained this provision:

No purchase of structural steel, ship plates, or machinery shall be made at a price in excess of a reasonable profit above the actual cost of manufacture.

Let us analyze this paragraph to see what it really means: It provides that "no purchase of structural steel, ship plates, or machinery shall be made at a price in excess of a reasonable profit above the actual cost of manufacture." This means that no purchase of structural steel shall be made in excess of a reasonable profit above the actual cost of manufacture; that no purchase of ship plates shall be made in excess of a reasonable profit above the actual cost of manufacture; and that no purchase of machinery shall be made at a price in excess of a reasonable profit above the actual cost of manufacture.

What about armor and armament? It does not say that purchases of armor and armament shall not be made at a price

in excess of a reasonable profit above the actual cost of manufacture.

There is some competition in structural steel, ship plates and machinery, but in armor and armament, to all practical ends, there is none. Therefore the manufacturers of structural steel, ship plates, and machinery must not charge more than a reasonable price, but the armor and armament rings can charge any old price that may suit their fancy.

WHY NOT PERMIT THE PUBLIC TO KNOW THE IDENTITY OF THE PATRIOTS BEHIND THE WAR TRUST?

After the paragraph providing for the purchase of the armor plate I offered the following amendment:

Provided, That the Secretary of the Navy shall not consider any bid for the supplying of the armor or armament herein provided for unless such bid is accompanied by a sworn list of stockholders and bondholders of the corporation submitting such bid, such list of stockholders and bondholders to be taken from the books of said corporation as of date of July 1, 1914: *And it is further provided*, That such list of stockholders and bondholders shall be transmitted to Congress in a separate report by the Secretary of the Navy.

This amendment went to its grave on a point of order made by the chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee.

My purpose in offering the amendment was to ascertain the names of the shareholders of the war trust, the names of the men who profit from the manufacture of war munitions by private construction. Those who are advocating the taking of profit out of war and preparation for war by having all Army and Navy equipment manufactured in Government plants can make a more intelligent fight if they know exactly who they are fighting. Until the identity of the stockholders of the war trust can be established it might, perhaps, even though unpleasant, be logical to assume that those patriots who cry out in anguish every time the Government manufacture of war munitions is mentioned have been struck in the region of the pocketbook, an exceedingly tender part of the anatomy.

Comparisons are odious, but in 1909 the Investors' Review of London examined the stockholders' lists of several British war-trafficking concerns and it found in the list of one company alone (Armstrong, Whitworth) the names of:

Sixty noblemen, their wives, sons, or daughters.
Fifteen baronets.
Twenty knights.
Eight members of Parliament.
Twenty military and navy officers.
Eight journalists.

Later lists revealed a marked connection between stock holding in armor and munition companies and active membership of "purely patriotic" organizations, such as the British Navy League.

SECRETARY OF NAVY FAVORS GOVERNMENT MANUFACTURE.

In his first annual report for the year 1913 Secretary Daniels asked for an appropriation for an armor-plate factory. I quote from that report:

IMPORTANCE OF ARMOR-PLATE FACTORY.

I desire to recommend the passage at the earliest moment of a sufficient appropriation to begin the construction of a Government armor plant to relieve a situation which, in my estimation, is intolerable and at total variance with the principle of economy in spending Government money. It is sufficient to mention here that only three firms in

this country can manufacture armor plate, and that these firms have put in bids for armor plate seldom varying over a few dollars, and in many instances being identical to a cent. Asked for reasons as to the uniformity of these bids, two of the firms replied frankly that as the contract would be divided amongst them anyway, the only effect of competitive bids would be to reduce the profits made by all of the three firms.

* * * * * * *

I do not see how it is possible for Congress to justify to the people a refusal to erect a Government plant, nor how it can answer the charge that will invariably be brought up—that the same mysterious Providence which saved this profitable business to the steel companies three times in the past, even after money for a Government plant had actually been appropriated, is not still at work exercising its beneficent protection over these lusty specimens of infant industries, who are even now under Government investigation as violators of the antitrust law.

Secretary Daniels estimates that the Government would save between a million and three million dollars annually, depending on the size of the plant, if it should manufacture its own armor plate.

Contrary to popular idea, the Navy Department in what it manufactures does so, from a superdreadnaught to a gallon of paint or a pound of powder, cheaper than the same can be purchased. This is particularly true of the most expensive instruments of war, but is equally true of gasoline engines, electrical supplies, engines for dreadnaughts, shrapnel, clothing for marines and sailors, accouterments, and a multitude of other articles required for the fleet and shore stations.

SECRETARY SAYS GOVERNMENT MANUFACTURE REDUCES PRICES.

In the two years that the present torpedo works have been in full operation at Newport, R. I.—

Says the Secretary, on page 10 of his last annual report—

the cost of manufacture of each torpedo has been reduced from $4,200 to $3,200. These torpedoes, if bought at the only private torpedo plant in the country, would cost $5,000.

There is another reason why the Navy Department should be able to manufacture munitions of war; that policy would prevent effective agitation or organization for big preparations for war conducted by those who make profit by the manufacture of war supplies. It has been suspected—

Goes on the report—

in some countries that makers of armor and powder, guns, and fighting craft have promoted steadily increasing equipment for giant navies and large armies for their personal enrichment, as others have practiced "philanthropy and 5 per cent." The incentive of personal aggrandizement by preparations for war should not be permitted to exist in the United States. The effective way to prevent so baneful an influence is for Congress to give the department authority to manufacture implements of war, an authority which could be employed when necessary. (Annual Report, 1914, pp. 10–11.)

ARMOR RING REMAINS SNUGLY IN THE SADDLE.

Instead of providing for an appropriation for an armor plant, which would have rescued the taxpayers from the tender mercies of the armor ring, the House Committee on Naval Affairs provided only for an "investigation" of the subject.

The action of the committee in thus providing only for an investigation, of which there have been several in the past, instead of providing for an armor factory, as recommended by the Secretary of the Navy, is worth from $3,000,000 to $5,000,000 a year to the armor ring.

Numerous investigations have been made in the past, and this provision for an unnecessary additional investigation impressed me, as I stated at the time on the floor of the House, as being merely a dodge to sidetrack an appropriation in this Congress

for an armor plant, as recommended by the Secretary of the Navy.

But the precious life of the armor ring has been saved! There has been no appropriation for a plant, and that is the thing the ring was opposed to and the only thing that it fears.

In the meantime there has been an election and 20 or 30 Members of Congress who were in favor of a Government plant have been defeated, and many of them will be succeeded by men who will be unfavorable.

The patriots for profit are resourceful. As profit is on their side and only a principle on the other side they will generally be victorious.

WHICH PLAN IS MOST PATRIOTIC?

The question has been raised as to the patriotism of those who insist upon the Government manufacture of all munitions of war, including battleships. I can not see how it can be contended that it is any more patriotic to advocate two battleships to be built by private contractors, with huge profits to the builders, than it is to advocate two battleships to be constructed by the Government.

The "big-Navy-to-be-built-by-private-contractors" policy will meet with the approval of the armor ring, the ammunition ring, and the Shipbuilding Trust. It will also be eminently satisfactory to the Navy League of the United States, which organization has from the first been an adjunct of the house of Morgan, and is constantly agitating a larger and larger Navy, but, mind you, not a larger Navy to be built at the lowest possible cost with a Government armor plant and in Government shipyards, but a larger Navy to be built by the armor ring, the ammunition ring, and the Shipbuilding Trust.

"BIG NAVY" AGITATION A BUSINESS PROPOSITION WITH THE NAVY LEAGUE.

Ever since I have been a Member of Congress I have been receiving literature from this "big Navy" lobby, and finally I determined to call the attention of its officers to the fact that their pleas for a larger Navy are tainted, and will continue to be tainted until they advocate the Government manufacture of all munitions of war. On January 16 of last year I addressed a letter to Mr. A. H. Dadmun, the secretary of the league, in which, among other things, I said:

> I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 13th instant, together with inclosures as to why a powerful Navy is needed.
>
> Assuming that you are in good faith in this agitation and really desire the largest possible Navy for patriotic reasons, I am going to take the liberty of suggesting to you that if you will inaugurate a movement for the Government manufacture of all munitions of war, including all battleships, your campaign will strike a much more responsive chord with both Members of Congress and the people.
>
> In other words, if the Government is to do all of the manufacturing of munitions of war, including battleships, the point can not then be successfully raised that the agitation is for the benefit of the armor ring, the ammunition ring, and the Shipbuilding Trust.
>
> But if you do not advocate the Government manufacture of all munitions of war, including battleships, you can not successfully deny that you are carrying on a propaganda which means millions and millions of dollars of extortionate profits to the above-mentioned interests.

I hardly expect readers to fall out of their chairs in amazement when I report that the Navy League has not accepted my suggestion.

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MANY PROMINENT PATRIOTS IDENTIFIED WITH THE NAVY LEAGUE.

I desire now to present some information as to who is behind the Navy League:

Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan was until his death one of the directors, and intensely interested in the league's work, to which he was a liberal contributor. Mr. Herbert L. Satterlee, general counsel for the league, is a son-in-law and heir of Mr. Morgan. J. Pierpont Morgan, jr., is one of the active directors of the league.

Gen. Horace Porter is president of the league. He was for many years an officer of the Pullman Co., which is a Morgan corporation.

Mr. Charles G. Glover is treasurer of the league. He is president of the Riggs National Bank, which is closer to Wall Street than any other bank in Washington.

Col. Robert L. Thompson is chairman of the executive committee of the league. He is an eminent financier of New York, whose great interests generally coincide with the colossal undertakings of the Morgan group. He is also the head—being chairman of the board—of the International Nickel Co., and holds the honorable post of president of the New York Metal Exchange.

Mr. J. Frederick Pams is director of the league. He is a New York society and yachting man, a friend of Mr. Morgan, and a member of Mr. Morgan's yacht club.

Mr. George von L. Meyer is a director of the league. Mr. Meyer was Secretary of the Navy in the Taft administration, and on March 3 signed the remarkable contract for the *Pennsylvania's* armor that has been the subject for unpleasant comment in Congress and elsewhere. He is a considerable stockholder in the New Haven Railroad, which is a Morgan concern, and is also a director in the Amoskeag Manufacturing Co., at Manchester, N. H., and has on the board as his associates Mr. F. C. Dumine, who helped Mr. Morgan to incorporate the Boston Railroad Holding Co., by which the New Haven was enabled to hold the Boston & Maine in spite of certain provisions of the Massachusetts law. Mr. Dumine is also a director of the Fore River Shipbuilding Co., which is on friendly terms with the Morgan group and affiliated with United States Steel.

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FOREWORD.

The second edition of the "Outline of Lessons on War and Peace" is published while the greatest tragedy of all the ages is being enacted and in a year which may be the most critical in human history. Of the eight nations which own nine-tenths of the armaments of the world, six are at war; the seventh, Italy, may still become involved in it and the United States alone is safe and free to think and work for peace.

This war has come because the remedies offered by the physicians of peace and justice had been refused and the quack nostrums of the militarists had been swallowed, not only by the monarchs, but by gullible taxpayers. The chief cause for hope is that no people wanted this war and had there been time for the great forces of sanity to mobilize, war would have been prevented. The millions who are slaying each other and destroying the best that humanity has achieved were entrapped, every voter as helpless as a nonvoter, and all opposition silenced by lies, bewilderment and haste. Failure to create proper political machinery that could express the people's will is responsible for this unspeakable catastrophe. In this crisis, America and the neutral nations have a great task to perform in proffering mediation and in proposing terms of permanent peace. Public opinion had never such an opportunity to save humanity from a system which, if continued, will lead to more militarism and the decay of civilization.

The study of world peace now becomes the paramount duty of every man and woman who can read and think. The twisted logic and confused thinking, the alliances, balance of power and secret diplomacy which have driven millions of rational beings, with no quarrel with each other, into this senseless conflict must be examined as they never were before. Two new organizations formed within a year give hope of great usefulness in the campaign of peace education which now becomes imperative; these are the Church Peace Union, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City, and the Woman's Peace Party, 116 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

All references to war in the following pages are to international war, not to rebellions or revolutions within a country. The two are in different categories. The order of lessons may be varied, and the whole amplified or condensed for various purposes. In order to maintain interest, classes should meet at least twice a month. Doubtless every town library, if asked, will secure the reference books required for the course. When not otherwise stated, books and pamphlets referred to may be had on application to the World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston. *Single copies of pamphlets referred to and published by it, including this "Outline," sent free on application.*

OUTLINE OF LESSONS ON WAR AND PEACE.

LESSON I.

THE NATURE OF WAR.

1. **War is the deliberate, organized killing of one body of human beings by another body of human beings.** Clear definition very essential. Vast confusion and dangerous inferences from frequent confounding of different kinds of war and war with other forms of contests; the word often used in different meanings in the same sentence. Animals fight without deliberation, not in herd or pack, and rarely *kill their own kind*. Cobras do not *en masse* fight other cobras, nor tigers unite to slay tigers. Men the anomaly in the animal world in deliberately joining to destroy their own kind. War is less brutal than fiendish; love of it is not so instinctive in man as lusts and appetites or fisticuffs.

2. **War saps the virility** of a people, killing the most fit and leaving the least fit to beget posterity. Unlike contests against environment,—hunger, disease, ignorance, etc.,—war injures and degrades man. A few once self-indulgent men may gain fortitude by it, but the race is weakened. Compare Canadians with Venezuelans, the peaceful with constant fighters. Virility of Chinese, the only ancient people which survive; they always esteemed the scholar more than the soldier.

3. **Decline of war:** once the trade of every man. Except for getting game, primitive woman supported the family. Once there was a Hundred Years' War, a Thirty Years' War, a Seven Years' War. Umpired athletic contests are now replacing among youth the school fights of two generations ago. Like religious persecution, the witchcraft delusion, slavery, all abolished within two hundred years, war will end hundreds of years before murder, riots, intemperance, lust, corruption disappear, and a thousand years before prospects of the "Millennium."

4. **Four kinds of war:** sharply discriminate between them; each in different category.

Past war: killing in hand-to-hand fights; living on enemy's flocks and herds; at later stage, hired soldiers; no war loans saddling debts on posterity; no sanitation, nurses nor protection of non-combatants; neutral nations not much affected; no possibility of world organization nor easy preventives of war until recently.

Future war: projectiles thrown below horizon at invisible foes from a battleship that costs wages of 5,000 men for one year; generals directing troops from the rear by wireless; non-combatants not killed, but cruelly taxed; huge war loans; possibly war in the air; inventions making our present costly armaments useless; neutral nations suffer greatly; in the Balkan War they lost hundreds of millions of dollars in commerce.

Civil war: essentially impromptu, long preparations impossible; may occur after international war ends; as difficult for a World Court to suppress civil war as for our Supreme Court to prevent riots within a state. Future civil war may be prevented or settled by mediation of neighbor nations. Overthrow of tyrants or suppressing rebellion a pardonable excuse for one side in some past civil wars.

International war: sometimes inevitable in the past under given conditions; never pardonable in the future, as ample substitutes are available and conditions changed,—this to be explained later.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION.

1. How does war differ from massacre? dueling? riot? animal contests? and from wholesome struggle against environment?
2. How many years and when has our republic fought with other nations?
3. Why were there fewer wars in the world in the 19th century than in the 18th?
4. How war reverses the principles of stock-breeding and leaves the unfit to propagate. See Jordan's "The Blood of the Nation"; also Norman Angell's "The Great Illusion," Part II, Chapter IV.
5. Show fallacy of Admiral Mahan's statement, "All force is, by degree, war." See "Swords and Ploughshares," pp. 92, 93; fallacy that Jesus sanctioned war by driving out the money-changers.
6. What kind of a war was our Revolutionary War? civil or international? Discuss other revolutions and their results.
7. Graphic pictures of war. See "Lay down your Arms," Baroness von Suttner; "The Downfall," Zola; "The Human Slaughter-House," Lazarus; "Pride of War," Janson,—a powerful narrative of the war in Tripoli. Article in *McClure's Magazine* by Frederick Palmer, September, 1913, on "The Most Up-to-Date Business—War."

LESSON II.

COMMON FALLACIES ABOUT WAR AND PEACE.

1. **That rival armies and navies are national police.** Dangerous vie *r*, but held by millions of Christians, who in consequence vote for huge armaments and assume that we shall have "the army and navy forever." Police and militia will always be needed; their function totally different from rival navies and all large armies. Our small army

sometimes used as police in time of earthquake, flood, forest-fire or riot. Police function is primarily to preserve property, save life, do kindly protective work; police must use minimum of force when arresting, simply enough to put on handcuffs and convey criminals to court. Navies are ordered to use maximum of force; they exist to destroy and never convey to international court. Police exist to secure justice and not to fight other police. Navies and great armies have nothing to do with obtaining impartial justice, but are created to be ready to fight each other, though occasionally doing police duty. Function of police Ex-President Eliot places far higher than that of soldier. Illustrate and amplify this.

Militia functions are essentially different from army's in war. Militia is forbidden to shoot a fleeing mob after the riot act is read; they never fight the militia of another state; often perform police functions; but rival armies and navies are tools of governments which prepare for international dueling. Rival navies and armies must gradually be reduced and used for peaceful public service and for an International Police. Nations acting in concert will control such police and so maintain justice. See "The New Peace Movement," pp. 82–94.

2. **That government is based on physical force.** All governments use physical force, but none is chiefly based on it. The most stable government, like our own, rests on the will of the people. The most unstable, like Russia's or Turkey's, rests far more on force; yet even these two depend far more on money, agriculture, commerce, inventions and trained leaders than on armies and navies. No force possible unless soldiers are fed and paid. Our government rests besides on police, courts, schools, the press and the respect of other nations. For most of the last century we had a very small navy, yet were respected, and we have never been attacked by an outside power since the Revolution.

3. **That human nature must change before war can end.** The same thing once said about slavery. Human nature has changed in the last century by creation of conditions which leave much innate deviltry dormant and give outlet to innate love of contest in struggle against environment. Contrast conditions one hundred years ago with those now as regards insane, children, women, wounded in war, slaves, cruelty, proportion who voted, achievements of missionaries among cannibals, intemperance, a sense of democracy and brotherhood of man. Though human nature changes, federation or union of small political units has done as much for peace as even change of human nature.

4. **"In time of peace prepare for war,"** a maxim hundreds of years old. Any value it ever had has passed. Our century should substitute "In time of peace prepare for peace," despite the constant

claim that preparedness for war insures peace. Preparations for war are becoming more costly in the long run than modern war itself. The supposed remedy for war must now be counted almost as bad as the disease. See pamphlet on "The Drain of Armaments."*

5. **That questions of vital interest and national honor should not be arbitrated.** Individuals constantly arbitrate such since dueling ceased. That "Uncle Sam will never arbitrate a slap in the face" is cheap and heathenish talk. Uncle Sam has had no "slap" for a century, if indeed ever. Alternative to peaceful settlement is killing thousands of innocent soldiers to avenge an "insult" from government officials who never fight.

6. **That compulsory military training is good for all youths.** It has some advantages, with many disadvantages. The former could be had by strict, systematic work under government requirement for those unable to pass certain physical and educational tests. Physical drill, lessons in hygiene, life-saving, etc., practical service of country in planting forests, etc., could replace study of art of killing. French and German youths from 17 to 19 much better off if drafted for this instead of being compelled as now to leave field, shop and factory for two or three years for military service from 19 to 22 years of age.

7. **That our armaments are a national "insurance."** Our military charges in the last 30 years equal $4,000,000,000; this is 13 times cost of the Spanish War. If armaments "insure," we paid a premium 13 times greater than the loss, plus the loss itself!

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION.

1. Is there historic ground for belief that "conquer we must when our cause it is just"? Why did we conquer in the Mexican War, which General Grant called one of the most unjust wars ever fought by a strong people against a weak one?
2. Can both sides, however sincere, be equally right? Was there ever a war more than fifty per cent. just? Mention wars in which neither side had just claim.
3. Point out fallacy in "Will war end with this century? Not unless injustice ends." (Lyman Abbott.)
4. When and how did dueling end in English-speaking countries? Where is it still recognized?
5. In what exceptional instances has our navy been used for real police functions?
6. Why do Great Britain, Germany and Italy have no wars now within their borders as they had constantly centuries ago? Is their human nature essentially different from that in the days of Chaucer, Luther or Dante?
7. The navy as "insurance." See "Swords and Ploughshares," Chapter V.
8. Mention other common fallacies, and discuss them.

* *Note in each lesson that pamphlets referred to are sent free on application to the World Peace Foundation, No. 40 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston.*

LESSON III.

NATIONAL DANGERS AND NATIONAL DEFENSE.

1. **Kind and amount of defense needed do not depend on national wealth, coast line nor population,** as the militarists claim. Modern wealth, unlike ancient wealth, cannot be carried off; it depends largely on business confidence; is largely affected when foreign customers suffer. Wealthy nations can buy munitions of war quicker than poor nations. Since second Hague Conference of 1907, no undefended place can be bombarded. Our whole coast is protected by this provision or by fortification of cities. Our length of coast line is no criterion for number of battleships. Our population is less than 25 times what it was in Washington's day, yet our expense for army and navy has increased over 250 times since then. China with a population ten times that of France does not need ten times as great a navy.

2. **Sole criterion of amount and kind of nation's defense is amount and kind of danger.** The United States has no danger from without, but great dangers from within. *In its three foreign wars combined it lost less than* 15,000 *men by foreign bullets. It began all its three foreign wars.* It has had 100 or more years of peace with every nation on earth save Spain and Mexico. Neither of these attacked us. Minister Woodford declared afterward that the war with Spain would have been prevented, had we waited 48 hours. All the good we did Cuba could have been gained by securing a long truce and a wise expenditure of a tithe of what we did spend. See "Swords and Ploughshares," pp. 84–86. If no nation attacked us when we were weak, with slight commerce, and there were few substitutes for war, none will attack us now that the Hague Court has made war avoidable and our commerce and banking render us a vital factor in other nations' prosperity. Japan has no designs on us nor on the Philippines. Her interests and attention are now in manufactures and commerce, in national improvements, on holding and developing Formosa and Korea, with its millions of discontented people, and on developing Manchuria. Should she try to seize the Philippines, she must divide her forces and keep half at home to guard her new possessions, or Russia and China might encroach. We have taught her people. They are grateful and friendly. Malice, race prejudice and false suspicions fostered by those who would find excuse for building more battleships regularly create a war panic before annual vote on appropriations. Said Justice Brewer, "There are 727 active and retired officers in Washington who are making of our national capital a military center."

The man who wants contracts for armaments or will receive more glory and prestige by them is as incompetent to judge dangers and defense impartially as a judge who should try a case in which his family or income is concerned. Men whose work is technical, dealing with engineering, target-shooting, etc., the last to understand the questions of psychology, economics, history and statesmanship which affect security or danger.

3. **Internal dangers** threaten us more than do those of most great nations. We shamefully exceed them in homicides, needless accidents and lynchings. 600,000 *persons—forty per cent. of all who die—perish needlessly in our country every year.* Consider this in detail as regards tuberculosis, fire, mining, accidents, etc. The National Children's Bureau has less income than the cost of annual repairs on two torpedo-boat destroyers! Our National Bureau of Education is in sore need. Defense against child labor, vice, poverty, ignorance, etc., suffers because of our artificial panics and silly fears about nations with which we have kept the peace since the republic began. We put our chief defense where it is least needed, and our least defense where most needed.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION.

1. What dangers have Germany and Japan that we have not?
2. "The Truth about Japan,"—see pamphlet with that title.
3. War-scares about Japan. See Jordan's "Unseen Empire," pp. 111, 122.
4. What evidences are there of the Kaiser's friendliness to the United States? Could Germany gain anything by injuring us?
5. National dangers. See Chapter II, "Swords and Ploughshares," also the World Almanac and Jordan's "Unseen Empire," pp. 158–167.
6. Why do we not dread the greatest naval power on earth?
7. How does the space devoted in our newspapers to war games and maneuvers and military news compare with the same in the period before the Spanish War?

LESSON IV.

THE MODERN WAR SYSTEM AND ITS COST.

1. **Preparation for war.** This preparation, in the words of Czar's rescript of 1898, "is bringing about the very cataclysm it is designed to avert." Conscription with recent increase in all Europe except Great Britain. Millions of non-producers, including volunteers in other lands, fed, clothed, equipped with costly weapons. Vast numbers drawn from constructive work to prepare short-lived, destructive weapons. Millions of European women in consequence drawing loads or digging

fields, doing men's outdoor work. Strenuous efforts being made in England to get conscription adopted and in the United States to have an enormous trained reserve force.

2. **Cost.** All told, for the world's annual war preparations over two and a quarter billion dollars; equals $2.25 spent every minute during Christian era, or a pile of dollar bills piled like leaves in a book 116 miles high! Loss of earnings of non-productive soldiers doubles this. The United States has spent for all purposes during its history $21,500,000,000. Of this, $16,000,000,000 was spent on war and its incidents. Ponder these startling facts; learn them by heart; pass them along.

3. **War loans:** a modern invention, placing burdens on fourth generation of posterity even if war ceased to-day! See Jordan's "Unseen Empire," pp. 23–51.

4. **Competition in armaments.** Each nation naïvely asserts it arms "simply for defense"; that security demands its own armaments must exceed its neighbor's. A must outrank B, and B must outrank A! England's theory that its navy must equal any two-power equipment (the United States excepted). Result: steady increase in inventions for war; in other inventions to counteract the first, *e.g.*, torpedo boats and torpedo-boat destroyers; still more to counteract the second invention, etc.; focusing inventive thought on destructive work, withdrawing it from constructive; alarming increase in debts and cost of living, but no increased security.

5. **Capturing private property at sea still legalized in war,**—though nations are bound to leave private property of an enemy immune on land, it is not yet immune at sea,—a potent cause of increased fleets to protect ocean commerce. The United States has always opposed this.

6. **War-scares** chiefly due to (1) commercialized press influenced by desire to sell exciting news, and by pressure from certain vested interests; relation of the Krupp firm and other contractors to war-scares; (2) pressure from government employees who want continuance in same kind of jobs connected with war supplies; (3) militarists who have focused their minds for decades on war and are blind to its new substitutes; (4) an uninformed public, impressed by "war games" and naval parades, easily gullible by war rumors.

7. **Comparative expenditures.** The total annual income for the peace cause in the whole world equals less than the cost of one single torpedo-boat destroyer!

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION.

1. What does the United States spend annually for pensions? Compare this with the expense in earlier years. See World Almanac.
2. Is a national debt a blessing? See "The Unseen Empire," pp. 56–59.
3. Armament syndicates and war-scares. The Krupp revelations. *Ibid.*, pp. 102-125.

4. How would Great Britain's yielding to the request in 1907 of the United States and Germany to protect private property at sea in time of war reduce demands for great navies and profoundly affect the whole war system? *Ibid.*, pp. 92–94.

5. How militarism largely accounts for increased cost of living. See report of Massachusetts Commission on the Cost of Living, 1910 (pamphlet made up from same published by the World Peace Foundation).

6. Estimate probable number employed in building one $15,000,000 battleship with number required to build 150 trade-schools at $100,000 each, which would last more than twenty times as long as a battleship could be used and would send forth generations of self-supporting citizens.

7. Discuss the fallacy in the statement that "manufacturing armaments gives employment and circulates money."

8. How can comparative statistics regarding peace and war be so treated as to affect the imagination and be made impressive?

LESSON V.

"THE GREAT ILLUSION."

1. An epoch-making book, translated into over twenty languages. Author, Ralph Norman Angell Lane (Norman Angell), English-born, a naturalized American, educated in France and Switzerland. His keen exposure of current fallacies startles business men and statesmen. This book has impressed the great statesmen of the world,—the German Kaiser, Sir Edward Grey and others. 10,000 copies of cheap edition sold in Germany in one week; 40,000 brochures containing gist of it sent to German students by Garton Foundation.

2. **Main points.** *a. Man's struggle must be against environment, not against man.* Co-operation of man with man hastens mastery over hostile nature and bad conditions. Science and business demand increasing co-operation. *b. Human nature constantly changes.* Fighting due to scarcity of game yielded to settled industry; tribal fights were ended by union and wider area in which peaceful pursuits could flourish; end of religious war; now only conflict of States survives. This is chiefly due to certain fallacies as to the relation of political and economic interests, even though a war is supposed to be incited by sentiment of honor, revenge, etc. Profound change in complex financial *interdependence of world capitals* in the last thirty years. *c. Conquest brings no profit* to-day with civilized rival nations in fully occupied territory, though it often brought material gain under by-gone conditions. Trade depends on natural wealth and people capable of working it; is carried on by checks and is based on credit and confidence. Trade could only be destroyed by destroying population. Annexation of conquered territory annexes competitors who still compete. "Enemies" are customers and investors.

d. Success in trade to-day has no relation to size of country or to its armaments. Norway with insignificant navy has per capita nearly three times the carrying trade of Great Britain. Safety of investments not increased by armaments. Belgium's 3 per cents quoted at 96, and Germany's at only 82. Russia's 3½ per cents quoted at 81, and Norway's at 102. "Defenseless" nations in less danger of war than are those armed to the teeth. *e. Force that secures greater co-operation between parts of the body politic marks advance.* The predominant factor is shifting from the physical to the intellectual plane. The farther one gets from physical force in acquiring wealth, the greater the result. The whole book should be carefully studied. See "The Great Illusion," Chapter V, Part II.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION.

1. Sketch of Norman Angell's work and theories. See "Swords and Ploughshares," pp. 139–152.
2. Weakness of some pacifist arguments. See "The Great Illusion," Chap. II, pp. 7–14.
3. Axioms of modern statecraft. *Ibid.*, Chapter II.
4. What is the essence of the great illusion? *Ibid.*, Chap. III.
5. What would result from German invasion of England? from England's annexation of Hamburg? *Ibid.*, pp. 54–62.
6. German commerce and English credit. Why Switzerland can beat Great Britain in trade with Canada. *Ibid.*, pp. 50–71.

Why has public credit improved in South America? *Ibid.*, pp. 74, 75.

How destroying competitors destroys customers. *Ibid.*, pp. 78–84.

LESSON VI.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT.

13th to 18th Century. 600 years before the Hague Conference of 1899, Pierre Dubois, a pupil of St. Thomas Aquinas, presented a scheme for a permanent tribunal of arbitration similar to that accepted at The Hague. Henry IV of France with his great minister, Sully, worked out a scheme, published after their deaths, for a federation of European states. In 1624 a book by Emeric Crucé developed the thought of a regular system of arbitration. The next year Hugo Grotius published "The Rights of War and Peace," of which Andrew D. White has said, "Of all works not claiming to be inspired it has proved the greatest blessing to humanity."

In the same century George Fox founded the Society of Friends, whose tongues made others quake and caused them to be dubbed "Quakers."

The high-bred scholar and pioneer, William Penn, published in 1693 a plan for the "Present and Future Peace of Europe." The work of all these men before the 18th century was notable, but aside from that of Grotius and Fox had few practical results.

18th to 20th Century. In 1795 Immanuel Kant's tractate on "Eternal Peace" with profound insight proclaimed that war would never cease until the world was organized, and that it could never be organized until its constituent nations had achieved self-government. The 19th century at last extended the principles of democracy. At its beginning hardly a nation had real self-government, and communication was no faster than in the time of Moses. At its close nearly every nation had some form of self-government, while electricity, wireless telegraphy and steam bound the world together. For the first time in history, world organization is feasible, and it is necessary.

"The United States is the greatest peace society in the world." Free trade and peace between forty-eight states of very varying conditions and size presage the same between forty-eight nations. Our Supreme Court the forerunner of the World Court. It has always kept peace between one state and another; was never designed to prevent one-half the states trying to overthrow the national government. If, by analogy, one-half of the world fought the other half,—an unthinkable thing,—of course no Hague Court could settle such universal war. Supreme Court made peace easy; without it many interstate wars would have resulted. It cannot end crime within states, as a World Court cannot prevent civil war. When established, our Supreme Court was suspected, and it had no case for two years. The Constitutional Convention of 1787 in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, of great international as well as national significance. Principle of federation exemplified in Swiss and Dutch federations, and on continental scale by United States.

First Peace Societies in the world founded in 1815,—in New York by David Low Dodge, and later the same year in Boston by Noah Worcester and William Ellery Channing. English Peace Society founded in 1816. A great work for peace accomplished by Charles Sumner in his "True Grandeur of Nations" and other orations, by William Ladd, by Elihu Burritt, "the learned blacksmith," by Richard Cobden, John Bright, Victor Hugo, Passy and others in Europe. Five wonderful International Peace Congresses, 1843–1851, in London, Brussels, Paris, Frankfort, and again in London. Great set-back to the cause by Crimean War, when England, as Lord Salisbury said years afterward, "put her money on the wrong horse." But the whole theory of arbitration was worked out; various cases were arbitrated by tribunals set up for the occasion, before this war. The idea of a Congress of Nations was known in Europe as the "American plan."

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION.

1. Who was Hugo Grotius, and what did his great work accomplish?
2. What did George Fox and his followers preach?
3. Character and achievement of William Penn.
4. Of Immanuel Kant? Elihu Burritt?
5. Franklin, Washington and Jefferson on War. (See pamphlet with this title.)
6. What serious interstate differences has the United States Supreme Court settled?
7. How can the United States show the way to a United World?
8. The Monroe doctrine or British-American co-operation to protect weak South American republics from aggression. See "Right and Wrong of the Monroe Doctrine," by Charles F. Dole (pamphlet). Also Prof. Hiram Bingham's little book on "The Monroe Doctrine: An Obsolete Shibboleth."

LESSON VII.

THE TWO HAGUE CONFERENCES.

In August, 1898, the Czar issued a rescript proposing a Peace Conference to the 26 nations having ambassadors at his court,—20 European nations with the United States, Mexico, China, Japan, Siam and Persia. He sent a second rescript, January, 1899, containing program. His first thought was to call the conference merely for limitation of armaments: his second rescript offered wider scope. 100 representatives with 50 attachés met on May 18, 1899, in the "House in the Woods" at The Hague, most of them as skeptical of success as were delegates to our Constitutional Convention in 1787. Andrew D. White, our ambassador to Germany, headed the American delegation. He, Lord Pauncefote, Bourgeois of France and a few others of courage and foresight inspired remainder. French language used. President, Baron de Staal (Russia); each country had one vote; members divided into 3 committees: on Armaments, Laws and Customs of Warfare, Arbitration and other means of preventing war. Secret sessions; no stenographic reports. In the midst of proceedings, Germany's indifference largely removed by American effort. For valuable and graphic details of Conference see "Memoirs of Baroness von Suttner," vol. ii, and Andrew D. White's "The First Hague Conference."

Three great results of less than three months' work:—

a. Commissions of Inquiry.

b. Mediation.

c. Provision for Permanent Tribunal of Arbitration to which all nations might send cases; this optional. No permanent judges, but each nation appoints four competent judges, who form a panel now numbering 176. When a case is tried, the disputing states select three

or five judges from this panel by a method acceptable to both. Ratification of the conventions by respective governments delayed establishment of Tribunal until April, 1901.

First case submitted to Hague Court by United States and Mexico. A dozen cases have now been submitted, some preventing war. The Interparliamentary Union in 1904, after its Conference in St. Louis, asked President Roosevelt to call Second Hague Conference. He issued preliminary notes, but Conference was delayed until 1907, owing to Russo-Japanese War and Pan-American Conference. To second Hague Conference 47 nations were invited, the Czar asking privilege of issuing invitations. 44 nations attended, representing more than 96 per cent. of world's population. Conference met in ancient "Hall of the Knights," at The Hague, 256 delegates, 1 to 15 per country. Each country, 1 vote; delegates seated alphabetically. President, Nelidov (Russia); plenary sessions open by tickets to public. Conference sat from June 15 to Oct. 15, 1907. Divided into 4 commissions. Conventions signed provided for International Prize Court, proposed by Germany; prohibition of bombardment of undefended places; for the practical prohibition of war to collect contractual debts; and for various limitations of the field of war. So long as war remains legalized, the lessening of its cruelties and area is of highest importance. Recommendations made for appointment of judges for a permanent Court of Arbitral Justice, study of limitation of armaments, that balloons shall not be used for throwing explosives, etc. Corner-stone laid of Palace of Peace, gift of Andrew Carnegie costing $1,500,000, given at suggestion of Andrew D. White; this opened August, 1913.

This Conference provided for a third, and this means regular series hereafter; decisive step in World Organization, the most far-reaching political achievement in history: the machinery for peace between nations is being evolved; study of it is the duty of every patriot and servant of the Prince of Peace.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION.

1. Jean de Bloch, his "Future of War" and help to the first Hague Conference. See introduction and preface to "Future of War" (abridged translation), or briefer account, pp. 136–139, "Swords and Ploughshares."

2. How did Commission of Inquiry prevent war between England and Russia? See Dogger Bank story in Dr. Tryon's pamphlet, "The Hague Peace System in Operation," or, in brief, "Swords and Ploughshares," p. 17.

3. How mediation ended war between Russia and Japan at Kittery navy-yard.

4. Czar's manifesto and results of second Hague Conference. See pp. 236–240, *Ibid.* The results of the two Hague Conferences and the demands upon the third Conference (pamphlet). For full account of both Conferences see Professor Hull's "Two Hague Conferences."

5. Who are our judges on the Hague Tribunal?

LESSON VIII.

ARBITRATION AND A WORLD CONGRESS.

1. **Arbitrators are umpires** chosen by parties to a quarrel to settle controversies according to best judgment, not, like a judge, according to prescribed law; often ignore technicalities and make concessions as judge cannot. Arbitration often used now by contestants in settling cases out of court. Settlement of interstate controversies by United States Supreme Court marked great advance not only in preventing war between our 48 states, but as showing way to peace between nations.

2. **History of international arbitration.** Rarely used in the ancient world. Arbitration clause put by Jay in 1794 into our treaty with England. From 1814 to 1840 only 24 settlements in the world by arbitration or special commission; 1901–1904, 63; over 150 arbitration treaties signed since, usually for 5-year period.

3. **Good faith.** Most impressive to note that no nation that gave its case to arbitration has ever refused to abide by award and gone to war; 350 international disputes in the world peacefully settled; in one instance, after arbitration a compromise; in another, mediation followed arbitration.

4. **Court of Arbitral Justice,** to interpret international law, needed to supplement Arbitration Tribunal at The Hague. Nations can then choose which they will resort to; each has advantages. This Court already agreed to in 1907 at Hague Conference, but as not all nations could be represented on the board of judges, which ought not to exceed 15 members, no plan yet arrived at.

5. The United States has led the world in arbitration, being a party to more than 100 arbitrations. But in 1897 a general treaty of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain was defeated by three senators whose combined constituents equalled less than population of Chicago. A two-thirds vote of Senate necessary for ratification of treaties. Again, in 1912, the will of the majority of our citizens and of the governments of England and France was defeated by one or two senators whose votes prevented ratification of President Taft's treaties providing peaceful settlement of all future difficulties between us and those countries. Defeat due partly to "playing politics" before Presidential election. Bitter disappointment to the world, as other nations would have followed example we set. 30,000 sermons preached in American churches and wide-spread discussion in behalf of these treaties.

6. **World Congress.** The Hague Conferences will probably eventually develop into a World Parliament with delegated powers. This

would labor for a universal coinage, better quarantine, uniform standards of weights and measures, free trade, etc., and deal with ever new international problems. *Executive commissions* to execute decisions of Congress.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION.

1. Story of the arbitration between Argentina and Chile, and of the Christ of the Andes.
2. Should future World Congress, like our national Congress, have two houses, one representing governments, the other based on populations? See "The New Peace Movement," pp. 48, 49.
3. Arbitration *vs.* armaments. See *Ibid.*, Chapter VIII.
4. Apologists for war. See *Ibid.*, Chapter X.
5. The Geneva award settling "Alabama" claims involving vital interests and honor.
6. The Venezuelan arbitration of 1896, and the war-scare in the United States preceding it.
7. Growth of industrial arbitration.

LESSON IX.

VARIOUS WAYS OF PREVENTING WAR.

METHODS.

1. **Diplomacy and mediation,** *e.g.*, our own between Russia and Japan.

2. **Investigation.** The plan advocated by Secretary of State Bryan and others, "that all disputes between nations of every nature whatsoever which diplomacy shall fail to adjust shall be submitted for investigation and report to an international commission, and that the nations shall agree not to declare war or begin hostilities during such investigation and report." Twenty-nine nations before Nov. 1, adhered to this proposal, including the great powers, the first treaty being signed with Salvador. The majority of the Senate favored this procedure, while the Taft arbitration treaties with Great Britain and France failed by a few votes of getting the necessary two-thirds majority enabling the President to ratify. The Bryan plan was accepted by the Senate in executive session before submission to foreign states. Its method is a development of the Commission of Inquiry provided by the Hague Convention.

3. **Neutralization.** Process of conferring inviolability by belligerents. Applied to weak countries, *e.g.*, possibly to the Philippines when given independence; this would secure by treaty between the United States

and all possibly aggressive nations their future safety from aggression or annexation. Switzerland, Belgium, the islands of Corfu and Paxos, Luxemburg, the territorial basin of the Congo, and Cyprus are neutralized by agreement of the powers. The Suez Canal is neutralized, and the word is used with reference to the Panama Canal. The principle is applied on our Canadian border-line. Though a single nation may play the brigand, as Italy did with Tripoli, it would not easily ignore a pledge made to a group of nations to "keep hands off."

4. **Peace budget.** Every civilized nation should have a peace budget. One dollar in every $1,000 spent for army and navy would give in the United States over $280,000 a year for peace. Estimate how many statesmen, editors and scientists could interchange visits when friction threatened, and how much accurate official information might prevent misunderstanding and mistakes if this were secured by wise use of that sum. Several nations contribute to the International Peace Bureau at Berne, and England allows about $80,000 annually for a peace budget.

5. **Prohibition of war loans** to any nation that refuses investigation or arbitration a great deterrent of war. No Christian nation should tolerate loans by neutrals to belligerents. Richard Cobden, Oscar Straus, James Speyer and others have powerfully opposed them. Great powers coerce Turkey by this method.

6. **Non-intercourse** a powerful agent strongly advocated by Justice Brewer and others to compel or punish stubborn nations; is the political expression of the Christian injunction. This, when eventually incorporated into treaties as penalty for breaking faith, would enable a group of nations to coerce another into good behavior without shedding blood. The mere threat of withdrawing diplomatic, postal and, as a last resort, commercial relations would be sufficient if made by a group of nations. See pp. 115–118, "Swords and Ploughshares."

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION.

1. History and significance of neutralization. See pamphlet on "Neutralization: America's Opportunity."

2. Which is better, neutralization or fortification of Panama Canal? See *Ibid.*

3. The Philippine problem: how would neutralization affect capitalists scheming to exploit the islands? How affect the size of our navy needed in the Pacific? What have we as a nation gained by holding the Philippines instead of neutralizing them? Would neutralization prevent their employing advisers and teachers as China and Japan have done or provision securing protection of foreigners? See "Swords and Ploughshares," Chapter VIII.

4. How have Chinese in last few years by boycott on American goods forced amelioration of conditions? by boycott of Japanese goods brought Japan to terms? Burmese boycotts of English goods. Note distinction between sporadic boycotts, often unjust, and the legalized penalty suggested for breaking faith with several nations.

5. Why diplomacy and settling questions out of court will increase as World Court is established.

LESSON X.

PATRIOTISM AND INTERNATIONALISM.

The right patriotism consists in the delight which springs from contributing our peculiar and legitimate advantages to the benefit of humanity.—EMERSON.

1. **Patriotism means loyalty to the ideals of one's native land;** does not imply support of current national policies, right or wrong. The words,

> "I could not love thee, dear, so much,
> Loved I not honor more,"

apply to country as well as to a sweetheart. Patriots acknowledge national errors as a gentleman does personal errors.

2. **Test of patriotism,** like test of religion, is service. Patriotism often confounded with pride of ancestry, love of colonial relics, martial music and bunting,—all harmless, but involving no sacrifice. The service now most needed is to fight real foes instead of to prepare further for hypothetical ones. Colonel Waring lowering New York's annual death-list by 15,000 lives by removing filth; all civic service which helps save the 600,000 lives needlessly wasted annually or helps make our country nobler is the highest patriotic service.

3. **Patriotism often mistaught** in the schools; children, often unconscious bigots, positive their own country is always best and right. Teach that the Revolution was fought between progressives and retrogressives on both sides of the Atlantic. Show what Pitt, Burke, Fox and others did for our cause; that English text-books honor Washington as much as ours do.

4. **National anthems** should be of broad and noble scope, not apply merely to one set of citizens, like soldiers. Tune of "America" used by British, Germans and Swiss as well as by us. "Star-spangled Banner" air taken from an old English drinking-song; this song sometimes groundlessly assigned pre-eminence as being "American."

5. **Humanity.** As loyalty to family does not lessen loyalty to country, so patriotism should not lessen love of humanity. We are human beings before we are members of any race or country.

6. **Interdependence of nations** due to science, rapid communication, international regulations affecting postal relations, wireless telegraph, railroads, maritime, literary and industrial property, etc., investments in foreign lands and wholesale emigration, is transforming the world. "La Vie Internationale" in 2,650 marvelous pages records 500 present international organizations. 10,000 physicians from every land met in 1913 in London. Similar international bodies of engineers,

chemists, teachers, manufacturers, etc., meet regularly to discuss common problems. The chemist or artist from Brazil has often more in common with one from Japan or Denmark than with his banker at home.

7. **The Interparliamentary Union,** founded in 1889 by William Randal Cremer of the British Parliament, composed of 2,500 members of parliaments, organized to meet regularly and discuss international problems. Secretary of American group, S. N. D. North, Carnegie Endowment, Washington. International headquarters, Brussels.

8. **The Pan American Union,** the outcome of international Conferences with Latin-American republics, headquarters Washington, is a powerful bond of union, Hon. John Barrett, director; publishes a valuable monthly magazine in English, French, Portuguese and Spanish. Our great ignorance about and small trade with South America will soon be changed.

9. **The International Institute of Agriculture,** supported by 47 nations bound by treaty, has experts from all these countries constantly working at its headquarters in Rome, cabling simultaneously to the world's stock markets reports of crops, preventing "corners" in wheat, cotton, etc., promoting rural credits, studying insect pests, etc. It is a silent, powerful force for internationalism. Founded by the King of Italy, at initiative of David Lubin, of California; opened 1908. See pp. 48–55, "Swords and Ploughshares." All the above organizations are powerful agencies for peace.

10. **Better manners** by tourists, consuls and drummers, special courtesy to foreign-born college students, more imagination in putting one's self in another's place, and willingness to learn would powerfully help promote the new internationalism. Emphasize Garrison's motto, "My country is the world, my countrymen are all mankind"; Goldwin Smith's words, "Above all nations is humanity"; Terence's line, "I count nothing human foreign to me."

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION.

1. Are Americans, as a whole, patriotic?
2. How can "Patriotic" Societies best promote patriotism?
3. Is there any danger of patriotic symbols becoming a fetish, as religious symbols so often have been?
4. Mention twenty persons who have best served the United States.
5. Songs best suited for national anthems. See pp. 178–183, "Swords and Ploughshares."
6. How can patriotism be increased? Is it promoted by schools saluting the flag daily? See "The New Peace Movement," Chapter XIII.
7. Why is there much discontent in South American republics with our republic? How prevent it? Apply to Pan American Union; also to World Peace Foundation for paper on "The United States and South America."
8. How disarmament along Canadian frontier since the Rush-Bagot agreement of 1817 has promoted friendship between Great Britain and the United States.

LESSON XI.

EDUCATION AND THE PEACE MOVEMENT.

Universal education of humanity not necessary prerequisite for world peace. Specific education in international issues in six or eight great nations will achieve it for the world if public sentiment in these nations is active. Indirect education of home, school and play the most effective. Toys, table-talk, pictures, songs may promote contempt for aliens or interest in them, prejudice or justice, war or peace. Give every child stories and pictures of his little "cousins" in every land.

The American School Peace League* the best-organized body in the world for promoting in the schools the movement to replace war by law. An outcome of the First National Peace Congress in 1907 and organized in 1908; affiliated with the World Peace Foundation and the National Education Association; has branches in 40 states; is supported by leading educators of the country; is composed of teachers, normal students and those specially interested in education; no dues from teachers or students, but appeals for sustaining members. It needs income of $50,000 a year to reach our half million teachers.

The National Bureau of Education annually issues free over 12,000 pamphlets prepared by the League's secretary for peace exercises in schools on May 18; 60,000 more bought by teachers; translated into other languages. The League will issue in 1914 an important volume for teachers with material for a course in Good Citizenship. This is on a pedagogic basis, showing application of principles of justice, sympathy, loyalty in the playground, home, school, city, state, nation and family of nations; the course graded from primary schools to high schools, the earlier lessons enforced by stories and pictures, in older classes the lessons correlated with studies in history, literature, geography and civics. Norman Angell preparing text-book on civics for secondary schools, laying basis for a true internationalism.

A British School Peace League followed the American; similar leagues planned for every country; plan for an International Council composed of two eminent educators from each country, with heads of departments on standardization of history, teaching, the press; interchange of lectures and students, etc. The action of the Dutch Government in holding the International Education Conference at The Hague in September, 1914, came from initiative of the League. Apply to Commissioner Philander P. Claxton, National Bureau of Education, Washington, for information.

*Superintendent Randall J. Condon of Cincinnati, president; Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, 405 Marlborough Street, Boston, secretary.

The Cosmopolitan Clubs in 30 colleges and universities (movement begun in 1903) include as many nationalities and over 2,000 students; are affiliated with the International Federation of Students "Corda Fratres," and are a powerful agency to promote international understanding. Similar clubs known under different titles recently established in leading European universities through the initiative of George W. Nasmyth, Ph.D., of Cornell, head of Student Department of the World Peace Foundation. In England and Scotland are many young men in War and Peace Clubs and International Polity Clubs to study international economic relations. German students are offered prizes for the best essays on Norman Angell's writings. International Students' Congresses.

The Intercollegiate Peace Association. Dr. Thwing, of Western Reserve University, president; Prof. S. F. Weston, of Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, secretary. Holds intercollegiate and interstate oratorical contests for prizes. About 80 colleges compete. Only lack of funds prevents extending organization to 500 colleges. $2,000 given annually in prizes.

The Christian Students' Federation has nearly 2,500 associations, about 160,000 members, and, with John R. Mott as its able and inspiring leader, is a powerful agency for peace.

Cecil Rhodes scholarships, Kahn traveling scholarships, interchange of professors between Berlin and Harvard and Columbia universities, Harvard and the Sorbonne, Harvard and Japan, the Association Concordia of Japan, the Japan Society and other similar organizations in this country, and especially the Association for International Conciliation, promote good understanding among educated classes.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION.

1. What prizes are offered by the School Peace League?
2. Topics issued by History Committee of the League connecting history with peace movement. Apply to secretary, and pass on to the teachers in your town.
3. "Internationalism among Universities." See Louis P. Lochner's pamphlet with this title.
4. Intercollegiate Oratorical Peace Contests. See Reports of Mohonk Conferences, 1912, 1913.
5. International Christian Students' Association. Headquarters, 124 East 28th Street, New York City. Apply for reports.
6. How to interest young people in the peace movement, see "The Friendship of Nations," illustrated, by Lucile Gulliver; written for children of 10 to 16 years. How can we lend color, music, pageantry to the peace movement and emphasize its virility? Chicago peace pageant of 1,200 school children in May, 1913, arranged by one teacher.

LESSON XII.

THE MORAL DAMAGE OF WAR.

1. **The clergy** usually support war when waged by their own country. Only one English bishop distinctly opposed Boer War. With many noble exceptions, spirit of Joshua rather than Jesus has ruled. A marked interest in arbitration now appears in pulpit. Federation of Churches stands strongly for peace, yet another war might bring out the same old sophistries among some about "battling for the Lord," "holy war," and Scriptural phrases wrested from their context; *e.g.*, "I come not to bring peace, but a sword," etc. If the spirit of early Christians had survived in Church, war would have ended in all Christian lands long ago. The Church should lead in the war against war, as such clergymen as Dr. Charles E. Jefferson of New York, and Dean Charles R. Brown of the Yale Theological School, Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones of Chicago, Rev. Charles F. Dole of Boston, and many like them are notably doing to-day.

2. **The citizen** in war time persecuted and traduced if he dares to differ with government policy; freedom of speech practically prohibited. Even in Philippine and Boer Wars, which were remote and not vital to life of stronger nations, many of the most patriotic citizens ostracized and injured. All sense of justice lost. Cobden and Bright burnt in effigy for opposing Crimean War.

3. **Journalist.** The modern press with its cartoons often deadlier than the sword. Aiming chiefly at large circulation, editors often controlled by owners of paper and compelled in war time to publish what is expedient for owners' interests. Courage needed as much in editorial sanctum as on battlefields. Mention strong American organs of international friendship and justice. Importance of reading at least two journals of opposite policies. Press censor may detain or alter war correspondents' reports. Little certainty of getting truth in war time. The other side rarely presented.

4. **Trader,** usually ignorant of modern economics, imagines gain in conquest. Poor Asiatics supposed to be better customers for us than our own negroes and poor whites and South Americans. If one-third of annual naval budget were spent on educating the latter to new wants and ability to purchase, a thousand times more trade would be won than by over-sea possessions. Italy's folly in expecting to gain by ownership of Tripoli. See Jordan's "Unseen Empire," pp. 72–74. France has lost more than she has gained by African possessions except for a bigger place on the map. Commercial world controls government policies. True economics consistent with ethics. "Nothing permanent is gained by brute force," said Napoleon at St. Helena.

5. **Politician.** Governmental secrecy necessary in war. Public helpless and mystified. War is a confession of political failure. Politician tempted to let soldiers atone for his blunders or insults; to discount the future with war loans; to neglect internal improvements; to yield to lobbyists for selfish contractors; to sanction falsehood and deceit. See "Moral Damage of War," Chapter V.

6. **Soldier.** Blind obedience required, with reason suspended, tends to become callous to profanity, cruelty, licentiousness. See *ibid.*, Chapter IV. Secretary Stimson confessed that American soldiers ranked worse than any others in prevalence of vile diseases. Illustrate degeneration of "Christian" soldiers in Balkan War to level of Turks and below wild beasts.

7. **Reformer.** War means postponement of all internal reforms; all charities starved; internal corruption goes unnoticed. Enormous setback of democracy and social reform in Great Britain from Boer War; killing brown men led to increased hardships to black men after Philippine War; North and South, united as brothers in this blunder in the East, made Southern views on color prevail; condition of negro in North harder than before war.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION.

1. Difficulties of clergy in preaching peace. See p. 265, Walsh's "Moral Damage of War." How did the Church in Italy view the Tripoli War?
2. Why does Imperialism tend to reliance on militarism, and democracy to reliance on law? Draw illustrations from history and present conditions. *Ibid.*, Chapter XI.
3. Attitude of politicians, public and soldiers in time of war agitation. See pp. 67–78, pp. 123–126, "Swords and Ploughshares."
4. Is race prejudice with children instinctive or acquired?
5. How can we develop imagination and sympathy? the power to put one's self in another's place?
6. Attitude of the early Church on war. See Carnegie's Rectorial Address (pamphlet).
7. Moral damage from conscription and effect of war on the home.

LESSON XIII.

NEW PEACE AGENCIES.

1. **International Peace Bureau at Berne, Switzerland,** is the central agency for the peace societies of the world. President, Senator La Fontaine of Belgium, with members from various countries. It arranges the International Peace Congresses; publishes the monthly *Peace Movement* in French, German and English; carries on investigations, etc.

2. **The Interparliamentary Union** established in 1889 by William Randal Cremer, M.P.; meets annually in the different capitals; composed of members of parliaments past and present; discusses

international problems. 2,500 members. Secretary, Dr. Christian L. Lange, Brussels, Belgium. It has accomplished much and has great possibilities of influence.

3. **Association for International Conciliation** founded by Baron D'Estournelles de Constant. President Butler the head of American branch; several branches in other countries; apply to F. P. Keppel, secretary, Sub-station 84, New York City, to be put on list of names for its valuable free pamphlets.

4. **The Nobel Peace prize** of about $40,000 given annually by committee of the Norwegian Parliament since 1901; rewards conspicuous workers for peace, either individuals or societies.

5. **The Leagues for Promoting International Friendship** between England and Germany, Germany and France, etc.

6. **The World Peace Foundation,** 40 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston, Mass., founded by Edwin Ginn, with annual income of $50,000; chiefly devoted to educational work, with able experts in America and Europe; departments for colleges, students, lectures, women's organizations, publicity, etc.; issues "International Library," most important existing series of peace works, and many pamphlets on all aspects of the international movement. Edwin D. Mead, chief director; Dr. David Starr Jordan, Norman Angell, Prof. Charles H. Levermore, Dr. James A. Macdonald, Denys P. Myers, Albert G. Bryant, Rev. Charles R. Brown, Prof. William I. Hull and Hamilton Holt, among its leading workers.

7. **Carnegie Endowment for International Peace** incorporated soon after the above in 1910; annual income about $550,000; headquarters, 2 Jackson Place, Washington, D.C.; 27 trustees; Hon. Elihu Root, president; secretary and head of its department of International Law, Dr. James Brown Scott; head of the department of Economics and History, Prof. John B. Clarke; head of department of Intercourse and Education, President Nicholas Murray Butler. European headquarters in Paris; lecturers, like Drs. Charles W. Eliot and Hamilton Mabie, sent to Orient; gives aid to peace societies; supports the Association for International Conciliation.

8. **The Garton Foundation** in England which works largely in British and German universities, etc., to spread the ideas emphasized in "The Great Illusion."

9. **The American Peace Society,** with many state branches, welcomes all who desire to replace war by law. Headquarters, Colorado Building, Washington, D.C. President, Senator Burton, of Ohio; secretary, Dr. B. F. Trueblood; exec. director, Arthur D. Call. Its *Advocate of Peace* is given to every member. Annual fee, $1. This is our historic society.

10. **The American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes,** James Brown Scott, 2 Jackson Place, Washington, secretary, lays particular stress upon developing arbitration. **The**

American Society of International Law, Washington, renders distinct service to the cause of peace through its excellent journal and discussions of practical affairs in annual meetings.

11. **Department of Peace in the Federation of Churches** composed of 17 denominations. Secretary, Rev. Frederick Lynch, 215 Fifth Avenue, New York City. This worked valiantly for the passage of the Taft arbitration treaties. There should be a committee on foreign relations in each church to arouse interest over important peace issues in Congress, to promote better relations with foreign-born citizens and insure Sunday-school study of peace.

12. **The General Federation of Women's Clubs,** embracing a million American women, has now its special Peace Committee to promote attention to the cause in all the clubs; and the International Council of Women, representing more than twenty countries, has a Peace department. The World Peace Foundation has a regular department of Women's Organizations, under the direction of Mrs. Anna Sturges Duryea, to whom members of any such organization may apply for material or assistance.

13. **The Mohonk Arbitration Conferences**, founded by Albert K. Smiley and continued by his brother Daniel Smiley, held every May since 1895, composed of about 300 invited guests; these have included the most distinguished jurists, diplomats, delegates from chambers of commerce, clergymen and educators. Annual reports of addresses of great value. H. C. Phillips, secretary.

14. **Labor parties** and Socialist parties the world over are opponents of war. The unprivileged classes are waking to the fact that they sacrifice the most and gain least by war. Some of them propose a general strike when war is declared.

15. **The Active Interest in Peace of the Chambers of Commerce,** as expressed especially in their international congresses, is of vital importance. See pamphlet "Chambers of Commerce for Arbitration." See also pamphlet on "The Grange and Peace," showing the deep interest of our agricultural organizations in the cause.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION.

1. Has your state a branch of the American Peace Society? If so, what are its plans?
2. How many and what Congressmen belong to the American Interparliamentary Group? What does it aim to do? Inquire of Carnegie Foundation, which supplies the secretary for the Group.
3. Why is need of money for the peace cause greater than for most other reforms? Why is so much more spent on palliatives than on preventives?
4. What have peace organizations accomplished? See their year-books.
5. Why are Americans peculiarly bound to lead in the supplanting of war by law?
6. "Foreign Missions and the Peace Movement." See valuable pamphlet by Samuel B. Capen.
7. "The Forces Warring against War." See pamphlet.

BOOKS FOR PUBLIC LIBRARIES.

(Referred to in this Outline.)

DAVID STARR JORDAN, "The Blood of the Nation." World Peace Foundation. 15 cents.

DAVID STARR JORDAN, "The Unseen Empire." American Unitarian Association. $1.25.

NORMAN ANGELL, "The Great Illusion." G. P. Putnam's Sons. $1.00 net.

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ANDREW D. WHITE, "The First Hague Conference." World Peace Foundation. 55 cents.

Prof. HIRAM BINGHAM, "The Monroe Doctrine: An Obsolete Shibboleth." Yale University Press, New Haven. $1.15.

WALTER WALSH, "The Moral Damage of War." World Peace Foundation. 90 cents.

Baroness VON SUTTNER, "Lay down your Arms." American Peace Society. 65 cents.

GUSTAF JANSON, "Pride of War." Little, Brown & Co. $1.30 net.

LUCIA AMES MEAD, "Swords and Ploughshares." *Illustrated.* G. P. Putnam's Sons. $1.00.

LUCIA AMES MEAD, "Primer of the Peace Movement." American Peace Society. 10 cents.

LUCILE GULLIVER, "The Friendship of Nations." *Illustrated.* Ginn and Company. 75 cents.

PUBLISHED SINCE THE WAR BEGAN.

"Three Men Behind the Guns." By CHARLES E. JEFFERSON, American Association for International Conciliation, 407 West 117th Street, New York City. Free.

"The War and the Way Out." By G. LOWES DICKINSON, Atlantic Monthly, 3 Park Street, Boston. 10 cents.

"The War: How to Teach it in the Schools." By FANNIE FERN ANDREWS, American School Peace League, 405 Marlborough Street, Boston. Free.

"Woman and War." By EDWIN D. MEAD, World Peace Foundation. Free.

"Japan's Message to America and America's Reply." By Rev. CHARLES F. AKED, Japan Society, Orient Building, San Francisco, Cal.

BOOKS.

"The War and Democracy." By R. W. SETON-WATSON, J. DOVER WILSON, ALFRED E. ZIMMERN and ARTHUR GREENWOOD. Macmillan: London, New York and Boston. 80 cents.

"America and The New World State." By NORMAN ANGELL. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

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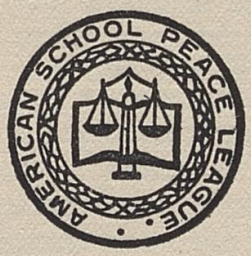
A PAGEANT OF PEACE

Written for the American School Peace League

By

BEULAH MARIE DIX

Co-author of "The Road to Yesterday"
Author of "Across the Border," "Mother's Son," etc., etc.



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405 Marlborough Street, Boston
MARCH, NINETEEN FIFTEEN

PEACE DAY—HOW IT SHOULD BE OBSERVED IN THE SCHOOLS IN THE YEAR 1915

For more than ten years the schools of the United States have been observing May 18 as Peace Day. The purpose of this observance has been to instill into the minds of young people the great laws of human brotherhood, to point out the historical significance of the progressive measures making for world peace, adopted by the two Hague Conferences, and to emphasize the American ideal of peace through justice. To make the exercises profitable and uniform throughout the country, the American School Peace League has prepared material for the use of schools and has sent literature dealing with the general subject of international relations in answer to many thousand requests. In 1912 and 1913 the Secretary of the League compiled Peace Day Bulletins for the United States Bureau of Education, which have reached an issue of nearly a hundred thousand.

This year we are to celebrate again the event which emphasizes the interdependence of nations and points to the time when the citizens of every land and the members of every race shall live together in mutual helpfulness and service. The present world crisis does not change the philosophy of life nor the trend of human progress. It is indeed a tragic interruption. This idea should be impressed in the Peace Day observance this year. The spectacle of human suffering and devastation should fire every boy and girl with a permanent revulsion against war, and the thought should be ingrained that war can be eliminated by the will of the people. Peace Day this year should also give the youth of our country a conception of the practical means of obtaining permanent peace among the nations, and should point out the particular bearing of American democracy on the world situation.

The League hopes that every teacher in the country will avail himself of the literature on the subject this year and will study that which has been especially prepared for Peace Day in the year 1915. The material in the Peace Day Bulletins, given the proper emphasis, can be used with the same effectiveness as heretofore.

We especially recommend A Pageant of Peace, generously contributed to the League by Beulah Marie Dix, for a part of the Peace Day exercises this year. This is a virile condemnation of war, an appealing argument for an orderly world, and a practical manifestation of common interests and common responsibilities.

FANNIE FERN ANDREWS,
Secretary, American School Peace League.
405 Marlborough St., Boston.

A Pageant of Peace

THE PEOPLE

Given in the order of their entrances

Two Scarlet Trumpeters
War
Famine
Pestilence
Crime
Farmer
Farmer's Wife
Carpenter
Carpenter's Mother
Teacher
Teacher's Daughter
Scientist
Woman with a Baby
Musician
First Girl
Second Girl
Artist
First Woman
Second Woman
Artisan
Artisan's Mother
Writer
Writer's Wife
Writer's Little Boy
Officer
Two Blue Trumpeters
Justice
Peace
Wisdom
Prosperity
Social Service (Boy)
Social Service (Girl)
Columbia

Group I. Heroes and Heroines of Peace
Group II. Judges of the International Court
Group III. The States of the Union
Group IV. The Nations of the World

Note. The numbers in Groups I and IV may be increased or diminished almost indefinitely.

Suggestions for Costuming

Trumpeters: Tabards of their respective colors, scarlet or bright, dark blue (the Peace color), and squares of the same color, gold fringed, dependent from their trumpets. Simplified: merely scarfs of the respective colors, worn over ordinary dress.

War: Dress of a barbarian soldier of the first century. This dress is easy to make, inexpensive, and effective. Brown sneakers, pajama trousers of light brown outing flannel, cross gartered with brown tape, a short-sleeved, collarless shirt of dark brown outing flannel, reaching halfway to the knee, a fur rug of 20 or 22 inches wide, folded about the torso beneath the arms, and held in place by a leather harness, made from a belt and the straps from a shawl strap. A dark, shaggy wig.

Famine: A long black dress, with long, full sleeves, and a length of the same black stuff folded about the shoulders and the head, half screening the face.

Pestilence: A long scarlet dress, with long, full sleeves. Lips and cheeks deeply rouged. A scarlet flower in the hair.

Crime: Light gray pajama trousers, dark gray shirt, cut on the same pattern as the garments of War, but soiled and tattered. A leather belt, with a knife in it. Across the lower part of the face a strip of black cloth. A dark gray hood, with a short cape.

Justice: A long white dress, bordered with gold, and short-sleeved. A short coat of mail, easily constructed from the link pot-cleaners, procurable at the Ten Cent Store, held together with wires, and hung from the shoulders with leather straps.

Peace: White sneakers, pajama trousers of white outing flannel, cross gartered with blue tape, shirt of bright, dark blue outing flannel, a short coat of mail, a long cloak of the blue outing flannel, falling from the shoulders, where it is secured, almost to the ground.

Wisdom: A scholar's gown of black, with a mortar board cap. A gray beard.

Prosperity: A Grecian gown of yellow cheese cloth.

Social Service: (Boy) Dressed like Peace, but in bright, dark green and white.

Social Service: (Girl) A Grecian gown of rosy pink cheese cloth.

The boys who represent **the Arts and Crafts** can wear simply the Boy Scout dress, and be characterized by the emblems which they carry. The Wives and Mothers wear everyday dress, preferably with long skirts, and aprons and kerchiefs. The Mothers also wear caps. These costumes might all be indefinitely elaborated.

Officer: Military dress, with cuirass and helmet and high boots. Shoulder straps. Simplified: Boy Scout dress, with shoulder straps.

Heroes and Heroines: Dresses as elaborately appropriate, or as suggestively simple, as necessity dictates. Red Cross armbands, say, for the Nurses, pith helmets and fur caps for the Explorers, etc.

Judges: Black gowns.

States: White dresses, with sashes of red, white, and blue.

Nations: Each in the costume of a different nation. Simplified: white dresses.

Columbia: Conventional Columbia dress, with Phrygian cap.

Note: The symbolic figures should be represented by the tallest and oldest boys and girls, of sixteen years or so. The Arts and Crafts and their wives should be represented by boys and girls of twelve or so. Naturally the superhuman beings should overtop the mortals.

A Pageant of Peace

Set: A plain stage, but, if possible, set with screens or hung with cloths of a neutral tint, such as gray or a light brown. Entrances at L and R. At back of stage a low platform, a foot or a foot and a half high, which can be improvised with two or three good firm boxes.

A blast of harsh and discordant trumpets. From R come in Two Scarlet Trumpeters. Advance to centre, wheel, face audience, blow a blast. One to the door R. One to the door L. Face audience. Blow a second blast. Enter R War. In his right hand he carries a heavy whip with a long lash. On his left arm a shield. In his left hand, bunched together, are eight small modern swords. He advances to the centre and faces the audience.

War: I am War. All the nations worship me. They spend their treasure to support me. They train their young men to serve me. (He goes up and ascends platform) I rule the world. I am War.

(Enter R Famine, a pale, thin girl, with disheveled hair, Pestilence, Crime, with a skulking gait.)

Famine: Where War goes, I follow. My name is Famine.

(She ascends platform and stands L of War.)

Pestilence: Where War goes, I follow. My name is Pestilence.

(She ascends and stands R of War.)

Crime: I am the half-brother of War. I do not follow. I keep step with him. My name is Crime. (He leaps on the platform and sits at the feet of War.)

War: Where I go, these follow. I rule the world. I am War.

(War swings his whip aloft with a resounding crack. Trumpeters blow a blast. Enter at R Farmer, with a spade, and his Wife, with a big doll in her arms, bundled up like a baby.)

Farmer: The trumpets are calling. I must go.

Wife: Who will reap your fields?

Farmer: The trumpets are calling.

Wife: What will become of us?

Farmer: I must go.

(He puts down his spade, goes up and takes the sword which War puts into his hand.)

War: Kill them! (points to L) Your cause is righteous.

(Trumpets blow. Enter L Carpenter, with a saw, and his Mother.)

Carpenter: Do you hear the trumpets? I must go.

Mother: Who will build houses to shelter us?

Carpenter: Don't you hear the trumpets?

Mother: I am old. What will become of me?

Carpenter: I must go.

(He puts down his saw, goes up and takes the sword which War puts into his hand.)

War: (Pointing to Farmer) Kill him! Your cause is righteous.

(Wife at R and Mother at L draw back, crying. Trumpets blow. Enter R Teacher, in a scholar's gown, with a green bag of books, and a little girl, his Daughter.)

Teacher: The trumpets are calling. I must go.

Daughter: Who will teach us children?

Teacher: The trumpets are calling.

Daughter: Don't leave me, Daddy!

Teacher: I must go.

(He lays down his bag, flings off his gown, and takes the sword which War gives him.)

War: (pointing to Carpenter) Kill him! He will destroy your country.

(Daughter goes crying to Farmer's Wife. Trumpets blow. Enter L Scientist, with a test-tube, and Woman with a doll in her arms, bundled up like a baby.)

Scientist: Do you hear the trumpets? I must go.

Woman: Who will find the way to cure my child that is sick?

Scientist: Don't you hear the trumpets?

Woman: Don't leave us to suffer, all the sick ones!

Scientist: I must go.

(He puts down his test-tube and takes the sword which War gives him.)

War: Kill them! (points to Farmer and Teacher) They will destroy your country.

(Woman with baby sadly joins Carpenter's Mother, L. Sound of a violin is heard. Enter R Musician, playing a snatch of folk-song on his violin, and Two Little Girls who dance a few steps to his playing. Trumpets blow.)

Musician: The trumpets are calling. I must go.

First Girl: Who will play for us to dance?

Musician: Don't you hear the trumpets?

Second Girl: What will the world be like, with no one to make us music?

Musician: I must go.

(He lays down his violin and takes the sword that War gives him.)

War: Kill them! They are not of your blood.

(Trumpets blow. Enter L Artist, with palette and brush, and Two Women.)

Artist: The trumpets are calling. I must go.

First Woman: Who will give us beautiful pictures to rest our eyes when they are weary?

Artist: Don't you hear the trumpets?

Second Woman: What will the world be like, with no one to give us beauty?

Artist: I must go.

(He lays down palette and brush, and takes the sword that War gives him.)

War: Kill them! They are not of your blood.

(Trumpets blow. Enter R Artisan with a hammer, and his Mother.)

Farmer: Don't you hear the trumpets?

Artisan: I have my work to do.

Teacher: Come with us!

Artisan: I have my mother to care for.

Musician: Come, for your country's sake!

Artisan: Why should I kill them? They are my brothers.

Farmer: You're a sissy!

Teacher: You're a coward!

Musician: You're afraid!

Farmer's Wife: He's a coward!

Teacher's Daughter: A coward!

The Two Girls: Coward! Coward!

Artisan's Mother: They are calling you coward, even the children. You must go.

Artisan: It's all wrong to kill, but I've got to show you I'm not a coward.

(He puts down his hammer, and takes the sword that War gives him. His Mother joins the other women and girls at R.)

War: Kill them! They are cruel and ignorant.

(Trumpets blow. Enter L Writer, with a pen in his hand, his Wife, and his Little Boy.)

Wife: Don't fight! What quarrel have we with them?

Scientist: Come on! Unless you're afraid.

Writer: Listen to reason!

Carpenter: Don't you hear the trumpets?

Wife: Don't go with them!

Artist: Show you're not afraid!

Writer: The trumpets are calling.

(He puts down his pen and takes the sword that War gives him. His Wife joins the other women at L with her little boy.)

War: Kill them! They are cruel and ignorant.

(Enter R Officer, a well set-up, handsome young boy, with a sword at his side).

Farmer's Wife: He is an officer. How fine he is!

First Girl: There is nothing so heroic as an officer.

Second Girl: There is nothing so beautiful.

Officer: (advances to centre, wheels, faces War, and salutes him with his sword). I am ready, sir.

War: You are welcome, my son.

Officer: I hoped you would come. I have waited for you a long time.

War: You do not need a sword.

Officer: No. Mine is always ready. (turns to boys at R). Come on, boys! We'll beat the life out of them!

War: (with arms uplifted). I rule the world. I am War.

Crime: (leaping up, with knife bared). I am Crime. I keep step with War. They do not dream what things they will do, before they put up their swords again.

Famine: (tossing her arms). I am Famine. While the men fight, I go to the women and the children.

Pestilence: (tossing her arms). I am Pestilence. When they fall wounded, I take them to my loathsome arms. The women and the children, too, they shall know me.

War: I rule the world. (He swings his whip cracking over the heads of the boys, who are ready to rush at one another with drawn swords.) Kill! Kill! Kill!

(Enter L Two Blue Trumpeters. Scarlet Trumpeter at L runs over to R. There are now two trumpeters at each door. Behind the Blue Trumpeters enters Justice, a tall, well-grown girl, with a cross-hilted sword in her belt, and in her right hand scales.)

Justice: Stop! I am Justice.

(Enter L Peace, the tallest and manliest boy in the school. A cross-hilted sword in his belt.)

Peace: Put up your swords. I am Peace.

Justice: Where Justice goes, Peace follows.

(Peace advances to centre and goes up toward War, between the two ranks of boys, who fall back, but with swords still drawn.)

Peace: You have ruled the world too long. Come down!

War: You must fight me first.

Peace: You have no sword to fight. You have only a whip to scourge the nations to madness.

War: I am brave and strong. You cannot drive me away.

Peace: You are not strong. You are not brave. You skulk by night. You lay ambuscades. You drop bombs on people that sleep. You starve women and little children.

War: I rule the world.

Peace: Your throne is a heap of skulls. Your feet are in blood and slime. Come down to the dust where you belong.

War: Drag me down if you can!

Peace: Why, if you wish it!

(Peace leaps on platform, grapples with War, takes whip from him, and throws him down from the platform. Pestilence, Famine, Crime scurry after War and cower behind him).

War: You do wrong to drive me away. I bring out the courage in men.

Peace: So do earthquakes and fires.

War: I teach them not to value their lives.

Peace: You teach them not to value the lives of others.

War: The fit survive under my rule.

Peace: That is not true. It is the unfit. The old men, the crippled men, the weaklings are left alive. The young, strong men die under your lash. You have ruled the world too long. Go away into darkness! Go away! (cracks the whip over War). Go away!

(War runs out at R. The Scarlet Trumpeters follow him.)

Crime: We are the legacy of War. I am Crime.

Famine: We remain with you still. I am Famine.

Pestilence: You will not get rid of us lightly. I am Pestilence.

Peace: Trumpeters!

(Blue Trumpeters come to centre)

Blow!

(A Trumpeter to either door, L and R, and blow a clear, sweet blast. Enter L Wisdom, Prosperity, with a horn of plenty, and Social Service, boy and girl.)

Wisdom: I am the father of Peace and Justice. I am Wisdom. I know how to deal with these three.

Pestilence: Here is Wisdom. We must go.

(The three horrors skulk toward R.)

Prosperity: I follow Peace. I am Prosperity. These three will shrink from the sight of my face.

Famine: Here is Prosperity. Where shall we hide?

Social Service (boy): We march with Justice. We are Social Service.

Social Service (girl): We can help those that these wicked three have hurt.

Crime: Here is Social Service. Let us go!

Peace: Out with you! (swings the whip).

Omnes: Out with you! Out! Out! Out!

(Famine, Pestilence, Crime run out at R. Peace gives a hand to Justice, who ascends platform. Wisdom stands behind her, R. Prosperity also at her R. Both the Social Services at her L.)

Peace: The reign of War is ended. (breaks the whip).

Justice: Now Peace shall rule.

Peace: Peace with Justice! Put up your swords now, boys! Go home to your work, and to your wives and your mothers.

(All sheathe swords, except Officer.)

Officer: I won't put up my sword. I want War back again.

Peace: Hello! Who are you?

Officer: An officer and a gentleman.

Peace: Then go home quietly, like a gentleman.

Officer: I don't take orders from you. War is my leader. I want War back. Come on, fellows! We're not a parcel of girls! Show you have some spirit! Go for 'em! I'll lead you.

(The boys at R half start to draw their swords again. Peace catches the Officer by his right arm.)

Peace: Drop that sword!

Officer: I won't.

Peace: (twisting his arm) Drop it!

Officer: You're hurting me.

Peace: Very likely.

Officer: You're hurting me a good deal.

Peace: Better drop that sword, then.

Officer: (dropping the sword) You're not like what I thought Peace was.

Peace: And what did you think Peace was?

Officer: A consumptive girl with yellow curls.

Peace: You've been misinformed, my son. Peace is the fightingest thing alive. Now go home and behave yourself.

(Officer takes up and sheathes sword.)

Carpenter: It's his sort made all the trouble.

Farmer: He always wanted War.

Officer: I can't go home, you see. The other fellows all think I'm to blame.

Teacher: Yes, it's his fault.

Writer: We think he ought to be punished.

Justice: In the name of Justice! You cannot make one of your number a scapegoat.

Peace: (his arm about the Officer's shoulders). Just a few minutes ago, you thought he was rather nice, didn't you? Particularly you girls.

Officer: They trained me to fight. They wanted me to fight. Now they're mad because I fought.

Justice: Is that quite fair?

Peace: Better shake hands, all of you, and cry quits.

(Trumpets blow. Crossing in front of Peace and Officer, the Farmer, Teacher, Musician, Artisan shake hands with Carpenter, Scientist, Artist, Writer. Group for an instant about Peace and Officer, backs to audience, as if all shook hands with Officer. Then return to their respective women, who greet them in dumb show, and take up again their various implements. The moment they leave him, Officer speaks.)

Officer: Will you tell me what I am going to do, now that I can't fight?

Peace: Come along with me. I need just such chaps as you. (leads him to platform).

Officer: Yes, but I don't want to feed pigeons, and don't you forget it.

Peace: There's a lot to Peace besides pigeons. (steps on platform, Officer with him). Sit up and take notice, you boys! I'm going to give you a look at the people that follow me. Some are heroes, and they don't show their heroism by starving women and children, as you soldiers are pretty apt to do.

(Officer hangs his head.)

Blow, Trumpeters!

(Trumpets blow.)

Here come the explorers!

(Enter R boys and one or two girls, some in khaki, with pith helmets and rifles, some in heavy furs. Salute Peace as they march to L.)

Officer: Say, I'd like to be one of them!

Peace: Trot along with them, then, and behave yourself.

(Officer joins Explorers L).

(Various groups enter at R and L, salute Peace, and group at L and R. Peace names them as they salute.)

The Firemen, heroes of Peace. The Policemen. The coast-guard men. The nurses that risk their lives for their sick people. The builders of bridges. The great engineers. Scientists that give their lives in making discoveries that the world shall profit by. All these that follow, high and low, and rich and poor, and black and white . . . all these are they that offered their lives for others. These are my heroes. These are my followers. They do not tear down, they build up. They do not destroy. They save.

Farmer: I didn't think you were like this, Peace.

Carpenter: I thought you were something kind of soft and girlish. I guess you aren't.

Musician: I like your sort of heroes.

Scientist: We seem to be very happy together.

Teacher: I wish you could stay with us always, Peace!

Peace: Why can't I?

Artisan: You *shall* stay. We want you.

Writer: Perhaps, if we all pull together, we can manage it.

Peace: I'm going to show you *how* to manage it. Blow, Trumpets.

(Trumpets blow. Enter twelve Judges, and group themselves in front of the platform, below the brightly clad symbolic figures.)

Peace: The dream of statesmen. An international court. Disputes shall be settled with wisdom and justice, not with dreadnoughts and siege guns.

Artisan: And they will decide disputes between the nations, just as our courts decide between man and man?

Peace: That's what they'll do.

Artist: It's too good to believe.

Peace: So you don't believe it?

Writer's Wife: How can a lot of nations all live at peace?

Peace: Because they've done it.

Teacher: When? Where?

Peace: I'll show you forty-eight sovereign states that have lived in peace for fifty years. They have a court, the United States Supreme Court, that settles disputes between them. People said it wouldn't work. They waited nearly two years for their first case. It has worked and worked well for over a hundred years. See for yourselves!

(Trumpets blow. Enter R Columbia, with flag of the United States. Stands at centre. Enter two by two from L and R, girls in white, each with a shield that bears the motto and emblem of a state of the Union. They group themselves at L and R, back. As they march in and group themselves, all sing as follows:)

THE COMING DAY OF PEACE

Tune: "Battle Hymn of the Republic"

Mine eyes have seen the dawning
Of a bright and glorious day,
When the war god's reign of anguish
Shall fore'er have passed away,
When the Prince of Peace in beauty
O'er the nations shall hold sway,
For truth the day must gain.

Chorus

Glory, glory, hallelujah! Glory, glory, hallelujah!
Glory, glory, hallelujah! The Prince of Peace shall reign!

No more shall mangled corpses
Strew the cursed battle plain
While the tears of stricken women
Fall like floods of scalding rain,
And the nation's hands are branded
With the bloody mark of Cain,
For Peace the day must gain.

The plow in peaceful industry
Shall supersede the sword,
And the pruning hook the bloody spear,
For so hath said His word;
While the nations trust for safety
In the banner of the Lord,
For Peace at last must reign.

—*Virginia Journal of Education*

Peace: You see what has been done. Now you shall see what can be done and must be done.

Justice: In the name of Justice!

Wisdom: In the name of Wisdom!

Peace: Peace among all people!

(Trumpets blow. Enter girls as the different nations of the world, each with the flag of a nation, walking two and two, from L and R, England with Germany, France with Austria, Russia with Japan, Greece with Turkey, Bulgaria with Servia, etc. etc. They group themselves at L and R. While they march and group all sing as follows:)

SONG OF PEACE

Tune: "Onward, Christian Soldiers!"

Forward, all ye faithful,
Seeking love and peace,
Hast'ning on the era
When all strife shall cease;
All the saintly sages,
Lead us in the way,
Forward in their footsteps,
T'ward that perfect day.

Chorus

Forward, all ye faithful,
Seeking love and peace,
Hast'ning on the era
When all strife shall cease.

Raise the voice of triumph,
"Peace on earth, good will";
Angels sang this anthem,
Let us sing it still:
War's foundations quiver
At this song of peace.
Brothers, let us sing it
Till all strife shall cease.

Chorus. Forward etc.

Children of one Father
Are the nations all;
"Children mine, beloved,"
Each one doth He call.
Be ye not divided,
All one family;
One in mind and spirit
And in charity.

Chorus. Forward etc.

Wealth and power shall perish,
Nations rise and wane;
Love of others only
Steadfast will remain;
Hate and Greed can never
'Gainst this love prevail;
It shall stand triumphant
When all else shall fail.

Chorus. Forward etc.

—M. K. SCHERMERHORN

Writer: Will this ever happen?

Peace: It lies with you boys and girls to bring it about.

Wisdom: Work for it! Fight for it!

Justice: Remember the other fellow has the same feelings as yourself and the same rights, even if he speaks a different language.

Peace: Where Justice goes, Peace follows.

Prosperity: Prosperity follows Peace.

Social Service: (boy). And the weak shall suffer wrong no more!

Omnes: Give us peace! Give us peace! Give us peace!

(All sing as follows:)

INTERNATIONAL STANZA

Tune: "America"

All folk upon the earth
Sprang from one common birth,
Children of God.
Lord of Humanity,
Teach us Fraternity,
Peace let the watchword be
In all the earth.

—KATRINA TRASK

Curtain

If there is no curtain let the Judges lead the way out, followed by Peace and the symbolic figures, Arts and Crafts, and Women, Heroes and Heroines, Nations, and States.

American School Peace League

THE ENEMY

Written for the American School Peace League

By

BEULAH MARIE DIX

Co-author of "The Road to Yesterday"
Author of "Across the Border," "Allison's Lad," etc.

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MARCH, NINETEEN FIFTEEN

PEACE DAY—HOW IT SHOULD BE OBSERVED IN THE SCHOOLS IN THE YEAR 1915

For more than ten years the schools of the United States have been observing May 18 as Peace Day. The purpose of this observance has been to instill into the minds of young people the great laws of human brotherhood, to point out the historical significance of the progressive measures making for world peace, adopted by the two Hague Conferences, and to emphasize the American ideal of peace through justice. To make the exercises profitable and uniform throughout the country, the American School Peace League has prepared material for the use of schools and has sent literature dealing with the general subject of international relations in answer to many thousand requests. In 1912 and 1913 the Secretary of the League compiled Peace Day Bulletins for the United States Bureau of Education, which have reached an issue of nearly a hundred thousand.

This year we are to celebrate again the event which emphasizes the interdependence of nations and points to the time when the citizens of every land and the members of every race shall live together in mutual helpfulness and service. The present world crisis does not change the philosophy of life nor the trend of human progress. It is indeed a tragic interruption. This idea should be impressed in the Peace Day observance this year. The spectacle of human suffering and devastation should fire every boy and girl with a permanent revulsion against war, and the thought should be ingrained that war can be eliminated by the will of the people. Peace Day this year should also give the youth of our country a conception of the practical means of obtaining permanent peace among the nations, and should point out the particular bearing of American democracy on the world situation.

The League hopes that every teacher in the country will avail himself of the literature on the subject this year and will study that which has been especially prepared for Peace Day in the year 1915. The material in the Peace Day Bulletins, given the proper emphasis, can be used with the same effectiveness as heretofore.

We especially recommend for a part of the Peace Day exercises this year A Pageant of Peace, for elementary schools and The Enemy, for secondary schools, contributed to the League by Beulah Marie Dix. Each of these productions is a virile condemnation of war, an appealing argument for an orderly world, and a practical manifestation of common interests and common responsibilities.

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The Enemy

THE PEOPLE

Michael

Rolf, his son

Gabriel, chief herdsman

Peter, an old herdsman

Gerard, lieutenant

Note: This Playlet was written for the American School Peace League. It can be played by schoolboys and boys' clubs, without payment of the customary royalties. No changes, however, can be made in the text, without the knowledge and consent of the Author.

Set: The dwelling room of a mountain cabin of the better sort. The walls are high wainscotted, with plaster above. At C back is a big tiled stove. It can be made of boxes, about 6 ft. high by 4x3, covered with white oilcloth, that is marked off in big squares with blue lines. At the L side, 3 ft. above the floor, is a door about a foot square, a mere frame of wood covered with oilcloth, so that the light will shine through. Inside the stove is a padded basket, to receive the wood thrust into it, and a ruby electric bulb, to simulate the glow of the fire. At R side of stove and front, a bench. At L of stove is a door to an inner chamber, at R of stove is a dresser. At R 3d pegs for hanging coats. At R 2d is the heavy door that leads to the outside passage. R 1st a bench or settle against the wall. Before it a small table and a stool. A little to L of centre is a solid table, not too large, with a couple of chairs. At L 3d a wood-box, with small logs. At L 2d a bed built into the wall. At L 1st a door to inner rooms. The furniture is all of solid mission pattern and dark wood.

Note: At need the set can be simplified by substituting a fireplace for the stove, and a plain couch or cot for the built-in bed. Any sort of walls, but preferably neutral tinted, will do. Two doors, however, are necessary, one somewhere at the L, the other at R.

Properties: Lighted candles, in metal candlesticks, procurable at Ten Cent Store, on both tables and on dresser. Newspaper—one not familiar to audience—on table R 1st. Coffee-pot, plate with half loaf of bread and several cut slices, plate with sausage or pressed meat—easier to manage than sliced meat—and several pieces cut off, on table L. Three earthen mugs, matches, chessboard and chessmen on dresser. Mackinaw, cap, scarf, gloves for Peter on pegs R 3d. Folded blanket at foot of bed. Lighted lantern and revolver for **Gabriel.** Pocket-knife, bit of wood to carve, and, on re-entrance, sabre in scabbard, for **Peter.** Keys for **Michael.** Small snapshot for **Gerard.**

CHARACTERS AND COSTUMES

Michael: About forty-five, tall, of athletic build, with a close-trimmed beard—that is, if you can achieve a proper make-up, with spirit gum, and curled hair. Otherwise play smooth face, with a mustache darkened in. Made-up beards are impossible and grotesque. Wears preferably winter outing clothes, laced half boots, heavy trousers and coat, flannel shirt, dark tie. Remember that he is FORTY-FIVE. He is not a silver-haired patriarch. Neither is he a preacher, nor a pedant, but a live man who has lived much and seen much, and has the tolerance of experience. Remember, too, that he is not sentimental, over either Rolf or Gerard. He is hard hit when Rolf suggests volunteering but he takes it very quietly. In fact he is a good, all-round man.

Rolf: Twenty years old, clean-shaven, dressed much like Michael. Well built, athletic chap. A little slow, perhaps, in his mental processes, but quick and decisive in all his movements and actions. Remember that he does not, even at first, speak bullyingly to Gerard. He is at all times a gentleman. But at the opening of their scene he feels, quite literally, that Gerard is "outside the pale," and in his voice there is a sufficiency of dislike and contempt.

Gerard: Twenty years old, about Rolf's height, but more slenderly built. Very slight mustache—a mere darkening of the upper lip. Pale. Black shadows under the eyes. Wears cavalry uniform, cavalry boots, overcoat to knees, with shoulder-straps, gauntlets, cap. Note that his uniform must be conventionalized, NOT the uniform of any one of the nations now at war. Throughout the play he is about all in. He speaks slowly, and with effort. Remember that he does not indulge in any self-pity. What has happened to him is all in the day's

work. Remember, too, that there is at no time anything craven about him. He is not courteous because he is afraid, but because courtesy to his equals is his social habit. He has distinctly a pleasant personality. He looks you in the eyes when he speaks. You never doubt that he is telling what he believes to be the truth.

Peter: About sixty, a wiry, vigorous old fellow, with hair and full beard of iron-gray. Wears cowhide boots, heavy trousers and a belted woolen frock, or a coat and flannel shirt without tie.

Gabriel: About twenty-five or thirty, big, thickset, mustached. Clad like Peter, but with a heavy mackinaw, woolen cap over ears, woolen gloves, scarf.

Let ALL remember that this play is not a farce nor a melodrama, which require to be played at quick tempo. This goes at a fairly slow tempo, like life itself. Speak naturally, and DON'T BE AFRAID OF PAUSES!

The Enemy

At rise of curtain, Michael is putting a log of wood into the stove. The stove door is open. The ruddy light streams round him. Peter, who is clearing the table L, is halfway to the dresser, with a dish of sausage, which he sets upon the dresser. Rolf, on bench R 1st, is reading a newspaper, which he has spread out on the table before him. His chin is in his hands. He is very intent on the reading. A moment without speech, while the audience gets the picture. Then Peter, having set the plate on the dresser, returns unhurriedly to table L. Michael, having put in the log, turns from the stove.

Michael : [*pausing on way to wood-box*]. Set the coffee-pot on the stove, Peter. Gabriel will want a drink of something hot when he comes in from the cattle-sheds. [*gets a second log from wood-box*].

Peter: [*setting coffee-pot on L corner of stove*]. Right you are, sir. It's a bitter cold night.

Michael: Good old January weather, Peter. [*puts second log in stove*].

Peter: [*at table, taking up plate of bread*]. Just to think what it's like for those brave boys of ours in the trenches.

Michael: [*shutting stove door*]. And for those brave boys of the enemy's in the trenches opposite.

Peter: Well, it's a great comfort, sir, to think that they're suffering.

Michael: Is it? [*down to table L*]. Every man of them is some mother's son, you know.

Peter: You're a great hand to joke, sir.

Michael: So that's a joke?

Peter: Why, to be sure! Who'd ever think of those foreign butchers as folks just like ourselves? [*goes up R, puts bread on dresser*].

Michael: [*R of table*]. What's the news, Rolf?

Rolf, absorbed in paper, reads on. Peter sits R of stove, on bench, takes his knife and a bit of wood, falls to carving.

Michael: [*after a moment's pause*]. Hi, there, sonny!

Rolf: [*looks up, startled*]. I beg your pardon, sir.

Michael: [*sitting R of table*]. Pretty well wrapped up in that paper, aren't you?

Rolf: I've just got hold of the full account of what those rotters did at St. Silvain's.

Michael: When you were a little shaver about so high, [*indicates height with hand*] you used to get on my knee and pester the life out of me, teasing for fairy tales. You don't seem to have outgrown the taste.

Rolf: You don't believe what the papers print, do you, sir?

Michael: Sure, yes. When one side says the other side has won a victory, I believe it, fast enough.

Rolf: But these other stories—

Michael: I'd believe them quicker if a heap of them weren't the same old stories that the Cavaliers told about the Roundheads, if you'll read your history, and the Roundheads told about the Cavaliers. There's a whole set of rank stories, sonny, hangs round every big war, same as a bad smell follows a buzz wagon.

Rolf: Well, if you hadn't done some scrapping yourself when you were a kid—

Michael: You'd say I was an old maid, wouldn't you? That's always a clencher of an argument.

Enter R Gabriel, with a lighted lantern. Snow on his boots.

Gabriel: [*stamping his feet*]. Whew!

Michael: How is it outside?

Rolf buries himself again in his paper.

Gabriel: [*putting out lantern, and setting on floor by dresser*]. There's a wind come up like a knife-blade, sir. [*removes gloves*]. Can't blow away the clouds, though. [*takes off cap and scarf, hangs up R 3d*] If 'twan't so cold, you'd say 'twas making ready to snow.

Michael: All snug for the night?

Gabriel: Snug and fast, sir. [*takes off mackinaw, hangs up*]. Lucky I put a new hasp on the door of the lower sheepfold. This wind'll try it out, all right. [*takes a mug from dresser*].

Michael: Get any trace of that sheep was missing?

Gabriel: Down the gully, sir. Stiff as a last year's herring. [*at centre of stove, takes coffee-pot, fills mug*]. 'Twas Martin from the crossroads spied it, and passed me the word. He was going up the mountain.

Michael: It's a tough night to be travelling.

Gabriel: He knows the trail. And his brother was with him. [*sets coffee-pot back on R corner of stove, sits on centre stove bench, drinks slowly while he talks*]. I take it, Mr. Rolf, your paper will have told you all about the fighting in the valley yesterday.

Rolf: What fighting?

Gabriel: Isn't it all in the newspaper?

Rolf: This paper is three days old. Where were they fighting? Not in our valley?

Gabriel: That's what Martin was saying.

Michael: It's quite a sizable valley, you know.

Gabriel: They was fighting by Jaspertown.

Peter: I was there once. It's a long, long ways.

Gabriel: The enemy came like a clap o' thunder, Martin says, a-galloping through the village and slashing at all they met with, women and men and the little children.

Rolf: I'll bet they did!

Gabriel: Then they set the town afire, and by this time they was mostly roaring drunk, and then a few of our own chaps came up, just a handful, not more than twenty—

Peter: But one of our men can always lick three of theirs, the skunks!

Gabriel: And they sent 'em hiking back the road they came, those that didn't stay behind.

Rolf: Good work!

Gabriel: Yes. I reckon they got about all they wanted of Jaspertown.

Rolf: Yesterday that was. I put in the day mending a pair of snowshoes. Oh, well!

Rolf sits with eyes on paper, but he is no longer reading. Instead he tears off scraps nervously with one hand, crumples them, and throws them viciously on the floor. Michael is watching him narrowly.

Peter: I have a cousin lives in Jaspertown. A widow woman with two grandchildren.

Gabriel: There was one woman they burned in her house, Martin said, and her children with her.

Rolf: [*looking up at Michael*]. That's not a newspaper story, sir.

Michael: Not quite yet.

Rolf same business with newspaper.

Peter: Well, our time is coming, surely. If there is a Heaven above us, it will give us the victory.

Michael: Trouble is, Peter, that's what the enemy probably are thinking too—that Heaven is on their side.

Peter: Just like their cheek, sir.

Gabriel: Rank blasphemers, that's what they are!

Michael: I say, Rolf!

Rolf: [*rousing himself*]. Sir?

Michael: Going to let me beat you at chess to-night?

Rolf: [*without enthusiasm*]. Sure thing! [*up to dresser, gets chessboard and men*].

Michael: [*rising*]. Better lay on another stick of wood, Gabriel. [*crosses, sits on bench that Rolf vacated, folds newspaper, lays on bench*].

Gabriel: Yes, sir. [*sets down mug on bench, rises, takes stick, puts into stove*].

Peter: It's a cold night, and no mistake. Look how the stove is eating up wood.

Rolf: [*to table R 1st, sits on stool*]. You'll play the white, I suppose? [*opens board on table*].

Michael: As usual.

Michael and Rolf busy arranging chessmen.

Gabriel: [*shutting stove door*]. Big draught there. The wind is coming up. [*to centre*].

Peter: Sit down, Gabriel. You're as uneasy as a cat in a gale.

Gabriel: I'm wondering if that hasp will hold.

Michael: You made it strong?

Gabriel: I aimed to, sir. [*to pegs R 3d*]. But it's a big wind, and fifty sheep in that lower fold. [*takes down mackinaw and puts it on*].

Michael: You play.

Rolf begins game.

Peter: You are going out, Gabriel?

Gabriel: I think it will hold. But I had better be sure. [*puts on cap and scarf*].

Peter: [*rising*]. Well, I will go along with you, then. [*puts on mackinaw*]. For it is not a good night for a man to go alone to the folds, not even a strong man. [*takes cap and scarf*].

Gabriel: [*lighting lantern*]. Come along, then! Though very likely I must bring you home again on my back. [*to door R 2d*].

Peter: I should laugh to see you. [*puts on gloves*]. I am as strong a man as yourself and as good a man. [*as they go out R 2d*]. March out, and I'll show you how to drive a hasp that will hold.

The door R 2d closes upon Gabriel and Peter. A moment's pause.

Michael: [*moving a piece*]. Check!

Rolf: Hello!

Michael: It's a good thing to put your mind on the game, when you play chess.

Rolf: I don't feel much like playing games.

Michael: That's pretty evident.

Rolf: Dad, I want to say something to you. In dead seriousness.

Michael: Blaze away!

Rolf: I'm going to volunteer.

Michael: Well—not before morning?

Rolf: Don't joke, please! I'm twenty, aren't I?

Michael: Going on twenty-one.

Rolf: Nothing tubercular about me now.

Michael: No. I should call you a pretty husky specimen. You'd displace about twenty-four cubic feet of earth. They make the graves rather shallow in the field, you see.

Rolf: You wouldn't want me to stay at home, because of that possibility, would you?

Michael: Oh, no! Still, I couldn't help thinking of it, a little. You see, I've had you more or less on my mind for twenty years—going on twenty-one. And it wasn't exactly with this end in view.

Rolf: I knew you'd take it hard.

Michael: You're ready for the University in the autumn. There're several things I'd rather hoped that perhaps you might go on to do. In a way, no doubt, I've a taste for fairy tales myself.

Rolf: But you went to war yourself, sir, when you were younger than I.

Michael: Perhaps that's why I'm not so keen to see you go.

Rolf: You wouldn't have me a coward.

Michael: Never noticed that you were. Haven't you got a silver cartwheel on a bit of blue ribbon, tucked away in your bureau drawer, along of pulling Gabriel's small sister out of the rapids, three years ago?

Rolf: What of it? I could swim.

Michael: Luckily.

Rolf: Of course there's more than an even chance that I'd come home alive.

Michael: Well, I wasn't thinking only of your getting killed yourself. I was thinking, too, of the fellows that you'd probably kill.

Rolf: I'm no bloodstained mercenary, and you know it. But we've been here now six years. I feel as if these people were my own people. And when I think how those dirty bullies have used them. [*rises*]. Lord! I'd like to have a crack at them! [*crosses toward L, halts by table*]. If ever there was a righteous war and a decent cause, this is it.

Michael: The enemy's cause? Or our friends'?

Rolf: I'm serious, sir.

Michael: I never was more so. Sonny, did you ever hear of a cause, all down the ages, that wasn't a righteous cause to the men that fought for it?

Rolf by table L, facing front, is quite unconvinced.

Or do you think that when one of the enemy kisses his wife and children and beats it to the recruiting office, he says to himself: "My cause is punk, and my king a rotter! Whoopee! I'm a regular hell-bender, going to buck against Heaven and all its hosts, and glad of the chance!" Think that's likely?

Rolf: Possibly a few of them are sincere, but their leaders—

Michael: Hark!

Rolf: What was that, sir?

Michael: You've got me hearing sounds of battle. Thought it was a revolver shot.

Rolf: Can't be! [*to door R 2d, opens it*].

Michael: Likely enough a branch that snapped in the wind. Don't freeze us out!

Rolf: [*closing door*]. Beg pardon, sir. [*to centre*]. Well! Can I?

Michael: What?

Rolf: Volunteer.

Michael: Not likely to stop you, am I?

Rolf: You know well enough that if you're dead set against it—

Michael: Seems a bit archaic, doesn't it? Fighting, I mean.

Rolf: But this is a war for humanity. Why, if you saw a pack of wolves, tearing to pieces the little children in the village street, you'd get down your rifle yourself, wouldn't you, Dad?

Michael: So the enemy are just wolves, eh?

Rolf: That's the way they act.

Michael: Outside the pale of humanity?

Rolf: Just about.

Michael: And you'd feel you were doing a pretty praiseworthy thing, to kill as many of them as possible?

Rolf: That's what it amounts to.

Michael: Incidentally you'll probably kill a few of their women and children, directly or indirectly.

Rolf: They've killed a few of ours.

Michael: Do two wrongs make a right?

Rolf: Well, one has to look at the end.

Michael: Perhaps that's what the enemy thought. [*shifts chessmen*].

Rolf: We're just going round in a circle, sir. You're not even listening to me.

Michael: I'm rather curious to see in how many ways I could have checkmated you, that last game. [*intent on chessboard—apparently*].

Rolf: [*curtly*]. Good night! [*starts to door L 1st*].

Michael: Not that way, old man.

Rolf: [*turning*]. I beg your pardon. [*to table L*]. If you realized what this means to me, sir—

Michael: It means a little to me, Rolf. Can you wait till morning?

Rolf: I'd rather have things settled now, sir.

Michael: Perhaps you're right. Well, if you're dead sure that the enemy are bloodthirsty wolves—and it's your duty to kill them—

Footsteps right outside door R 2d.

Rolf: Hang it! Here come the men. [*turns, up L*].

While Rolf is speaking the door R 2d goes open. Gabriel enters, holding Gerard by the arm. He is dragging rather than supporting him. Peter, following, has in one hand the lantern, in the other a cavalryman's sabre. He closes the door.

Gabriel: [*at centre, exultant*]. Look here! Here's a piece of the victorious army that was going to clean us out.

Gabriel gives Gerard a shove that sends him staggering down stage. Gerard recovers himself at front of table L, and stands swaying, with haggard eyes upon his captors. Peter lays sabre on bench R by stove, puts out lantern, removes his coat, etc. Meantime Gabriel goes on speaking.

Gabriel: Red-handed from Jaspertown. Picked him up by the lower sheepfold. Here's his revolver. [*gives revolver to Peter, who puts it by sabre*]. He showed fight. But we knocked that out of him pretty quick.

Gerard catches at the edge of the table for support.

Michael: It looks that way. [*to Gerard*]. Sit down!

Gerard drops into chair, L of table. Gabriel removes coat, etc. and hangs R 3d. Michael speaks on.

Michael: I'm out of service, Rolf. And you'll be a soldier tomorrow.

Rolf: [*to centre*]. You mean that?

Michael: If you wish it. [*shifting his chessmen*]. Guess it's up to you to take charge of him. Prisoner of war, and all that sort of thing. Go ahead! [*apparently he concentrates his attention on the chessboard*].

Rolf: All right. [*a step toward table, halts R of table, opposite Gerard*]. You're an officer?

Gerard: [*looking up at him*]. Second lieutenant.

Rolf: You were at Jaspertown?

Gerard: Yes.

Rolf: That's all I want to know.

Gerard: [*brokenly*]. You don't need—to think I'm—coming any baby act. But the heat—turns a chap sort of sick. [*collapses, his head on his arms upon table*].

Rolf: [*dryly*]. Well, we'll get you out of the heat, in short order. [*crosses to Michael*]. May I have your keys, sir?

Peter and Gabriel take mugs, and get coffee, standing by stove.

Michael: [*taking keys from pocket*]. Which ones?

Rolf: I'd like the key to the cellar.

Michael: Here you are. [*hands keys to Rolf*].

Rolf starts toward center.

Michael: Did you put the terrier down there yesterday?

Rolf: No. Too cold.

Michael: Too cold for the terrier, eh? Then there are a few rats down there still. [*intent on chessboard*].

Rolf: I don't know that that makes much difference.

Michael: Not to anybody except the fellow who happens to sleep there.

Rolf: [*after a moment, searching out another key*]. There's a strong lock on the smoke-house.

Michael: Taken a thermometer out there lately?

Rolf: No.

Michael: Lucky. Mercury freezes at minus 40 Centigrade. [*a pause*]. Pity there isn't a ball and chain round here. Your—er—wolf looks dangerous.

Rolf: He's putting that on.

Michael: I don't quite get the psychology of it, but no doubt you're right. [*intent on chessboard*].

Rolf stands at centre, keys in hand, for the moment irresolute, with eyes on Gerard.

Gabriel: Are your fingers frozen, Peter?

Peter: [*considering his left hand*]. No more than touched. It's a bitter night and that's the truth.

Gabriel: The coffee hits the right spot. [*drinks*].

Rolf turns abruptly, slipping keys into his pocket. Up stage. Takes a mug from dresser.

Rolf: Give us that coffee-pot, Peter.

Peter: [*complying*]. Here you are, sir.

Rolf: Thanks! [*fills mug, replaces coffee-pot on stove, down to table L, sets mug in front of Gerard*]. Here! Buck up! It's you to the loft in a couple of minutes—but you may as well have something hot inside before you go.

Gerard lifts his head and looks at Rolf, like a man dazed.

Rolf: Go on! Drink it!

Gerard: Thank you! [*takes mug eagerly, drinks a couple of swallows*]. Thank you very much! [*drinks, slowly, of course, as the coffee is hot*].

Rolf R of table stands watching Gerard intently. Peter takes candle from dresser. Gabriel down, between Michael and Rolf.

Gabriel: I've made all snug for the night, sir.

Michael: Turn in then, boys.

Peter: [*crossing behind Gabriel*]. Good night, sir.

Michael: Good night!
Exit Peter L back.

Gabriel: Perhaps you'll need me, Mr. Rolf.
Gerard watches Gabriel. He is nearer being afraid of him than he would care to admit.

Rolf: I don't think so.

Gabriel: [*taking sabre and revolver from bench*]. Well, if you want me, you call me. [*crossing L*]. He won't try any nonsense again when I'm round. Good night.
Exit Gabriel L back.

Michael: [*dryly*]. It's very kind of Gabriel. [*intent on chessboard*].

Rolf: [*abruptly*]. Are you hungry?

Gerard: Yes.

Rolf: Like some bread?

Gerard: Yes.
Abruptly Rolf goes to dresser, takes bread plate.

Gerard: I say! You're awfully decent.

Rolf: [*setting bread before Gerard*]. Go to it!
For the moment Gerard loses his grip on himself. He snatches up a slice of bread, tears it in half, bites into it ravenously.

Michael: Go slow, laddie! Go slow! You've got all the time there is.

Gerard: [*controlling himself*]. I beg your pardon. [*puts down bread, takes off his gauntlets, slowly, as if his hands were numb*]. Didn't mean to make a beast of myself. The cold—gives a chap an appetite. [*takes off cap, puts upon table, puts gauntlets into cap*].
Rolf to dresser, gets sausage.

Gerard: Never knew it could be so cold, anywhere. [*takes bread, eats, hungrily, but slowly*].

Rolf: [*putting sausage on table*]. May as well make a meal, while you're about it.

Gerard: Thank you! [*helps himself to sausage*]. We had our last ration night before last.

Rolf: You didn't get much to eat, then, in Jaspertown.

Gerard: No.

He eats slowly throughout, making open-face sandwiches of the sliced bread and sausage. He has of course the table manners of a decently bred fellow.

Rolf: Pretty rotten business there.

Gerard: Yes. Of course we never expect them to fight fair. But that was the limit.

Rolf: What are you talking about?

Gerard: Those dirty hounds at Jaspertown.

Rolf: So?

Gerard: [*looking up*]. Your friends, aren't they? I'd forgotten that. You seemed so sort of human. Well—I take it all back. No, I don't. They gave us a rotten deal. I'll stick to it.

Rolf: [*sits R of table, opposite Gerard*]. Tell us what happened at Jaspertown. Go ahead! I want your side of the story.

Gerard: Well—we came across the river, night before last. A company of light horse, sixty strong. We aimed to rustle some forage—That is, of course the main army isn't in any need of supplies. It's a lie when they say we're on short rations.

Michael: That is understood.

Gerard: We rode into Jaspertown at daybreak. The chief man surrendered the town. We started in to collect supplies. Then they let blaze at us from the windows. They got my kid brother. Sixteen years old. A volunteer. Turned up in my own company, ten days ago. He dropped out of his saddle. The horses were plunging. Before I could get to him—Our

mother wouldn't have known him. He was a smart little tyke. I taught him to ride myself. [*leans his forehead on his hands, elbows on table. A moment's pause*]. Well, after that we cleaned out the folks did the shooting.

Rolf: So we heard.

Gerard: Then two companies of their horse from St. Elizabeth's came up, and we had to beat it. I had three chaps with me. Cut off from the main body, we were. They'd have snagged us sure, but there came up a snow squall. It was then I lost the other chaps. I knew there'd be patrols at the bridge. No going back that way, one man alone. So I headed for the hills. Thought I could get across into neutral territory. I'd rather be interned than a prisoner. Well—I miscalculated, that's all. Lost the road. Used to play hare and hounds at school. This was the real thing. A day of it, a night, and another day. Then my horse gave out. I shot him after he fell. Didn't know I was so near a settlement. The shot brought your men down on my neck.

Michael: Likely you'd have frozen to death, if it hadn't.

Gerard: Oh, no. I'd have shot myself. But they got my revolver. [*unbuttons overcoat, fumbles in pocket of inner coat, takes out a small snapshot*]. Say, that's my kid brother, there in the sweater. [*hands picture to Rolf*].

Rolf: [*after a moment, abruptly*]. Is that your mother?

Gerard: Yes. That's why I've got the picture. Snapped it last summer, when I was on leave. Nobody dreamed then the war was coming. Those two girls are my sisters.

Rolf: That your garden?

Gerard: A corner of it. It's quite a large place. A horse farm. We've raised horses, and cavalry officers for about a hundred and fifty years. My two uncles both have fallen in this war, and three of my cousins. Now my brother. [*takes back picture which Rolf silently hands him, looks at it*]. Well, my mother is a brave woman. And she knows that she has given us in a good cause. Because it's God's battle we are fighting, for justice and humanity. [*looks up*]. Will you let me burn this in your stove?

Rolf: Why?

Gerard: [*simply*]. Because I don't know now what will become of it—or of me.

Rolf: Put it in your pocket. Nothing will happen to you before morning, anyhow. [*rises*]. Tired, aren't you?

Gerard: Not very.

Rolf: Better stretch out over there. [*indicates bed*].

Gerard: Here?

Rolf: Yes. Of course you promise not to make a break for it.

Gerard: [*with a faint smile*]. Don't worry. I couldn't go ten yards, not to save my neck. [*rises unsteadily*]. I promise. Word of honor. [*holds out his hand*].

After an almost imperceptible hesitation, Rolf gives him his hand.

Rolf: All right. Better peel off your coat.

Gerard: [*slipping off overcoat*]. I suppose so.

Rolf: Give us hold. [*helps him out of coat, throws it across chair L of table*]. Steady does it! [*slips a hand under Gerard's arm*].

Gerard: Thanks. [*toward bed, with Rolf's help*]. It's just the heat—makes a fellow kind of dizzy.

Rolf: There you are. Tumble in!

Gerard sets one knee on edge of bed and quite literally tumbles in. He drops, face to the wall, and lies motionless, dead beat. For a moment Rolf stands looking down at him, then, half sheepishly and awkwardly, picks up the blanket at foot of bed and throws it over him. Returns to table. Takes bread and sausage and carries to dresser. At dresser he turns and speaks. Michael meantime has been putting up the chessmen.

Rolf: You know those two stories about Jaspertown don't hang together.

Michael: Well, they overlap a little.

Rolf: [*down to centre*]. Which of 'em is lying?

Michael: Both—and neither.

Rolf takes mug from table, up to dresser. Michael rises, takes candle from table R 1st, crosses to table L.

Rolf: Want your keys, sir? [*down, taking keys from pocket*].

Michael: If you're not going to need them.

Rolf: I suppose I shan't. [*hands keys to Michael*]. Hang it! You can't hit a fellow when he's down.

Michael: Not when it's man to man, no. But when it happens to be 25,000, say, of you, and 15,000 of him, including women and children, it's a different story. It's strategy, then. Rule of the game, and all that. [*turns to door L 1st*]. Coming to bed?

Rolf: I'll put on another log first. Dad! [*pause*]. What's to be done with him?

Michael: We've no choice. We've got to turn him over to the military authorities.

Rolf: At Jaspertown?

Michael: Fort Ambrose, at the other side of the mountain, is a bit nearer.

Rolf: Good old Dad!

Michael: I'll have business there myself. Shan't need to send him with Gabriel.

Rolf: No.

Michael: Can't go in this weather. He can stay here for a couple of days and no harm done. [*at door L 1st*].

Rolf: I'll go over to Fort Ambrose with you.

Michael: Shall you be here?

Rolf: Yes.

Michael: Not going to volunteer, then?

Rolf: I thought it was all white on one side, and all black on the other. Instead it's kind of dark gray on both sides. Just the same, he's not a fair sample. You can see he's decenter than the average of 'em.

Michael: Every fellow is decent, sonny, when you take the trouble to get acquainted with him. Good night!

Rolf: Good night, sir!

Exit Michael L 1st. There is now but the one candle burning on table L. Rolf goes up, takes a log, puts into stove, closes door, down to table L.

Gerard: [*with the strangled cry of a man in a nightmare*]. Mother! Mother!

Rolf: [*crossing quickly to the bed*]. Here! Come out of that! [*catches Gerard by the shoulder*]. Wake up!

Gerard: [*sitting up in bed, his hair disordered, pitiably young*]. Oh, I say! It—it's you?

Rolf: Yes. What's the row?

Gerard: Bad dream. Thought it was a bomb, here on the bed, with a two-second fuse, and I couldn't move.

Rolf: All right now?

Gerard: [*sinking on elbow, face to room*] Yes, thanks! *Rolf turns away.*

Gerard: I say!

Rolf: Well?

Gerard: You'll think I'm an awful kid but—Would you mind leaving the light?

Rolf: I'm going to be sitting here for a bit. [*goes to R 1st, takes his newspaper from bench*].

Gerard: [*lying down, face to room*]. That's—good. [*a pause*]. I guess my nerve's pretty well gone.

Rolf: Go to sleep and forget it!

Rolf sits at table L, spreads out paper, for a second scans it, then, as if he found its horrors distasteful, crushes it up and thrusts it aside. For a second he sits gazing at Gerard, dead asleep once more, with his white face turned toward the light.

Rolf: Good Lord! He's just like any other chap. They're all just like ourselves—and we're killing them this very night—killing them by hundreds.

Curtain

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WANTED: AGGRESSIVE PACIFISM

By LOUIS P. LOCHNER



30 NORTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO

[Reprinted from The Public, (Chicago), January 15, 1915]

Apr. 21, 1915.

Wanted: Aggressive Pacifism

By Louis P. Lochner

The other day the president of a large university said to me, "This is not the time to talk peace; we shall make ourselves ridiculous." Curiously enough this same president, who thinks it ridiculous for anyone to expound peace dogma in war time, has for the last ten years with the soberest mien and with evident satisfaction reviewed the annual dress parade of the corps of cadets of his institution, never once realizing that for him to cast admiring glances at his brass buttoned, gold-braided warriors in time of profound peace, and with medals and other prizes to encourage them to study the art of man killing, was possibly no less incongruous than for us in time of a world calamity to ask ourselves, what can we do to make the recurrence of a frightful catastrophe like the present impossible.

If ever there was a time for examining into the merits of the pacifist program, this is the time. We have just seen the militarist insurance scheme for peace collapse. Armed peace, which rests upon the assumption that the best way to curb man's primal instinct to fight is to put a revolver in his hand; alliances, which calmly ignore that while one group of powers is aiming to preserve peace

by being stronger than the rival group, the latter is meanwhile likewise aiming at being stronger than the first, thus provoking a mathematical impossibility; secret diplomacy, which enables a few on top to involve millions of human beings in a carnival of carnage; the ultimatum, which, as Dr. Jordan has put it, offers a nation twenty-four hours' time to choose whether it wishes to be swallowed whole or masticated first—these four bulwarks of militarism have been utterly unable to repel the invasion of the Demon War.

But while militarism has failed, it is also true that pacifism has not asserted itself sufficiently to avert the catastrophe. Shall we blame the few who have year in, year out, heroically espoused an unpopular cause, and who even in the countries now at war stood out to the last against this mad orgy of bloodshed? That would be like blaming the doctor for the patient's failure to obey instructions and his consequent failure to recuperate.

Is it not rather true that the peace movement needs much more consecrated effort on the part of the many than it has received in the past and is receiving even now? I have little patience with those who say in a half bored way, "I simply cannot stand to think about the war; it is too awful" —and who then immediately plunge into their social diversions, amusements and frivolities as though nothing had happened. It is our duty to think about the war; to think about it constructively, so that the world mind may be definitely focused in the direction of better world organization.

Too long have we indulged in a policy of

muddling through, of calmly assuming that somehow America, though a heavy contributor to the conditions which have produced the European war, will escape miraculously. Though the peace problem is unquestionably one of the most fundamental problems of human relationships, we American people have been content, broadly speaking, to have one lecturer a year give a nice "uplift talk" on the beauties of peace (which, incidentally, no sane person denies) in our club or society or church; on the 18th of May we have recalled that there is an artistic edifice at The Hague called the Peace Palace; several times a year we have rounded up our converts at a peace luncheon in rapt mutual admiration of each other—and meanwhile Congress has voted away billions of dollars for dreadnaughts which in turn inspired the Reichstag or Parliament or the Chamber of Deputies to add to their enormous war budgets and construct additional dreadnaughts on their part, which in turn the next season served as conclusive evidence for our statesmen at Washington to start the vicious circle all over again.

Cheerfully and gladly the world has voted two thousand five hundred million dollars a year for engines of destruction; but the constructive work of organizing the world on a pacific basis is begrudged the sum of fifteen million dollars (most of it the gift of one man) with which it is endowed. Many sincere believers in the desirability of peace contribute liberally to the Navy League because they think that an adequate navy will keep us out of war; yet it has never once occurred to

them that they ought to make their support conditional upon the Navy League's getting together with the Navy Leagues of other countries for determining some reasonable basis to check the insane rivalry that provoked the war abroad.

Thousands upon thousands were willing to fall on their knees on October 4 to pray God to put a stop to the shocking things that our kinsmen in Europe are perpetrating, but when some of us dare to suggest that one good token of our sincerity would be for us to take the courageous step of beginning the reformation of the world at our own doors, by calling a halt to armaments, by forbidding the exportation of auto trucks, food supplies, ammunitions, clothing to belligerents, by discountenancing the loaning of money we are called ultra-pacifists, visionaries, men of weak morals and intellect, and other endearing terms.

We read about the innumerable diplomatic difficulties that are confronting our nation at this critical time with a bored confidence that these are the affairs of the Department of State, and with a calm conviction that in thanking God for Wilson on October 4 we have rendered inestimable service to the cause of peace. If we become worried about the situation at all, we prefer to let the military expert, whose "expertness" naturally consists in devising more armaments, and the war trader, whose patriotism is synonymous with dividends, provide additional "protection", additional "defensive" equipment rather than profit by the lessons of this war and devise some other insurance scheme. The testimony of the military

expert is accepted as gospel truth without question; any scheme that pacifists may suggest is labelled as visionary.

In short, then, we have not as a people awakened to the tremendous problem of better world organization. We must embark upon a campaign of education which shall reach every hamlet and village, which shall make every man and woman think upon this commanding problem. We must organize public opinion, first of all to think internationally, and then to think pacifically.

How shall we go about it? Well, Norman Angell has ably pointed out how the militarist goes about it: "When Admiral Tirpitz decided that Germany was to have a great navy, he knew that the first thing to do was to create a public opinion, and he promptly started the German Navy League, saw that it was subsidized, inspired patriotic writers, entertained professors, made friends with the newspaper men, had the Krupps buy up a newspaper or two, so that in less than ten years German opinion had formulated its demand for a great navy, and, of course, the Government had to be guided by so definitely expressed a national demand. When orders are slack at Krupps, there is no difficulty in arranging that the French agents of that enterprising firm shall circulate in French newspapers statements as to the impending increase of French armaments, which are promptly reproduced (with a new coat of paint) in the German Press. In England we have not one Navy League, but at least two. When our great soldiers want Conscription, they do not wait for

public opinion—they make it. Lord Roberts—Earl and Field Marshal—takes the stump, addressing great popular audiences, is most efficiently stage-managed, and for ten years the organization which he patronizes has been industriously at work."

One needs but to read our daily newspapers to see something of the activities of the militarists to organize public opinion in their favor. Witness this news item under date of November 27:

As a result of the national agitation of the Navy League of the United States, 110 neighborhood and civic clubs in Wisconsin will debate this fall on the question of a larger sea force.

In Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Iowa and other middle western states Rear Admiral Albert Ross, U. S. N., retired, who built the great lakes naval training station near Lake Bluff, and Congressman-Elect George Edmund Foss will be among the speakers.

This program was announced yesterday by William Mather Lewis of Lake Forest, field secretary of the Navy League, with headquarters at 1734 First National Bank Building. Chicago members number more than 100.

The time has come when those who stand for a better order of things must throw all conventionality to the wind and start out upon aggressive lines. When an editor indulges in loose talk about preparedness, vital interests, national honor and the like, when he makes misstatements of fact with reference to international matters, let us not be content to shake our heads and say "how silly." Write the editor; show him his errors; protest against jingoism. If the pacifists are but half

as vigilant as the militarists, the editor will soon change his attitude (assuming, of course, that he attempts honestly to reflect public opinion).

When an aspirant for office asks to be sent to Congress, the Navy League is pretty quick to find out how he stands on the armaments question. Somehow the pacifists have considered it undignified to inform themselves similarly. The time has come when peace people must serve notice upon any man who places his trust for peace in huge armaments, that he is unfit to hold public office.

The peace loving people in this country far outweigh the militarists, but they softly blow the flute or the oboe or the clarinet, while the militarist rattles the drum. Let him continue to rattle it, if he must, but let us at least exchange our instruments for the trombone or the bass horn.

But in addition to organized, aggressive and coordinated activity there must be intelligent understanding of the fundamental principles of civilism and militarism. I would therefore have those who care sufficiently about the future of this world of ours face this fact open mindedly and without prejudice: Europe wanted peace and she got war. What is to be the mechanism by which men in the future can get what they want?

With this commanding fact in mind, I would have them examine the philosophies of a Bernhardi, a Mahan and a Roosevelt on the one hand, and of a Norman Angell or a David Starr Jordan or a Novicow on the other. I would have them investigate, what is the relation of military power to national advantage? Does a nation's commerce

depend upon its armed forces? I would have them review the history of wars and see what the arbitrament of the sword has accomplished, and then study the history of pacifism and see what the arbitrament of reason and law has wrought. With this study I would couple an investigation into the activities of the war traders and the armaments rings.

As our international problems come up from time to time let each man weigh in his mind, where does our duty lie, having due regard for the viewpoint of the other fellow? How did it look to other nations when we sent our fleet around the world during the Roosevelt regime? Is it a coincidence that Brazil's and Argentine's military expansion began immediately after the visit of our fleet? How will it affect our widely heralded profession of desiring to lead the world in peace if we improve this time of international unrest, when all other great nations are exploding their powder and sinking their warships, when they are crippling every industry except that of the manufacture of armaments, when they are running themselves into virtual financial bankruptcy, when they are deluging their respective countries with an avalanche of heartache and misery and poverty—if, I say, we improve this time for hanging the millstone of militarism around our necks, even though it be in the name of defense?

I would also have the student of international affairs look into the work of The Hague and determine whether possibly there is some connection

between the fact that the delegates to the Hague Conferences were preponderantly military men and international law experts—men to whom a "peace" conference connoted a conference for adopting rules of the ring, so to speak—and the fact that relatively little was done along the lines of examining into the conditions that have produced war and evolving a positive substitute for it, but much in the direction of drawing up regulations concerning dumdum bullets, explosives, bombardment of unfortified towns, and the like? (Incidentally, does not the unceremoniousness with which dumdum bullets are used, and bombs dropped from the sky, and asphyxiating gases diffused, show how futile it is to expect these rules of the game to be observed when the very laws of humanity have been outraged?)

I am indicating but a few problems at random each of which merits careful study.

Can the American public rouse itself from its state of lethargy, of tacit acceptance of old standards without examining into the new?

This is the challenge of pacifism.

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From Jungleism to Internationalism

CHARLES E. BEALS

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30 NORTH LaSALLE STREET
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FROM JUNGLEISM TO INTERNATIONALISM

BY

CHARLES E. BEALS

[An address delivered at the Fourth American Peace Congress, St. Louis, May 1, 1913.]

When the organized peace movement first started, ninety-eight years ago, its efforts were devoted largely to showing the immorality of war, and its chief appeal was to man's moral nature. Perhaps it is safe to say that all really great reforms begin with the moral. It is only in the later stages of a reform that scientific formulation becomes possible, through the accumulation of sufficient data. It was perfectly natural, therefore, that in the early days of pacifism, while some really excellent work was done along historical, economic and statistical lines, the principal emphasis was laid upon the ethical, and the chief appeal was to man's sense of right and wrong, to benevolence and pity. This, however, does not in the slightest condemn the movement. Any reform, to be a real reform, must have, at the heart of it, the eternal issue of right and wrong.

There are times when no argument but the moral is left to reformers. For example, if ever there was a group of people utterly whipped, it was that little handful of Boston abolitionists, at the time of the kidnapping of Anthony Burns. Their defeat was complete. The "interests," south and north, were jubilant. But in such an hour of darkness that inspired prophet of righteousness, Theodore Parker, dared to stand up and predict that a day would come when might would not make right, even in gold-governed Boston. And the day did come, before many years, when Parker's prophecy was fulfilled and his moral faith justified.

So it was with the little group of choice-spirited men who banded themselves together to organize international peace, just as Napoleon's devastating career was drawing to a close. Militarism was in the saddle, in Europe at least, in those days. Science, and especially social science, was not yet born. The only weapon for those brave souls who

enlisted to wage "war against war" was moral argument. Their only hope of success was a hope born of faith in the moral integrity of man, the universe, and God.

Happily so much water has flowed under the bridge since the organization of the first peace society in August, 1815, that pacifists no longer are shut up to a single appeal. The cause is no less a moral one than when it was first launched. It is still a moral issue, but it makes its appeal from many vantage points today.

For instance, the new system of international law, which is so rapidly taking definite form in our day, affords a most encouraging approach to the problem of permanent world peace. Peace societies and peace workers are in closest fellowship with international law organizations. Indeed, it was because of an extended tour through Europe by Dr. James B. Miles, then secretary of the American Peace Society, that the first international law society in the history of man was formed, in 1873. And our own phenomenally successful and influential American Society of International Law had its inception at a Lake Mohonk Arbitration Conference. It is the most natural thing in the world, then, that members of peace societies should be represented, as they are, in the membership, on the governing boards, and upon the programs of international law societies and upon the editorial boards of international law journals. It will be seen at once that international law necessarily is a very close and powerful ally,—or we may say department,—of pacifism.

Thus we might continue. There are innumerable viewpoints from which to study pacifism today, and almost innumerable reason-weapons available for use in the campaign against force-warfare. But the modern pacifist never feels safer or more gladly optimistic than when, beneath his feet, he perceives the granite foundation of physical and sociological science. And it is upon pacifism as a science that we shall think as we survey man's steady upward climb from jungleism towards internationalism. We shall deal not so much with dreams—though constructive dreaming needs no apology—as with plain prose facts, and try to get the scientific meaning of said facts.

Science tells us of the principle of canalization, meaning thereby that as any living being goes on in life it cuts for itself a channel. Deeper and deeper this channel or canal is cut as the hours, or the days, or the years, or the decades, or the centuries, slip by. Every living thing is changing. New species are being formed all the time. Old species drop out. Permanence of species has passed out of modern scientific thought. Life is a flowing stream and variation is universal and inevitable. Yet if you can discover in what direction an organism is evolving, you can scientifically predict the future

of that organism, for its life channel determines its direction, and direction is prophetic of destination. The principle of canalization probably holds as true of human beings and human institutions as of any of the smaller or less important organisms. Our problem, therefore, in discussing the possibility or probability of eliminating war from human society, is to discover the direction in which man has moved and is moving. Knowing man's direction, we can scientifically forecast his future. This will be the single task and object of the present study, namely, to attempt to discover the direction of human evolution.

To determine the direction of human evolution up to the present time it is only necessary to begin with the earliest human beings of whom we really scientifically know, and trace man's history through the hunting, pastoral, agricultural, and commercial stages down to our own day. If one will but take time to trace the stream of human history from the jungle down (chronologically) to our incipient internationalism of 1913, the direction of man's course will be evident enough. And, once having ascertained direction, the probabilities of man's future will be unfolded before our eyes.

Now, then, to our task. Up to a few months ago the earliest human beings of whom we possessed actual scientific data were certain cave-dwellers whose bones were preserved in caves from the Glacial Period until discovered by modern scientists. The Neanderthal bones, found in 1856, in West Germany; the Gibraltar skull, dug up in 1868; the Sipka jaw, discovered in 1882 (in Austria); the Spy Cave skulls, which came to light in Belgium in 1887; the Heidelberg jaw, and various other finds of 1908 and 1909—all these enable us to form a fairly intelligent idea of early man. And now, from the gravels of Sussex, in England, have been taken the bones of a man who, reputable scientists assure us, is as much earlier than the Neanderthal man as the Neanderthal man is earlier than man of today.

What sort of a being was early man? If the question had been, "What sort of a **beast** was early man?" it would have been equally true to fact. For, from the shape and size of the bones which have come down to us, we know scientifically that early man was not yet erect in stature, that he had a very low cranial contour and (relatively) small brain cavity, an ape-like jaw, almost no chin, a very retreating forehead, great circular ridges of bone around the eyes, and that he had not yet acquired the power of articulate speech, since the protuberances to which are attached the muscles used in speaking are entirely lacking in the ancient skulls now in our museums. He was a brutish, repulsive beast, just "an animal among animals," as one anthropologist puts it.

Of the daily life of this early man-brute we have record in the bones which have escaped the tooth of time. He lived by killing. He had to kill to defend his own life against animals larger and stronger than himself. In the same caves from which the human skulls or skeletons have been taken were found the bones of cave bears, cave hyenas, sabre-toothed tigers, the woolly rhinoceros, etc. By learning to hunt in packs, like wolves, Glacial men were able to exterminate even such huge beasts as the mammoth. Not only in defense of life, but for food, was early man forced to kill. And, in all probability, when the prey was once taken, the human hunters struggled among themselves for its possession. With the same crude weapons with which the early human hunter slew the lion and the bear, he slew his fellow human hunter. Nor is this all—the victorious human hunter doubtless ate his human victim; for, in some of the caves have been found human bones charred with fire, and cracked open, for the purpose of extracting the marrow. Man fought man for the possession of food, hunting grounds, flint beds, or for the defense or capture of women and children.

When, after an unthinkable number of generations, man ceased to live in cave and jungle, when he began to keep flocks and till the soil, thus climbing upward from the hunter state to the pastoral and agricultural, he could not leave fighting entirely behind. There were backward tribes and peoples who still preferred to live by fighting, instead of by toil, and who coveted the fat flocks and golden harvests. And so, in self-defense, even the most advanced had to fight on. Thus war and peace developed side by side.

What was the result of this primal struggle for existence? Biologically it was good. The weak perished, while the strong survived. The strongest men mated with the handsomest women, and the result was the survival of the physically, and probably the intellectually, fit. Thus, though Nature was "red in tooth and claw," the race improved, generation by generation.

Speaking from the standpoint of international peace, has the race moved up or down since the day of jungleism? Is man headed away from war, or is war to be his perpetual and unescapable lot on earth? Let us confine ourselves to facts, and not allow our wishes to determine our interpretation of the data.

Jumping over innumerable centuries from man's emergence from jungleism and the hunter stage to the bustling, bristling present, what do we find? Instead of small tribal groups, we see a half-hundred steel-clad nations. Vast standing armies are maintained in times of peace, permanently withdrawing, in Europe, some three to five millions of men from

productive industry. Immense battleship fleets and war debts mortgage the economic and physiological future of unborn generations. War is waged by machinery. Mechanical inventions and scientific discoveries are applied to the art of wholesale mankilling. In one short month from the time the Montenegrin prince fired the opening shot in the Balkan war, one hundred thousand able-bodied young men had been killed or partially shot to pieces.

In spite of the fact that the biological result of the modern man-made warfare is bad, that selection is reversed, that the physically fit are drained off from industry and parenthood, while the weaklings become the breeders; in spite of the fact that whole peoples are impoverished and under-nourished in order that armaments may be kept up or increased; in spite of the fact that gunism is biologically unscientific and economically wasteful; in spite of the fact that the common people pay the bill—and a big bill it is,—yes, in spite of science and humaneness, the so-called great nations, at this very moment, are cutting their people to the very bone for ever-increasing fleets and armies. Does this look like progress away from war? Or is all this simply proof that the stoutest habit which man has brought with him from the jungle is the fight habit, and that Krupp cannon and dreadnaughts are simply improved jungle weapons with which the human race eternally must arm itself to the end of time? "There always has been war, therefore there always will be," reasons the militarist philosopher, and he points to the modern rival armaments to buttress his argument. Is the militarist right? Is his interpretation of facts correct? Or does he ignore a set of facts which are not less real and are even more important than naval appropriations and sixteen-inch rifles?

True, to eliminate war would mean a radical change in society. Yet radical changes have taken place again and again. Up to within a century one might have argued that "slavery always has existed, therefore slavery always will exist." Such an argument is out of date today. Other equally radical reforms have been effected, and still others will be effected, in the course of man's social evolution. In the light of the progress, intellectual and moral, which humanity thus far has achieved, what is the probability of the elimination of the waste and barbarities of international war?

Without wishing to ignore the ugly fact that during the present twelve months the "civilized" nations will spend between two and two and one-half billions of dollars for war purposes, may it not be that before long man shall come to regard the war system as intolerable? Let us look behind fleets and armies to the people. Let us see the things in which they are most interested, the activities which they are carrying on, the appeals which most strongly influence them.

Six facts, among others, are significant for us, as we study man and try to determine in what direction he is moving.

1. Wars are less and less frequent. War is the exception today, whereas it used to be the normal state of nations. Mr. Emerson held that "all history is the record of the decline of war." Measured in money spent for war purposes as compared with appropriations for other purposes, war seems to bulk larger than anything else. But measured by the number of wars, war has become increasingly infrequent, and this is more and more marked as each succeeding decade slips by. Peace is today the normal state and war the very rare exception. For most peoples cannibal expeditions are a thing of the past. Moreover, "bishops' wars" and "ladies' wars" have had their day and dropped out. That economic ruin and national suicide are the almost inevitable price of declaring war today has been shown by Bloch and Norman Angell. Hence, nations hold back from war as never before in all history.

Bloch tells us that from 1496 B. C. to 1861 A. D. there were 227 years of peace and 3,130 years of war; that is, there were about fourteen years of war for every year of peace. Novicow speaks of 8,000 wars. Ferrari has counted up some 7,000 revolutions which have taken place in Italy since the break-up of the Roman Empire, and each of these revolutions meant a war, great or small. History records a Seven Years' War, a Thirty Years' War, a Hundred Years' War. It is well-nigh impossible for us to whip up our imagination to conceive of the state of society which these names of wars represent. There was a continual "fighting and flocking of kites and crows," to borrow Milton's words. In England the Hundred Years' War scarcely closes before the War of the Roses begins. In Holland the "Cods" and "Hooks" devoured one another for a century and a half. In our day, each succeeding decade registers an ever-increasing infrequency of wars. And were it not for the "interests"—the army and navy men who covet promotion, and the war supplies corporations which covet dividends—we should soon cease to hear of wars. For war-scares, perennially trotted out when a military and naval appropriations bill is to be jammed through, are only bogies, paraded forth to terrify the immature.

When the prayer, "Give peace in our time, O Lord," was first inserted in the Anglican liturgy, it was, as Sir Henry Maine tells us, "obviously a prayer for an unusual and unhoped-for blessing." Today it is highly improbable that any person in the Western Hemisphere north of the Rio Grande, or in the more advanced countries of Europe, ever will see war brought close home. Consider what this means, by contrasting contemporaneous conditions with the Post-Reformation days when the entire "Christian" world was drenched with

human blood. Yet less than three centuries have passed since the Treaty of Westphalia put an end to religious wars. Is not the trend of history unmistakably away from war? The greatest "war lord" in Europe has occupied the German throne for over a quarter of a century, and never has led his nation into war—nor will he, for if he does, the Lord and the Socialists will take his throne from him. But, prophesying aside, for the present, suffice it at this point to call attention to the increasing infrequency of wars.

2. Moreover, private war has been abolished altogether. I wonder if we take in the immense significance of this statement, brief as it is. In feudal times, any noble could declare war against any other noble and summon all his kinsmen and henchmen to help wage it. Would you see and understand feudalism at a single glance? Then picture to yourself a great baronial castle crowded with armed retainers ready to fight for their lord against a neighboring lord. One old German land pirate of the fifteenth century used to boast that he himself had conquered and burned 170 villages. And this was only a sample of what every "noble" was doing under feudalism. If a crag baron brought a war to an end, it was only to gain time to catch his breath before going at it again. And even this breathing-time was spent in plundering travellers and peasants; for, as you remember, the value of an estate was determined by its location, that is to say, by the opportunities which it afforded for holding up travellers and looting farmers. But normally my lord crag-baron was actually engaged in wars, big or little. So numerous were private wars, and so ruinous their effect, that in Germany the utter extinction of society seemed impending.

How was the world delivered from this awful scourge of private war? It was not thundered out of existence by the church. To be sure, the church did establish the "Truce of God" and utter some feeble protests against war. But the unpalatable fact is that the lords of the church were as big sinners as the secular princes. Time and again ecclesiastical princes buckled on the sword and armor and, with spurs jingling and sparkling below their churchly robes, mounted horse and led their troops into battle. This was especially apt to occur if some generous slice of fat territory was the issue, for in those dark days the land greed bacillus could not see very clearly and was as likely to get into the system of a holy prince as of a secular baron. The world would still be rotting in the gangrene of private war if it had been forced to depend upon the church for adequate remedies for that dread disease.

How, then, did human society free itself from private war? Simply in this way. During the past 500 years, and

especially during the past century, there have been evolving great nations. With the birth of nationality, feudalism dropped out, and private war dropped out with feudalism. There was no place left for crag-barons, and with the passing of the crag-baron the earth was delivered from the curse of private war. Thus in a perfectly natural and unescapable way, private war, which had existed from the time when jungle men first learned to band themselves together in groups, dropped out entirely and forever. Private war "always had existed," but the day came when the economic and political and social needs of an ever-advancing race required that it should be laid aside, and private war went. Truly this is no small gain.

3. Again, to a most encouraging degree, war itself has been mitigated. Whatever, in times past, war was or was not, today it is a great game. And the players have found it convenient (not to say necessary) to adopt certain rules for the playing of the game.

The realm of war has been narrowed in several ways. The time was when neutrals had no recognized rights. If two nations went to war, other nations were embroiled. If you did not line up as a friend, then you were looked upon and treated as an enemy. As an outsider you had no rights. Rights vested in belligerents alone. It is otherwise today. Rights are vested in the neutral, while belligerents are looked upon as disturbers of the world peace, or as pugilists who must keep within the roped ring.

Even when international fisticuffs are engaged in by two angry nations, the public opinion of the world, as codified in Hague conventions, requires the due observance of the rules of the ring. While formerly no distinction was made between combatant and non-combatant, modern war is waged only against armed enemies, and, even then, only after official public declaration. Thus today non-combatants are safeguarded even to the extent of the Hague agreement not to bombard an enemy's unfortified seaboard city. Manifestly some ground has been gained, even since the days of Queen Bess, during whose reign a Drake or a Cavendish could attack cities in lands with which England was at peace, put the inhabitants to the sword, burn the houses and carry off all movable treasure; or capture the treasure ships of a friendly power.

Let us recall a few war incidents just to see how curiously out of place such deeds would be today. In Roman triumphs the captive kings were not only put to death, but tortured before being killed. The "holy" Crusaders massacred the inhabitants of Jerusalem capturing that city. When war was on between Russia and Sweden in Gustavus' reign, Ivan's soldiers would sell captive men and women for a few pence. After a cer-

tain victory, they tied to stakes the survivors of the captured garrison and roasted them alive. After suppressing the Peasants' Revolt in Germany, in Martin Luther's day, the nobles probably put to death 100,000 peasants, and no doubt would not have ceased when they did but for the fear that there would not be peasants enough left to till the fields. When Tilly captured cities like Neu-Brandenburg, Heidelberg and Magdeburg, not only was the entire garrison put to the sword, but such scenes of license, murder and horror ensued as to be unfit for description. The last named city, Magdeburg, in three days after its capture, was reduced from a population of some 30,000 to 2,700. Oliver Cromwell, the praying soldier, in suppressing the Irish revolt of 1649, put to death a captured garrison of some 2,000 soldiers who had surrendered, besides some 800 civilians and priests. When the British marched from Boston to Concord on the 19th of April, 1775, they fired into half of the Whig dwellings as they passed. Even so late in history as Wellington's day, the Iron Duke permitted the sacking and pillage of a captured city. And the suppression of the Sepoy Rebellion was accompanied by such acts as the cutting down in cold blood, by English officers, of men who had surrendered, or the shooting of their living bodies from the muzzles of cannon. Just to mention these incidents is to remind ourselves how greatly the rules of war have changed in a single generation. In contrast with such unrestrained atrocities, consider the ultra-scrupulous observance of modern usage by the Japanese in the Russo-Japanese war.

The Red Cross movement also has helped to ameliorate war. Beholding the awful sufferings of the wounded after the battle of Solferino, Henri Dunant gathered together a little group of volunteers to minister to the sufferers. Then the idea was organized, accepted by the nations in 1864 and 1868, and in 1907 the rules governing land warfare were extended by the Second Hague Conference to apply to naval warfare. So that today one finds it much more comfortable and agreeable to earn his living by being killed than it was before Henri Dunant started the Red Cross.

Nevertheless it is difficult to suppress a titillation of the funny-bone when one considers one aspect of Red Cross. Not for one moment would I belittle the splendid service rendered by the Red Cross on such occasions as the San Francisco fire, the Messina earthquake, the Cherry Mine explosion and the Ohio floods. Such relief is statesmanlike, scientific, humane and altogether praiseworthy. Unfortunately one gets the impression from reading the reports of international Red Cross conferences that relief work in time of peace is quite secondary —merely practice work—as compared with the real Red Cross work which functions only upon the field of battle. Here is the humorous inconsistency: First deliberately and with sci-

entific skill partially shoot to pieces 10,000 or 100,000 able-bodied young men, and then turn around and, in the name of humaneness, appeal for relief funds. In this age, when science knows that hygiene is better than pills, prophylactics preferable to therapeutics, prevention more effective than cure, can we not see that the best way to relieve the suffering of wounded soldiers is to hasten the organization of permanent international peace? For, if you push to its logical conclusion that spirit of humaneness which prompted Henri Dunant to organize the Red Cross, you never can be satisfied to tolerate the infliction of preventable sufferings upon human beings through war which in our day has become entirely unnecessary.

Let us close our survey of the facts concerning the mitigation of war with a single characteristic quotation from John Fiske: "Warfare, once regarded as the only fitting occupation for well-bred men, has come to be regarded not only as an intolerable nuisance, but even as a criminal business, save when justified on the ground of self-defense. And along with this change in the moral estimate of warfare, we observe that whereas the capture of a town not long ago was invariably followed by a carnival of red-handed slaughter and bestial lust, it is now thought unfair to kill the pigs or the chickens of a non-combatant enemy without at least professing to pay for them."

4. Another fact bearing upon the problem of war is this, that people are learning to think in economic terms. Frederick the Great used to say that an army, like a snake, moves upon its stomach. 'Tis true, likewise, of the human race. It was bread hunger, or economic necessity, which sent the children of Israel down into Egypt; the desire for economic betterment sent them back into the Promised Land. The same force drove the barbarian hordes down upon Rome. It is the same force which has brought millions of immigrants to America, and the same force sends them back to Europe in periods of hard times here.

As the people increase in number, the available lands fill up until no more land remains; then the bread problem becomes more and more serious. Threatening starvation drives men to intensive farming, to new and improved methods of agriculture, to the search for new foods hitherto unused. Most of all are we driven to search out the leaks in world housekeeping with a view to stopping those leaks. No economic student need go very far into the subject before discovering that one great leak in world housekeeping is war expenditure. Some two billions of dollars the nations expend every year for rival armaments. The Commission on the Cost of Living, appointed by the Massachusetts Legislature in 1910, discovered

that, from 1776 to 1910, the United States expended some twenty-one and one-half billion dollars for all departments of national government, of which sum over sixteen and one-half billions went for war, leaving about five billions for all other branches of the federal government The direct expenses of the principal wars from 1793 to 1905 aggregate more than twenty-three billion dollars. During the past generation the military preparedness of the European nations for the European war which has not come has cost the people of Europe more than the entire estimated wealth in the United States. No wonder Europe is poor. You see in this fact the power which is behind European emigration. Can you blame the French Socialists—for Socialists think in economic terms—for saying that there are "two plagues to fight—drink and patriotism"?

Happily economy, conservation and efficiency are the watchwords of our day. We are coming to see that waste is immoral. Yes, more. We are coming to see that even nonproductive spending is immoral. This is distinctly the winning of a new foothold for civilization. But this once won, we shall never go back to our old toleration of waste. Indeed, bread hunger will not allow us to do this. We must and shall move forward, not back. Even a Russian czar, who aspires to absolutism and military pre-eminence, sees that economic ruin confronts every militaristic power in the world and calls Hague conferences to discover methods to avert said ruin. Either disarmament or bankruptcy—which? The impoverishment of the people for the maintenance of rival fleets and armies is a game which is about played out. The flimflam arguments of steel lobbyists, of professional military and naval men, the pathetic sophistries of Army and Navy leagues, are well understood by pacifists, sound economists, business men, organized labor and international Socialism. Gunism cannot stand before a swiftly evolving economic science and an ever acuter economic need. Pacifists may well rejoice. History is being pushed irresistibly in their direction. Optimistic fatalism is our privilege. The chief concern of the world family is to get something to eat. In order that the world family may eat, war must get out of the way. And the increasing habit of thinking in economic terms, so characteristic of our socialized civilization, is prophetic of the speedy elimination of the war factor from the world problem of human life.

5. Another significant symptom is the noticeable strengthening of the judicial habit. You can measure civilization in any century by studying its method of administering justice. The tendency is all away from fist-law, the law of the jungle, and towards a better judicial process. It wearies the mind to attempt to conceive of the intervening chapters

between the jungle chapter in man's history and trial by jury. It pains the heart to think of the earlier blind, crude, cruel attempts to organize justice.

Tacitus pictures for us the Germanic tribes in their native forests. Perhaps dearest of all rights, among these self-reliant people who carried independence to the extreme, was the right of private vengeance. Society, you see, had not risen above jungleism. Fist-law, self-redress by personal violence, prevailed.

In Saxon England two methods of administering justice prevailed, namely, the ordeal and compurgation. Consider the ordeal. If a man was accused of a crime, he was brought to the church, where the priest prayed over him and sprinkled him with holy water. A piece of iron heated red hot was then placed in his hand and he was forced to carry this red hot iron a distance of nine feet. His hand was then bound up. In three days the bandages were unwound, and if the hand was blistered and sore he was adjudged guilty. Other methods of ordeal existed, such as ordeal by boiling water or by being thrown into cold water. This was the judicial method of the times—crude, bungling, cruel, but the best that the people of those days could invent.

Compurgation, or Wager of Law, for a long time, was a part of continental and English jurisprudence. If a charge was brought against a person, he summoned his friends and companions to join in an oath of general denial. Notice, the compurgators did not take oath as to facts, but were fellow-sharers in denying that the defendant would do such a criminal act as he was charged with, and they joined in expressing confidence in the veracity of their principal. Compurgation was the recognized judicial procedure in the city of Lille until the middle of the 14th century.

Unfortunately, away back in those bad times, some men could be found who were willing to swear falsely. Hence an old Burgundian king, on discovering such instances of perjury, cried out, "Let the rascals prove it on their bodies," and he ordained trial by combat, or Wager of Battle, as the prescribed judicial procedure. William the Conqueror introduced the Wager of Battle into England and established it as the legal method of trial. Please bear in mind that we are here speaking not of private vengeance, or of the gentleman's duel, or the German student's duel, but of recognized court procedure. In case an accused person did not wish to fight in person, he or she could, if possessing sufficient means, hire a champion to fight. Hence there grew up a class of professional "pugils," some of whom attained great fame and were able to command almost any salary—perhaps as much as a baseball player in our day. Thus money talked in law courts

in those days as it has been whispered it has affected decisions in our day. Sometimes women fought, especially in breach of promise cases. Although Wager of Battle fell into disuse, it actually remained upon the statute books of England until abolished in 1819. As to its shortcomings as a method of judicial procedure one need only consult the cases recorded in which the guilty party, though victorious in combat, later made full confession of guilt. As a judicial process it left much to be desired.

Examination by torture was another method of judicial procedure. It is so horrible, and its record is so stained with bloody miscarriages of justice, that we hastily pass it by with the single suggestion that if one is spoiling for "thrillers" and the daily grist of bandit activities, murders, etc., no longer suffices to produce a "thrill," let him spend his summer in studying the history of examination by torture and he will have "thrills" galore.

From fist-law, up through co-operative lying, ordeals by fire and water, combat and torture, has man come, determined to vindicate and organize justice. Often in this attempt the most horrible cruelties and injustices have been inflicted. But humanity presses on. How far along are we? The best thing devised thus far for the administration of law is the jury system. In a public address, quoting a great Englishman, I once made the familiar statement that government exists for the purpose of getting twelve men into a jury box, and that trial by jury is the finest product of civilization thus far. A waggish lawyer in the audience, in a loud stage whisper, exclaimed, "God help us if that's the best we can do!" You see, he knew the ins and outs of the lawyer game. Nevertheless, with all its imperfections, with all the dangers impending from shyster lawyers and purchasable jurymen, not to mention corporation-made judges, the jury system is an infinite improvement over fist-law, ordeal and torture. It is cheaper, more intelligently and morally discriminating, juster and more satisfactory in every way than any kind of appeal to physical force.

While we have so long been familiar with the jury system in municipal law that it is platitudinous, so that we cease to appreciate its excellences, strange to say it is only recently that any systematic effort has been made to apply it in international controversies. I do not mean to say that the peaceful settlement of international disputes is a novelty. There were many instances of international arbitration in the Middle Ages. And Dr. Darby tabulates over 600 cases of pacific settlement of international disputes since the Jay Treaty of 1794. But no earnest, intelligent, world-wide, effective effort was ever made to organize a high court of nations until the Hague conference came into being. The decisions rendered by the

Hague Court have been eminently satisfactory, and the litigant powers cheerfully have accepted the awards. To be sure, the present Hague Court is only a panel of judges; but a real court, with permanent judges, is sure to be forthcoming in the near future. The machinery is here and is in operation. It only needs perfecting.

Everyone who has followed the activities of the Hague Court will readily and heartily agree with me that such a settlement of the North Atlantic Fisheries Question is so much cheaper, so much more intellectually and morally discriminating, and so much more satisfactory in every way than any resort to arms possibly could be, that henceforth no civilized nation will be able honorably to appeal to the arbitrament of war without first having submitted its grievance to The Hague. The litigant nations recognize this, and the "just dictates of reason" (to quote Hugo Grotius), or a "decent respect for the" enlightened opinion of the world, already casts discredit upon war, and points in the direction of judicial redress. And this habit will grow stronger each year, until war can no longer be spoken of as a "final tribunal." Law is displacing war. Camps give place to courts. Cannon give way before codes. Civilization to be civilization, must be judicial, or at least must be judicial until that time when injustices, the cause of controversies, shall cease to be. And to this task of perfecting a permanent court of judicial procedure the living jurists and publicists are addressing themselves just now.

6. I shall have time to call attention to but one more set of data, namely, the international enterprises now in actual operation. In Brussels there is a Central Office of International Associations, which publishes a monthly review. In the first number of this bulletin it was stated that there are now more than 400 international organizations of various kinds. Furthermore, since 1840, over 2,100 international congresses have been held. And the noteworthy fact about these is that nearly half of them have been held during the last decade, showing a rapidly accelerating trend towards international co-operation and organization. Educators, scientists, reformers, religionists, labor leaders, Socialists, business men and philanthropists are doing effective team work together in international harness.

The Interparliamentary Union, an international organization composed of members of the various national legislatures of the world, and formed for the promotion of arbitration and better relations between nations, now numbers over 3,000 in its membership. It supports a permanent bureau at Brussels. Many of the governments make annual appropriations for this bureau. While, strictly speaking, the Interparliamentary Union is a voluntary orgaization, nevertheless, being composed

solely of the law-makers of the different nations, needless to say that such an organization, with such aims and personnel, is significant, far-reaching in influence, and highly prophetic.

But even more important than the voluntary organizations and perhaps than the Interparliamentary Union, are the strictly official, inter-governmental enterprises which have grown up and are in actual operation. I am not alluding to the scores of international conferences and congresses held jointly by national powers since the Congress of Panama in 1826. Said congresses and conferences have been assembled for the consideration of almost every kind of international question. But I have in mind especially the permanent international public unions like the Universal Postal Union, for example. These unions have not been caught down from the clouds, but have grown up from the earth, and deeply root themselves in the economic needs of the people of the earth. This is the direction in which evolution is headed. It is not necessary to "change human nature" before you can make internationalism work. Cold, prosaic, economic necessity requires such international co-operation, and will require more and more of it as time goes on. Internationalism already has begun, for, even as we are talking about it, it is at work; and, for example, so far as the carrying of the mails is concerned, internationalism has been working for thirty-nine years. This is the direction in which evolution is headed. Assuredly man has come a long way from jungleism to Universal Postal Unions, from fist-law to Hague Courts.

In the light of such facts as we have been considering, and others which might be added, what shall be our conclusion as to the possibility and probability of getting rid of war?

Let us come back again to the biological principle of canalization with which we started, namely, to the scientific law that as an organization goes on evolving and as it specializes in any particular function it cuts for itself a path or channel which keeps getting deeper and deeper, until at last this channel determines the direction of onward movement; so that, if you can discover the direction in which it has been moving, you can know in what direction it will move, yes, **must** move, henceforth, if it is to continue to exist. Having gone a certain distance in a certain direction it cannot begin over under its original conditions.

This law applies absolutely to parasites. Professor Kellogg tells us of a certain unmentionable parasite which he has been investigating for years. This little creature started with ears, eyes, wings and all the capacities for a complex, refined existence. Finding that it could live without workng by living on other beings, it became a lazy parasite. There being no further necessity for ears, eyes and wings, these dis-

appeared. The parasite became practically just a coarse stomach of a very degenerate type, able to live on dirt, old hair, etc. Please note, having specialized thus far as a parasite, this being cannot go back and begin over again and, starting with a fresh pair of wings, avoid the mistake of parasitism. It is doomed forever to continue as a parasite or drop out of existence completely, as so many forms of life already have done. This is not guess-work—mere idle guessing—it is well-grounded science which enables us thus to predict the future of this particular parasite.

But does the law of canalization hold true of beings other than parasites? Personally I believe that canalization (or something like it to which some other name might apply better) holds as true of beings on the up-grade as of those that are going down. Take man himself. As I read history I am convinced that man is specializing in two things as the centuries slip by, namely, in rational thinking and in moral goodness. These two facts differentiate man from all other animate beings. In rational thinking man has come a long distance—all the way from mere animal intelligence of the jungle man up to modern science, with its multiplication table, its microscopes and telescopes, its steamships and railroads. Would the human race willingly give up these things and go back to jungleism? It is unthinkable. On the contrary the human mind is bent on conquering new realms of knowledge.

So, too, with man's ethical development. Here and there selfish or morally lazy individuals might be willing to revert to the ethics of the jungle, but the race as a race is pressing upward, growing more humane, becoming more and more insistent on organized justice. Can you think of the race being willing to go back even so short a distance as to chattel slavery or to the factory conditions which existed in England before the passage of the Reform Bill? If you can conceive of such a thing then all I can say is that you do not know the human family very well, nor do you read the lessons of history aright, for history shows that the race is coming up and going onward. Here and there some low-typed savage (there are such even in civilized lands) might be willing to go back to the days when physical force had no bounds set to it, and when cruelties were absolutely unconfined. But the heart of the race seems to be set on organizing safeguards against such things. The trend is upward, not downward.

Now see how this applies to the problem of war. Man has come a long distance in a certain direction. In his primal jungle he was just "an animal among animals," a red-handed and red-fanged killer, an eater even of his fellow man. Today

you would have to go to some such primeval jungle as the heart of Africa to see human beings pursuing their human quarry, as black warriors pursued Stanley's party on the Congo with cries of "Meat! Meat!" But civilized peoples demand a less uncertain and different kind of food supply. We have come so far that we shall not turn back to cannibalism and jungle life. Never again will the world tolerate Seven Years' Wars, Thirty Years' Wars and Hundred Years' Wars. Never again will war be the normal state of society and peace the exception. Never again will the chief business of men be war. Never again will the world allow private war. Never again will war be waged without rules governing war practices. Not much longer will the growing conscience of men tolerate the economic waste of war or rival armed peace. Never again will judicial procedure revert to ordeals and combat and fist-law. Never again will we do even to pirates what our Saxon forefathers used to do to captured Norsemen—flay them alive and nail their hides to church doors, as we know from the bits of human skin found under the broadheaded nails now in the British museum. Never again will we cut warm slices out of the still quivering body of a newly-slain foe as Uncas did to Miantonomo when the latter was sent back to Connecticut by a Boston Council of ministers to be killed. Never again will we stick the severed head of our war victim on our public buildings as the Pilgrims of Plymouth for twenty years or more exposed the grinning skull of King Philip on their fort, therein only doing what all European nations did in those days. Never again will "civilized" peoples go to war every twenty days to provide the necessary human sacrifices for the gods, as did the ancient Mexicans; the modern world hasn't much use for deities with such appetites, or for any deity that is blood-hungry. Man has gone on so far in science, in humaneness, in ethics, in religion, in industrial teamwork, that any suggestion looking to the giving up of these things would evoke amusement, or impatience, or pity, or medical treatment. Never will the race give up its world-embracing mail system and the other half hundred international public unions. Never again, because of inexorable economic necessity, can a nation live unto itself.

In a word, the biological principle of canalization convinces scientific minds that social evolution is headed towards a warless society. The trend is unmistakable. Direction and distance are scientifically prophetic. If the race is to get ahead, war must get out of the way—out of the way of industry and business and bread-producing, out of the way of economic need, out of the way of an already potent social conscience, out of the way of education and sanitation and conservation. Either war must be eliminated or civilization must perish.

The race having come all the way from cave-dwelling to flat-dwelling in all probability will not stop now. It will go on to new and higher attainments, to new and better economic and social conditions, to new and more rational judicial procedure, to new and worthier forms of struggle. Strife will be transformed from brutal blood-spilling to scientific and moral warfare. We have gone so far in rational thinking and in moral goodness, and we like these things so well, that we shall not, we will not, we **cannot**, turn back.

And so we may emphasize the familiar Hebrew prophecy just as brave, prophetic William Ladd used to emphasize it—"The sword **shall** be beaten into plowshares, the spear **shall** be beaten into pruning-hooks." In our day, not only can the pacifist see this by moral faith, but the biologist, the anthropologist, the sociologist can see it with the eye of science.

Up in Portage, Wisconsin, is a house on the very watershed between the Fox and Wisconsin rivers. If a drop of rain runs down one side of the ridgepole, it trickles down the shingles and in time finds its way into the Gulf of St. Lawrence. If it runs down the other side of the roof it brings up in the Gulf of Mexico. Having once started down the one side or the other it cannot retrace its course and start down the other side. Direction and distance travelled determine destination. Therefore I am just optimistic fatalist and fatalistic optimist enough to believe that man has canalized for himself a course which is carrying him inevitably and more and more completely away from war. Direction and distance travelled enable the modern scientific mind to perceive that man is headed away from jungleism towards a completer and completer internationalism. Only by an unforseen and catastrophic and utter extinction of the human species, can man escape his inevitable and rapidly approaching terrestrial destiny of organized pacifism and world-wide co-operation. We have left the jungle far behind and are fast nearing the goal of internationalism, which goal, once attained, will be the beginning-point of real civilization.

Continuous Mediation Without Armistice

A Development of the Idea of a Continuous Conference of Neutral Nations, which has occurred independently to others besides the author of the Pamphlet.

by

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SUMMARY.

It is suggested that a Conference of Neutral Nations be called to sit at least as long as the war shall last, for the purpose of continuous and independent mediation with or without armistice and if necessary without the specific permission of the belligerents; such conference to consider and submit simultaneously to the warring powers reasonable propositions based on principles most favorable to the establishment of a permanent peace, and to continue to seek by the method of submitting simultaneous standing proposals and by inviting suggestions from the belligerents, some basis of settlement which may appeal to all as worthy of consideration.

Continuous mediation by a neutral conference would coördinate the thinking of the belligerent peoples; it would concentrate and render articulate the intellectual and moral forces of the world.

CONTINUOUS MEDIATION WITHOUT ARMISTICE

Can a means be found by which a conference of the neutral powers may bring the moral forces of the world to bear upon the present war situation, and offer to the belligerents some opportunity, involving neither committal to an arbitrary programme nor compromise of the convictions for which they are fighting, to consider the possibility of peace?

In answer to this question there is offered here a plan for CONTINUOUS MEDIATION WITHOUT ARMISTICE.

When great crises have arisen before, mankind has too often gone through them blindly and paid the costliest price for its lessons. It is one of the conventions of war that once blood has been shed, no further rational consideration of the questions at issue shall be attempted. Today if our scientific spirit and intellectual development are worth anything, we should be able, under the stress of emergency, to break through the paralysis of tradition and seek a rational way out, before the inexorable forces of nature shall have wrung from us the uttermost farthing.

Let us imagine for the sake of argument that all the nations now fighting were to awake tomorrow morning in their right minds, able to survey the wreck already caused, to sum up the suffering, the human loss, the economic loss; able each to comprehend the motives that have driven the other into battle; able to realize the futility of vengeance, the unwisdom and wrong of trying to crush or humiliate a race, the folly of continued competition, the advantages of co-operation. What under these circumstances would be the natural thing to do? Or, again, let us suppose that the *neutral* nations came to their senses; for is it not possible that they too have been paralyzed by a traditional mode of thinking? Suppose that they were able to attack the problem with utter honesty, simplicity, and courage. What would be the natural thing for the neutral nations to do?

It is the general conviction that so far the neutral governments are without sufficient opportunity to bring any definite influence to bear on the war situation. The belligerents distrust each other too much for armistice. And they see nothing to be gained by mediation at this stage, for it seems to them that a speedy settlement would mean compromise, and compromise would mean that hostilities would have to be resumed in the near future. Obviously, then, if the neutral powers were to bring their official influence to bear at present, they would have to *mediate without armistice and without the specific permission of the warring powers, and in such a way as not to endanger neutrality, and would have to make a proposition that would not involve the evils of compromise.*

In view of the foregoing considerations, what, we ask again, would be the natural thing for the neutral nations to do—those neutral nations to whom the task of thinking open-mindedly for the world is, for the time being, entrusted? The natural thing for them to do would be to come together in conference and endeavor to frame a reasonable proposition. They would append to it all conceivable arguments for its adoption, every possible appeal to the self-interest of every warring nation. They would then submit the proposition to the governments of all the warring nations simultaneously, together with the following question:

Will you agree to adopt or consider the accompanying proposition as a basis of peace if and when the governments of the other warring powers will agree to do likewise?

The proposition itself would have to be worked out in detail by experts. It would be an attempt to discover those principles which underlie the welfare of all and which would constitute a foundation for permanent peace. It may be that the conference would have difficulty in agreeing upon the terms of the initial standing proposal. In that case several proposals could be put forward at the same time, representing various theories of sound settlement.

If any government should reply in the negative, reply indefinitely, or refuse to reply at all, the neutral powers would place before it the following requests:

(1) If at any time while the war continues, you are willing to adopt or consider our proposition, or a modified form of our proposition, as a basis of peace provided the other warring powers will do likewise, we beg that you will notify the conference of the neutral powers.

(2) In the meantime the conference of the neutral powers, WHICH WILL SIT WHILE THE WAR CONTINUES, will be grateful to receive any information which you may care to give as to your ultimate wishes—that is, as to the maximum which you desire to obtain—in order that the conference may be aided in an effort to discover at the earliest possible moment a plan of settlement such as may appeal to all as worthy of consideration.

The conference would then proceed to frame and put forward further standing proposals.

It is now evident and should be carefully noted that, for the lack of a better term, the word *mediation* in here extended in meaning to include more than such formal mediation as implies the acquiescence of the belligerents. Let us repeat that even if the belligerents were unwilling to accept mediation, *the neutral conference would not confine itself to offers of mediation but would begin at once to frame and put forward standing proposals based on principles favorable to the establishment of a permanent peace.*

The immediate advantages of such a course of action from the point of view of the neutral nations would be (1) that it avoids the necessity of securing an armistice or the permission of the warring powers to mediate; (2) that it avoids the necessity of passing judgment on the past; (3) that it endangers no one's neutrality; (4) that it gives an opportunity to ascertain the attitude of the belligerents by an appeal to the future; (5) that it would put forward a radical plan free from the evils resulting from compromise—a plan which, if it could shorten the present war, would tend also to prevent similar wars in the future.

Now what practically could such a course of action on the part of the neutral powers be expected to accomplish?

First, what is the minimum gain that could be expected

with reasonable confidence? The minimum gain would be the lifting of the programme of pacifism into the realm of serious political consideration. As a proposition made seriously from governments to governments, it would gain a hearing, it would have a psychological effect, such as no private propaganda could ever give it. It would focus the thought of the world at least momentarily on international righteousness. It would give a concrete expression to the inarticulate passion of all idealists both in the peaceful and the troubled lands. And if ever in the world's history there was dire need of such a common expression, it is now.

By voicing an international political faith, the movement would tend, furthermore, to give a new solidarity to popular sentiment in those lands whose population in made up of many races. For instance, it would relieve large numbers of Americans of European birth or ancestry from an intolerable sense of estrangement from many of their fellow Americans. It would enable them to join hands in one great task and to weld into one enthusiasm their affection for their fatherland, their loyalty and devotion to America, their friendship for the whole world. Hence the racial diversity of the United States would be rendered one of the most potent forces making for peace.

And should the neutral nations of the world accept the invitation of one of their nnmber to send representatives to a conference, such a deliberative body, sitting as long as the emergency continues, would present a spectacle of profound significance—one that would go far to restore the shaken faith of humanity and enable it to set its face with new hope toward the goal of ultimate World Federation.

As to the question what is the most that the plan might accomplish, we should hesitate to base serious argument upon the answer. Yet it may be worth while to consider for a moment some of the forces which might conceivably be brought into action. First, what might the proposition gain from the motives of self-interest (1) in peoples, (2) in governments?

Since the initial standing proposal is not a matter of secret

diplomacy, but is made openly before the face of all people, it will come to the knowledge of the people of the belligerent countries through the press.

In the labor element, the churches, especially the Society of Friends, the women's organisations, and the greater part of the commercial interests, we have a body of opinion already strongly disposed to look with favor upon a proposal for a settlement that will make for permanent peace. Now, the temptation to sound thinking which such a proposal presents will increase steadily in force with the increase of economic pressure. Moreover, the plan will enlist on its side the argument of fear itself, the strongest force which is at present making for war. The great argument with which Great Britain has appealed to her people and colonies is the danger that defeat would mean at the least increased armaments in the future, military enslavement, the weakening of the democratic principle. This is the appeal that has marched out the armies of the British Empire. But to such a motive our proposition would make an appeal yet stronger, for it would promise security not only from the aggression of a victor but from the revenge of a vanquished foe. It would promise freedom, nationality, democracy in no uncertain terms.

It will be objected that at present, nevertheless, national hatred is too bitter to permit the sane consideration of peace proposals. We cannot too much emphasize the point, however, that national hatred is born of and nourished by fear. So far as the twentieth century is concerned, pure hatred is too non-material and at the same time negative a motive to keep masses of people fighting in the face of severe economic pressure. If fear be eliminated, hatred will die a speedy and natural death. Moreover, it would be easy to bring evidence gathered from partisan periodicals to show the compunction which each side feels in destroying the other, the kind treatment accorded to prisoners, the friendly relations between the soldiers in the trenches. All would be thankful to return if they could to "normal humane living." Again, the contemplation of a proposal based on the principles of universal welfare will of itself tend to diminish national

hatred and to hasten the time when settlement will be possible. And this goal may be nearer than we think. It is fear, we repeat, rather than hatred which keeps the nations fighting, fear which is strong enough for a time to overcome the great counter force of economic pressure. But economic pressure is a force inexorable and final, which must sometime and in some way bring a cessation of hostilities. It is the one formidable ally of those who would fight the battle of peace.

The very emulation of the belligerents should spur them to adopt the creditable course. They have all turned to the neutral peoples eager in self-justification. Each nation says that it is not to blame; that it did not seek the war; that it was forced to fight in self-defence immediate or anticipatory; that it has to contend with those with whom it would fain have been friendly; that it has no motive of cruelty, only that motive of tenderness to its own which for the time being has rendered necessary a stern closing of the heart to pity for others; that the means it has used are justified by a vital end and a desperate necessity; that the motive is ultimately the preservation of an ideal and the welfare of the human family. If these protestations are sincere—and it is by no means clear that we have adequate reason for doubting them—it is not strange that we have felt unable to commit ourselves to any final judgment of the moral attitude of any party to the conflict. We cannot estimate past motives; we cannot distinguish perfectly between the actions of peoples and the actions of governments, between the responsibility of one nation and that of another. And there is a sense in which all are to blame. We are all human together, stumbling out of darkness into a twilight of imperfect knowledge. Nevertheless it is true that by their appeal to world opinion, the belligerents have laid themselves open to any ethical challenge we choose to propose to them; and there is a test of sincerity to which they may even now be brought and to which they have given us the right to bring them—one that lies not in a scrutiny of the past but in an appeal to the future.

The strength of such a radical proposal as that for a League of Peace, for example, lies in the fact that it offers a good bargain.

While the concessions it demands of each government are large, the advantages it presents, even from the point of view of what Mr. G. Lowes Dickinson calls the "governmental mind", are by no means small. All peoples would gain (1) immediate relief from intense economic pressure and excruciating suffering, (2) comparative freedom from military taxation, (3) security from future wars, (4) relief from the prospect of further loss of trade. All governments would gain a desirable exit from a difficult situation. The world would gain the safety of western civilization, which is now threatened. Hence, there is no question that the appeal to the people of all countries would be very strong, especially after economic pressure had become extreme. At the least, the governments of all countries would find it difficult, once the argument of self-defense was wrested from them, to keep the people enthusiastic for the continuation of the war.

But since the best hope of a peace movement lies in the will of the people, what is gained by appealing from government to government instead of through the propaganda of peace organizations to the people themselves? First, as we have seen, government action is the most effective action because the most national, the most immediate, and the most conspicuous. Secondly, by such government action as we propose, we give the people of any country the invaluable aid of a ready-made proposition. We have relieved them of the difficulties, especially great in time of war, of initiation, formulation, organization, of getting a hearing with their own government. The campaign of those individuals and groups who desire to ally themselves with our movement is already organized. All they have to do is to importune their government to *say yes*. And thirdly, we have put into their hands this argument, that the plan has already been brought from the realm of the ideal into the realm of practical politics, that there is already in the world one government at least that regards it seriously as a political expedient.

Through the plan of independent and continuous mediation without armistice—that is, through making simultaneous standing proposals to all—there is thus a chance, slight indeed and dependent upon the turn of circumstances, of materially

affecting the duration and the outcome of the war. Be it observed that such a device would bring a steady psychological pressure to bear on the belligerent governments; it would keep them under perpetual temptation to the right course. At present each side is resolved to fight practically to extermination rather than yield. Our proposal would hold before each, one hope of escape from indefinitely continuing a self-destructive struggle. Such are the possibilities of practical appeal on the ground of the sordid motives—fear, pride, desire for relief from sufferng.

But there are other motives than sordid ones to be considered. Humanity is not a shallow thing. When we think of the motives of mankind in the mass, we get into the habit of thinking of those motives which we can estimate and turn to practical account; and these are the lower motives; the higher motives are incalculable. Idealism is from the point of view of practical politics an uncertain and therefore a negligible quantity; but it exists. That it is not a practical force is due to the fact that we have not yet learned to liberate and use it. And today it is singularly active, singularly accessible. Though in neutral countries moral conditions are approximately normal, in the countries which are at war they are very far from normal—not abnormally low, but almost superhumanly high. The very unity and cohesion of a race has carried the individual beyond his normal range. Each people is as a single family; there is neither high nor low, rich nor poor, but a brotherhood of men. No man counts his life dear unto himself. All are fighting with unquestioning devotion for homes and fatherland, for language, institutions, traditions, for all that they hold most sacred and most dear. Whatever we may believe about the folly or the deliberate wrong-doing of governments, the fact remains that each people is in a state of spiritual exaltation. Individuals are everywhere thinking, feeling, suffering, facing the ultimate issues of life and death. Their senses are sharpened, their spirits sensitized to the significance of what had become commonplace, to familiar landscapes, to the associations of home, to the ideals of the race, to its heroism and its poetry, to the symbols of its religion. This

thing is like a tidal wave of the sea; it has drawn deep. And in the hour of their aspiration and their agony, they have turned to us, beseeching our understanding and approval. Powerful and sophisticated peoples have cried out to us with the helplessness and simplicity of children, as if we for the time being represented to them that World Spirit of reason and wisdom which alone can rescue them from irreparable tragedy.

We have only to turn to their own periodicals to know that each nation, in the confused complexity of its motives, has been swept by a genuine passion of self-justification—a passion that indicates in each a sense of loyalty to a standard of national conduct. *It is our unique opportunity to propose to each the supreme ethical challenge which, whether or not any can rise to the point of accepting it, must for ourselves and for them endure through the coming centuries as a tangible expression of the international ideal.*

Now between the maximum for which we hope and the minimum which we may expect to obtain, there is one possible gain that should not be overlooked. Even though ideal proposals be rejected, a conference of continuous meditation would supply a means of defining the issue and hastening the discovery of such a basis of settlement as would normally be reached at the end of the war. The device of such a conference might well be adopted at the beginning of any war, for any problem that justifies bloodshed is worthy of the collective, systematic thinking of the race. And it is possible for each party to a conflict to be somewhat mistaken as to what the other supposes the main issues to be. Any confusion of issues must result in a tragic waste of effort. Especially is there danger of such waste in the present war. In the vastness of the issues involved, in the nature of the deadlock, in the interêst which the neutral powers have in finding a solution, the world problem is unprecedented and may well demand a *pioneer method of treatment.* Noble races are engaged in a death struggle, kindred peoples who have no real quarrel, who would rather be friends, but who cannot come to an understanding because they have no true opportunity to communicate.

So far as the peoples are concerned, the war began on a few days' notice. There was no time to talk then; there is no chance to talk now. There will be no opportunity to be rational until all the nations are practically exhausted unless a machinery can be devised to do the thinking and interpreting on neutral ground. *Hence a conference of continuous mediation, proceeding by a method of simultaneous standing proposals, might prove to have a practical value independent of the willingness of the powers to accept an ideal plan.* Nevertheless it must not be forgotten that whatever modifications may be introduced for discussion later by the belligerents themselves, the initial standing proposal of the neutral powers should be based on some such universal principles as we have adready indicated, for, as we have seen, (1) such a proposal is an expression of the ideal and is therefore worth holding before the imagination of the world; (2) it is a neutral proposal because it is based on abstract principles; (3) it approaches a sound bargain because it is based on principles which govern the welfare of all, and as a sound bargain it may ultimately produce a practical effect on the attitude of the governments.

But let us repeat that it is on the ground of the minumum result that may be expected from prompt action that we desire chiefly to base our argument. We wish to emphasize the point that the awful force of human anguish will be to a certain extent dissipated and wasted unless it can in some way be concentrated to drive the idea of world peace into the minds of the people. It is the task of the neutral powers to put the psychological screws in place and let nature turn them by the relentless pinch of physical fact. If a single belligerent government could be induced to commit itself, though of course conditionally, to the sound programme, that were a hitherto unparalleled triumph for the cause of pacifism. But even if no such result could be effected, even if the only result were the crystallizing of an avowedly national sentiment in one neutral country and of popular opinion in other lands, the effort would be worth while. And that any government should have taken an historic stand for the radical right would be for all time a source of pride and thankfulness to its people.

But there is a third question to be asked: For the individual believer in the cause of peace, what, under actually existing circumstances, is the natural thing to do? We may say confidently that *there are* more than the prophet's seven thousand in every neutral country who believe ardently in the cause of peace and are willing to put forth their utmost effort in its support. To them we make our appeal. If the course of action which we have outlined is indeed the reasonable one for the neutral nations to follow, if it contains any promise of help, direct or indirect, immediate or future, to the cause of peace, then the natural thing for the individual to do is to advocate that course in season and out of season, by personal propaganda, through the press, through public meetings, by resolutions of societies, through open letters to persons of authority. When he has striven by every means at his command to gain for the matter the serious consideration of the neutral peoples and the neutral governments, then and not till then has he delivered his soul.

Our task is a definite one. It is the task of persuading the neutral governments to immediate action. We shall on every hand encounter the opinion that when the belligerents are ready for mediation, they can make the move for it without further interference from us; that we shall gain by waiting until they are in a mood to listen to us. Let us in conclusion sum up the principal arguments against this view; (1) Though opposed to armistice and not consciously ready for mediation, the belligerents may in reality be more open than either we or they themselves are aware to the appeal of common sense. (2) They dread speedy settlement because they dread compromise; but a proposal, for example, for the adjustment of disputes by appeal to the principle of nationality* does not involve the great evil of compromise—

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* The principle of nationality is here understood to mean the principle that any racial unit should have freedom to develop according to its own genius, in so far as its development does not interfere with the equal freedom of every other racial unit. Such freedom can be accorded within any unit of government.

namely, the danger of a speedy resumption of hostilities. (3) The warring nations themselves are unwilling to initiate a movement for peace; and in the meantime the peoples are powerless to communicate. For the sake of the welfare of all, for the sake of a dispassionate examination and a universal interpretation, the neutral nations must work out plans and propose them. (4) If a standing proposal is likely to exert a psychological pressure that will tend to hasten the time of settlement, then it is a grave wrong to delay putting it before the belligerents. Though it may not be immediately accepted, yet the sooner it is made, the sooner it will take effect. Dare we delay to act when promptness of action may in the long run save even a week of bloodshed and suffering? (5) A radical proposal made simultaneously to the warring powers would tend to promote not only speedy settlement but sound settlement. It would at the least begin the task which must be begun sometime of bringing the force of sane public opinion to bear upon the conservatism of governments; and now while public opinion is reinforced by economic pressure within the nation and by danger from without, it may be easier to make that force felt than it will be later. (6) The only alternative to prompt action is passive acquiescence in the indefinite continuation of the war--a war that is daily weakening the vitality of Europe, sweeping away the slow gain of centuries, "mortgaging the future of civilization," and bringing inestimable loss upon our children and our children's children.

Shall we wait until these blind and futile forces have spent themselves? The time to make a resolute effort to save our world is *now*, before the destruction has gone any further.

FOR PATRIOTIC PRAISE OF PEACE

THE WORLD'S BEST

The Ten Peace Songs

Chosen for universal use by all creeds and nativities by the

"PEACE SONG COMMITTEE"

NATIONAL CHORAL PEACE JUBILEE COMMITTEE

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10. Song of Peace. Mozart.

TWO SUPPLEMENTARY CHORALS

1. The Pilgrim's Chorus. Wagner.
2. The Hallelujah Chorus. Handel.

CHILDREN'S PEACE SONG

Peace is Our Cause.

Doxology

PRICE 25 CENTS

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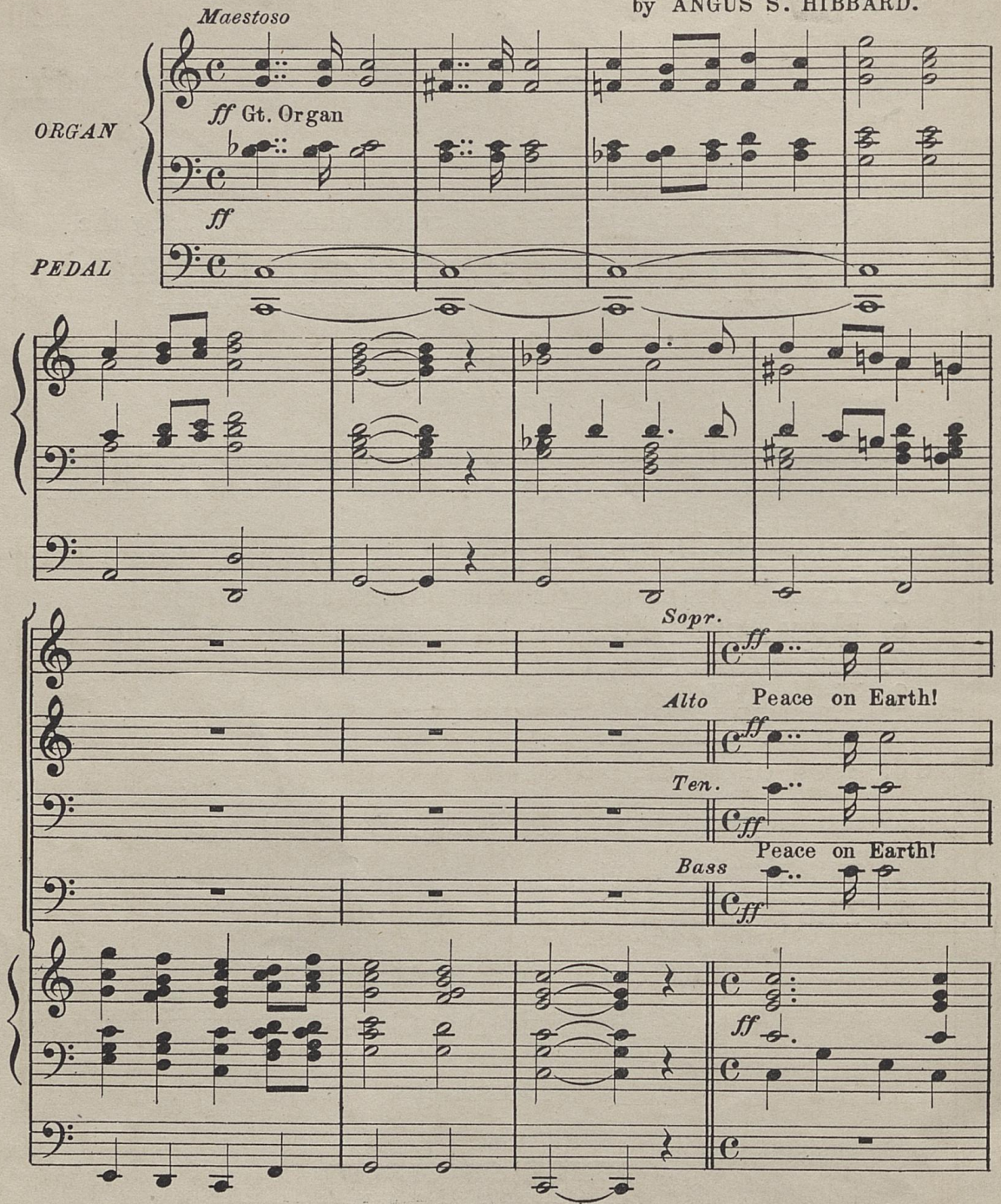
"Of war, men are of many minds, but millions will sing in unison for Peace."

No. 1

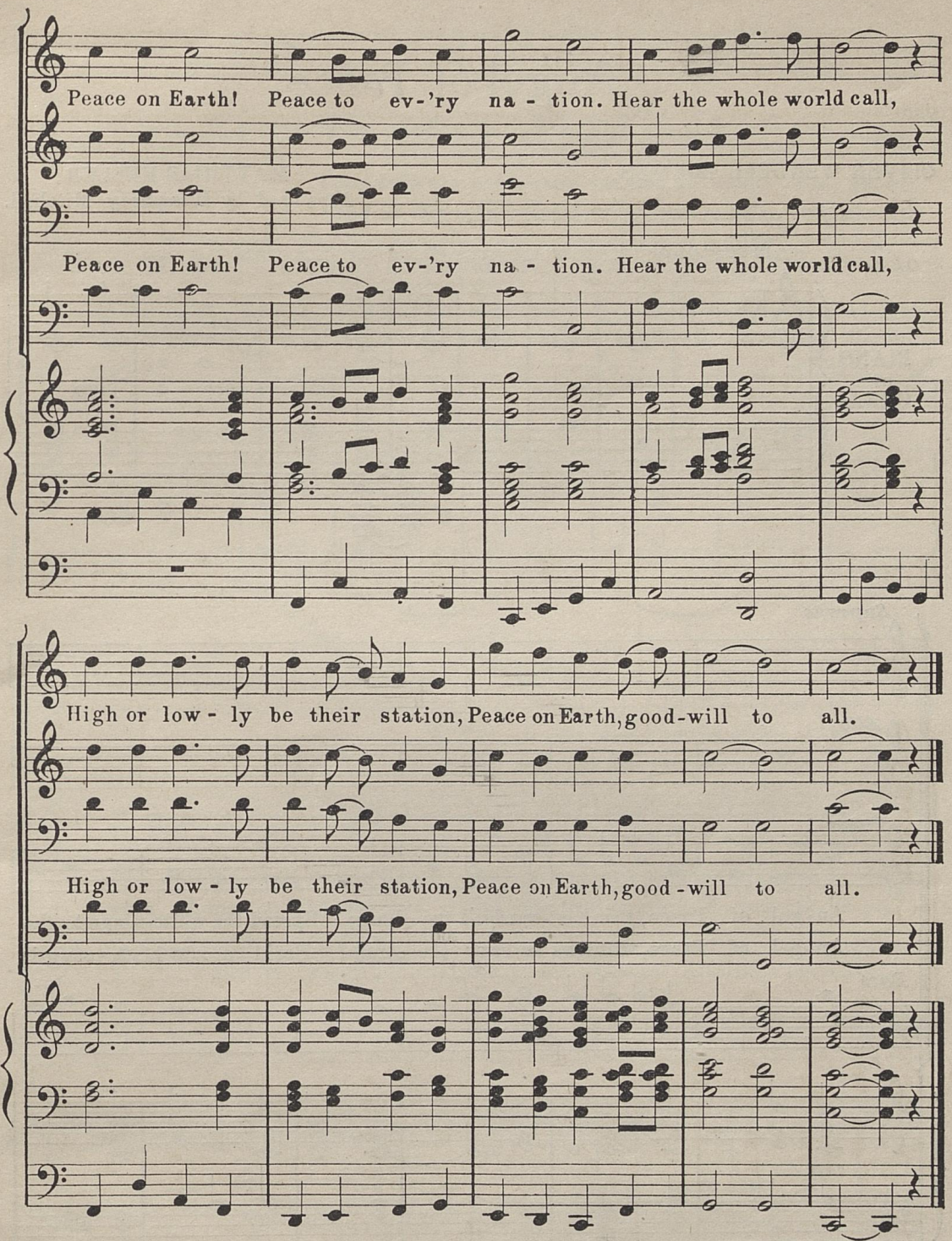
Peace on Earth

Dedicated to the Apollo Musical Club of Chicago. Adapted to "Domine Salvam Fac" (Gounod)

by ANGUS S. HIBBARD.



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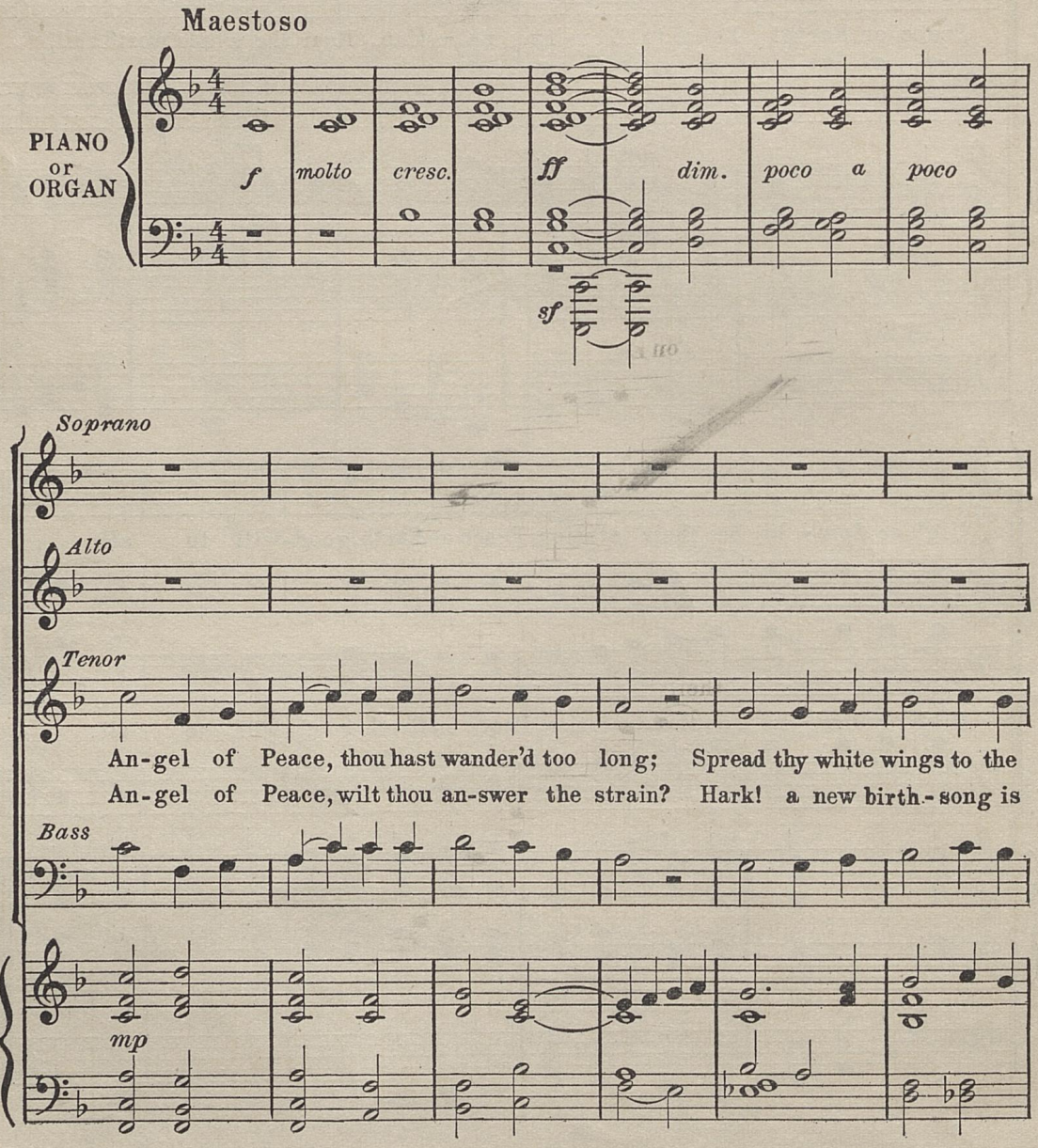

Peace on Earth! Peace to ev-'ry na - tion. Hear the whole world call,
Peace on Earth! Peace to ev-'ry na - tion. Hear the whole world call,
High or low - ly be their station, Peace on Earth, good-will to all.
High or low - ly be their station, Peace on Earth, good - will to all.

No. 2

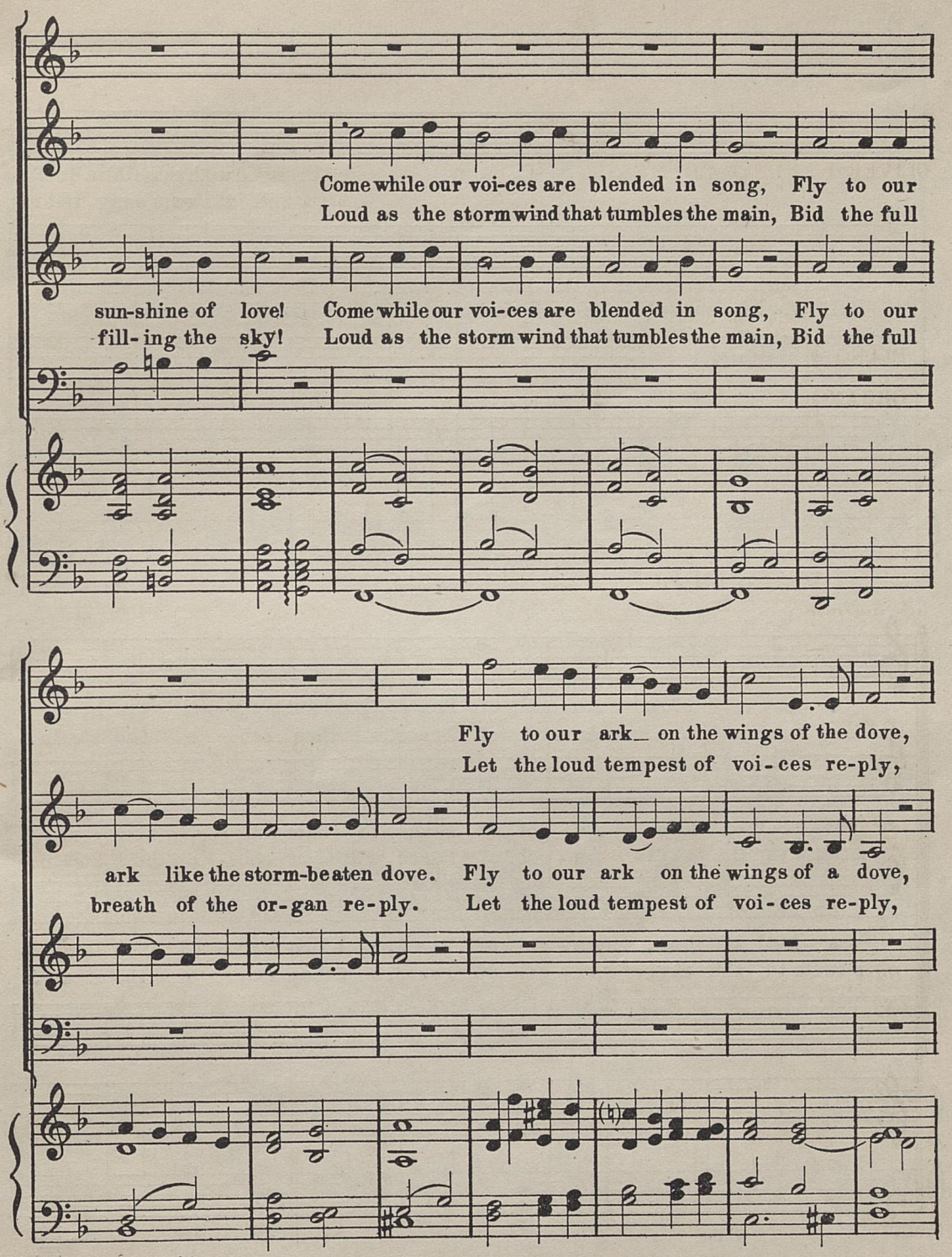
Angel of Peace

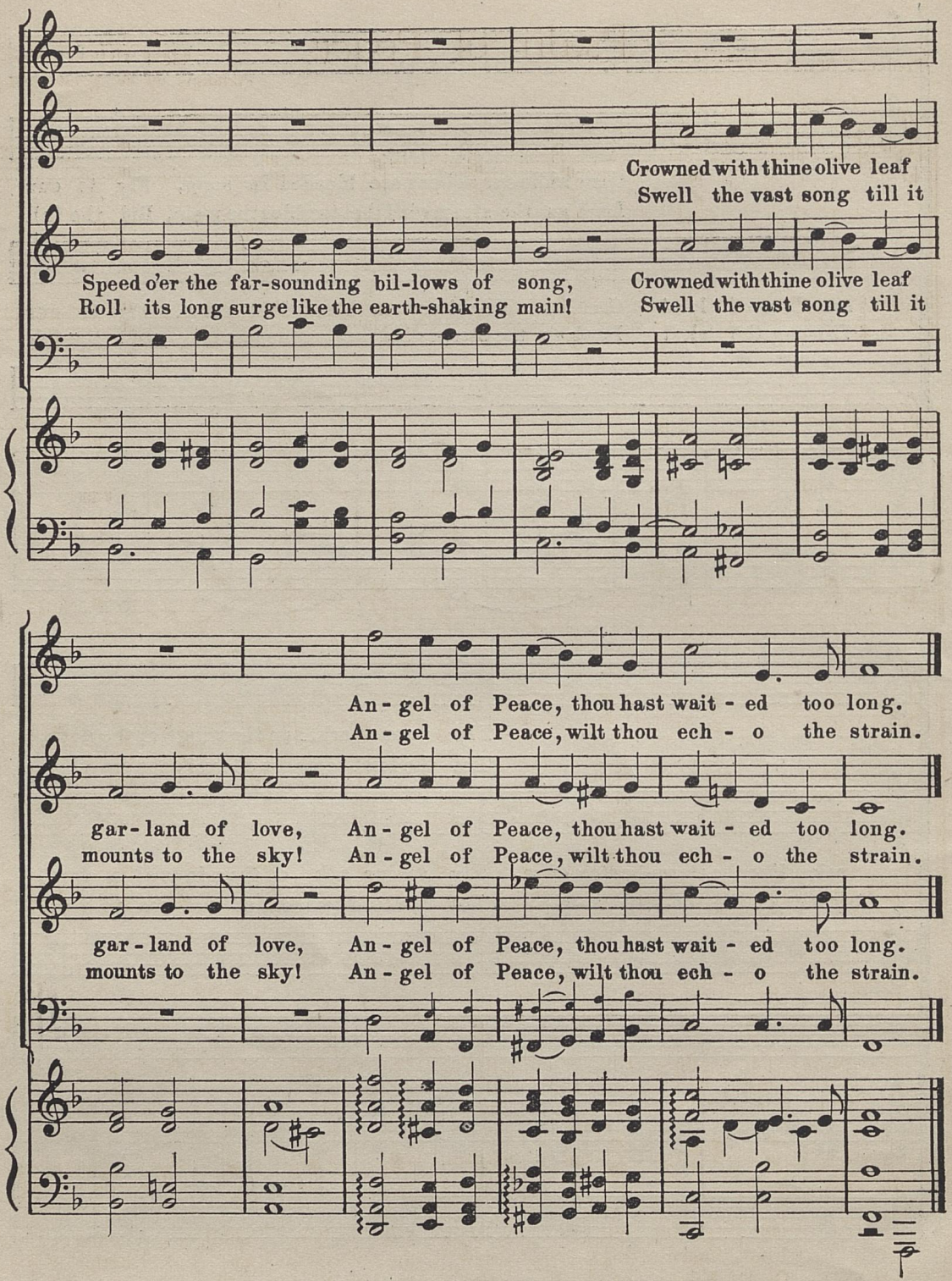
OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.

MATTHIAS KELLER.
Arranged by Humphrey Mitchell.



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Come while our voi-ces are blended in song, Fly to our
Loud as the storm wind that tumbles the main, Bid the full
sun-shine of love! Come while our voi-ces are blended in song, Fly to our
fill-ing the sky! Loud as the storm wind that tumbles the main, Bid the full
Fly to our ark on the wings of the dove,
Let the loud tempest of voi-ces re-ply,
ark like the storm-beaten dove. Fly to our ark on the wings of a dove,
breath of the or-gan re-ply. Let the loud tempest of voi-ces re-ply,


Crowned with thine olive leaf
Swell the vast song till it
Speed o'er the far-sounding bil-lows of song,
Roll its long surge like the earth-shaking main!
Crowned with thine olive leaf
Swell the vast song till it
An - gel of Peace, thou hast wait - ed too long.
An - gel of Peace, wilt thou ech - o the strain.
gar - land of love,
mounts to the sky!
An - gel of Peace, thou hast wait - ed too long.
An - gel of Peace, wilt thou ech - o the strain.
gar - land of love,
mounts to the sky!
An - gel of Peace, thou hast wait - ed too long.
An - gel of Peace, wilt thou ech - o the strain.

No. 3

Psalm of Peace

Frederick Manley

EDWARD GREIG
Arranged by W. J. Goodell

Andante religioso

1. O God of Hosts, with Thy strong hand, Pro - tect our home and our fair land! Be thou our God of end - less peace And guide our steps till life shall cease.
2. De - fend, O God, our land of peace, Oh may its love of right in crease; Thy bless - ing be up - on it shed Like morn - ing dew on flow - 'ry bed.
3. Teach us in truth and light to grow, Thy laws to love, Thy word to know; In Thee we will for aye a - bide, O King of Glo - ry, be our guide.

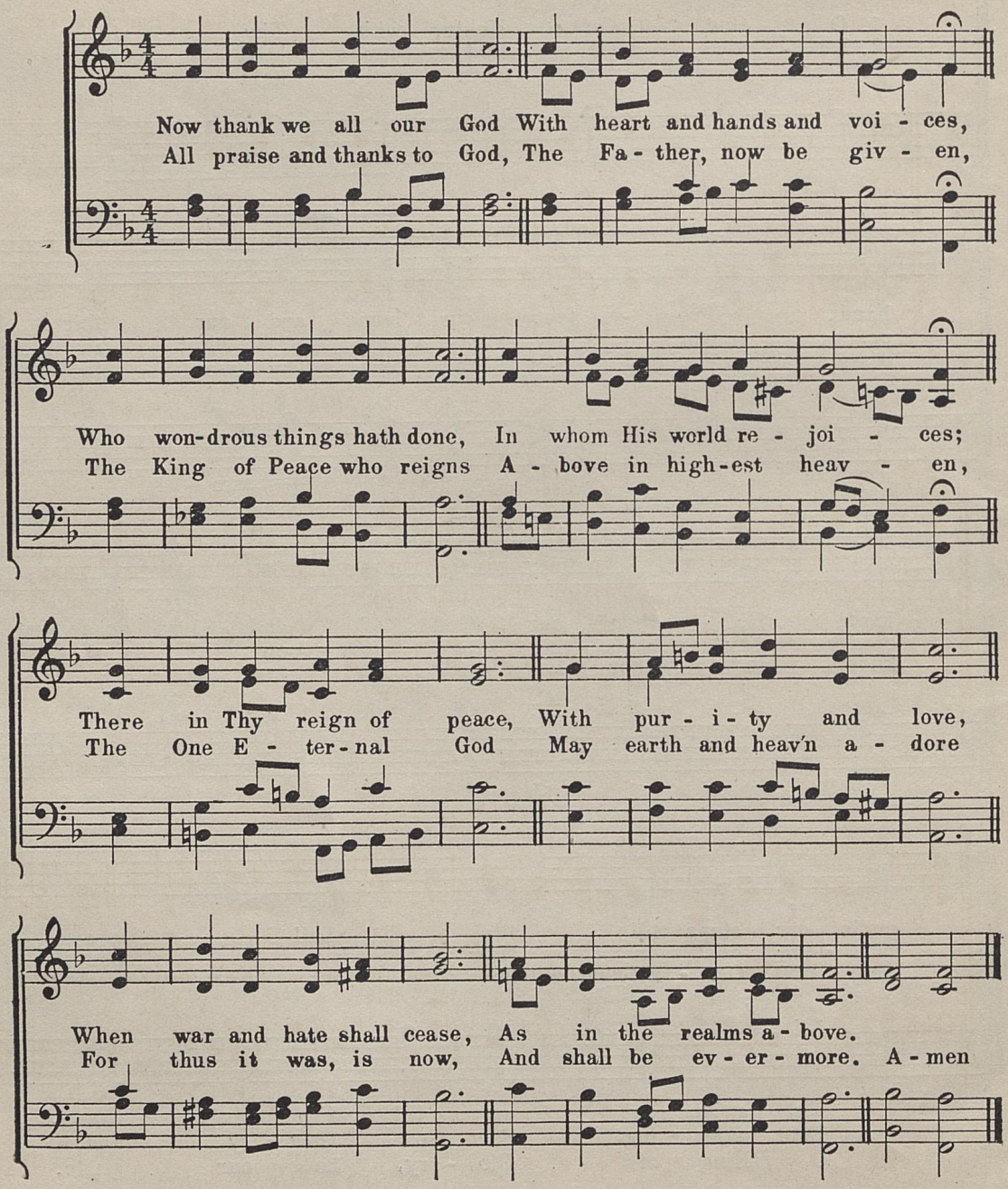
Oh, guide our steps till life shall cease.
Like morn - ing dew on flow - 'ry bed.
O King of Glo - ry, be our guide.

No. 4

Now Thank We All Our God

Johann Crüger, 1647

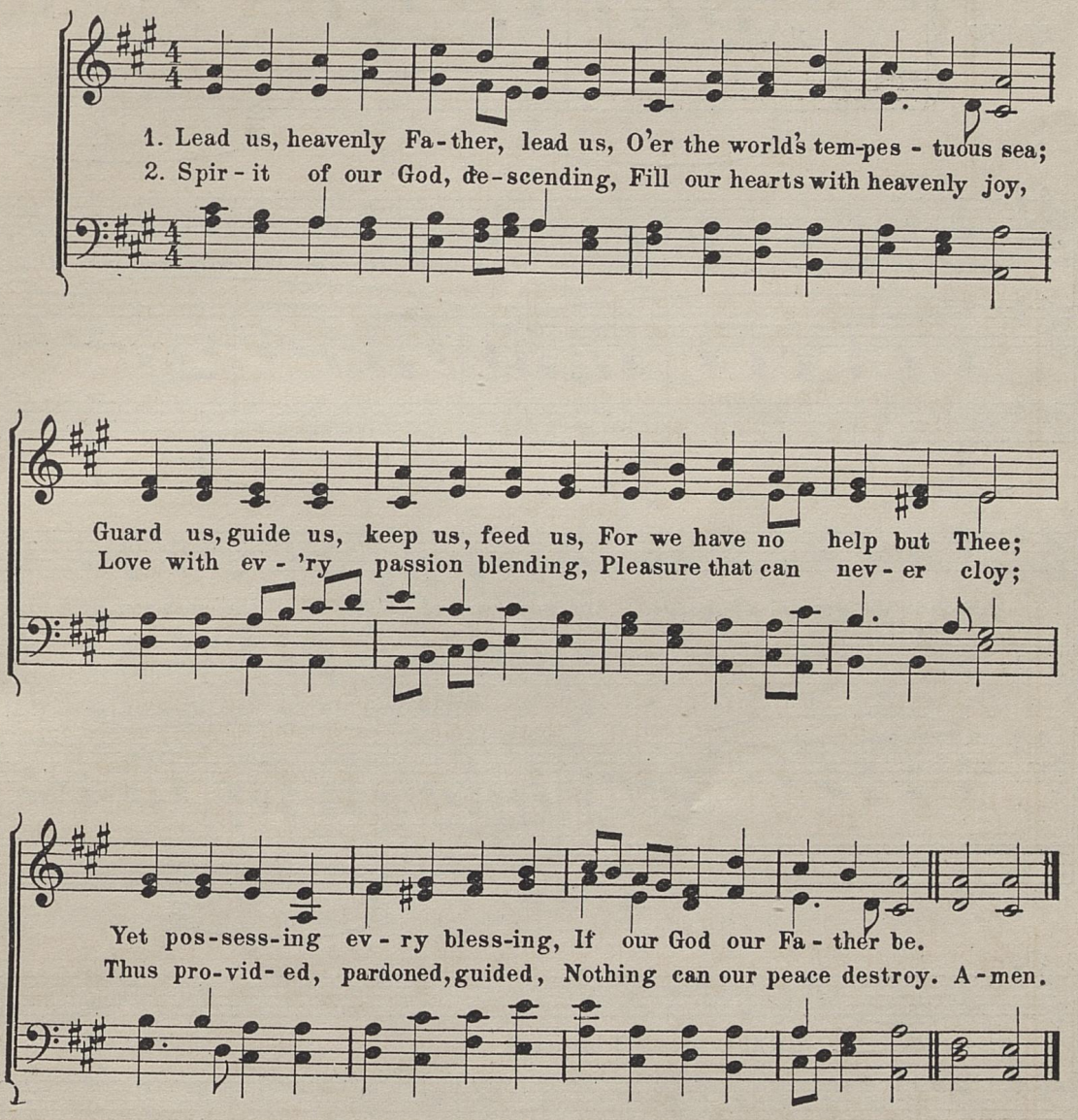
Revised 1915 by
A. S. HIBBARD.



No. 5

Lead us, Heavenly Father, Lead us

CORINTH 8.7.8.7.8.7. Words by James Edmeston, 1821

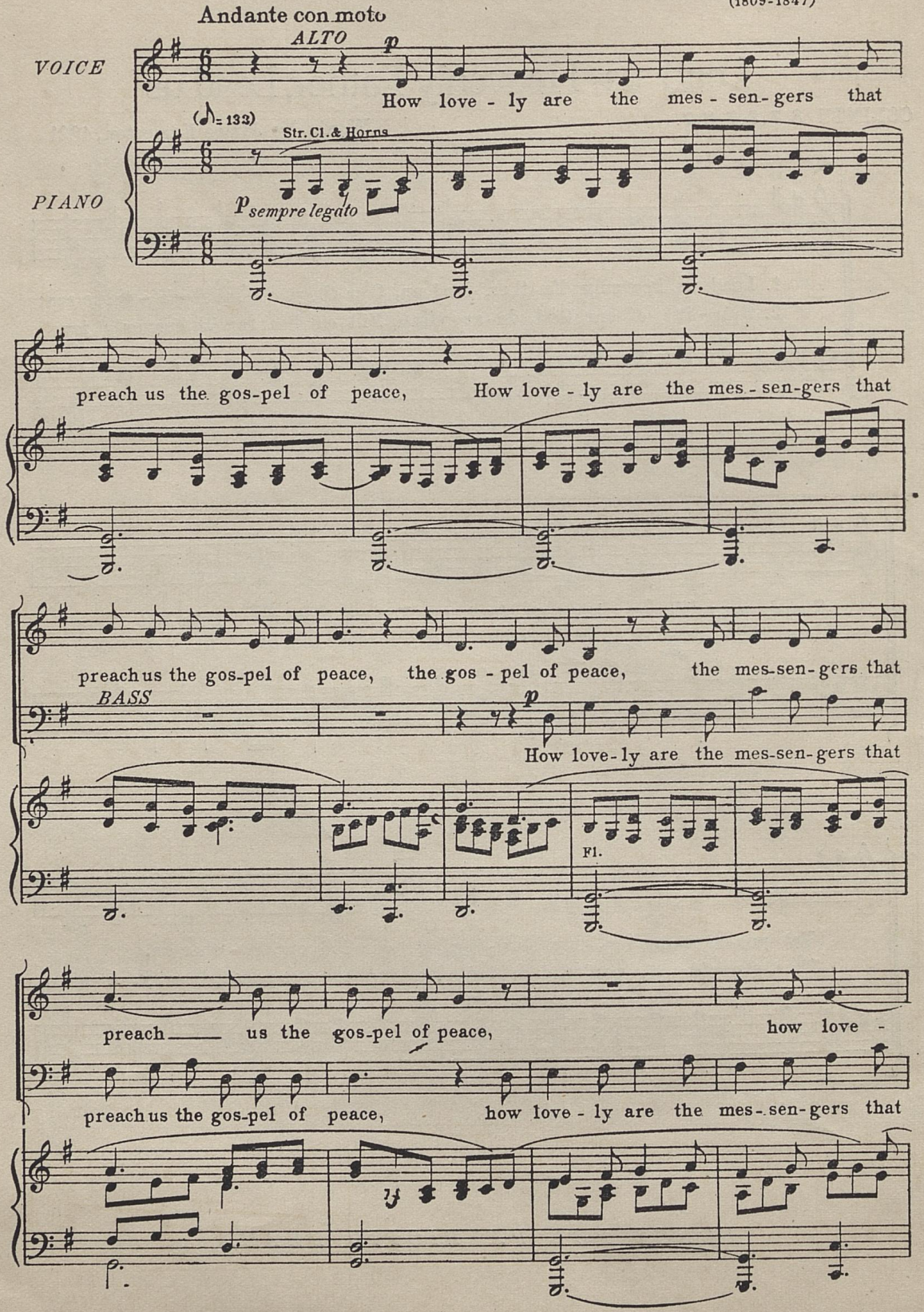


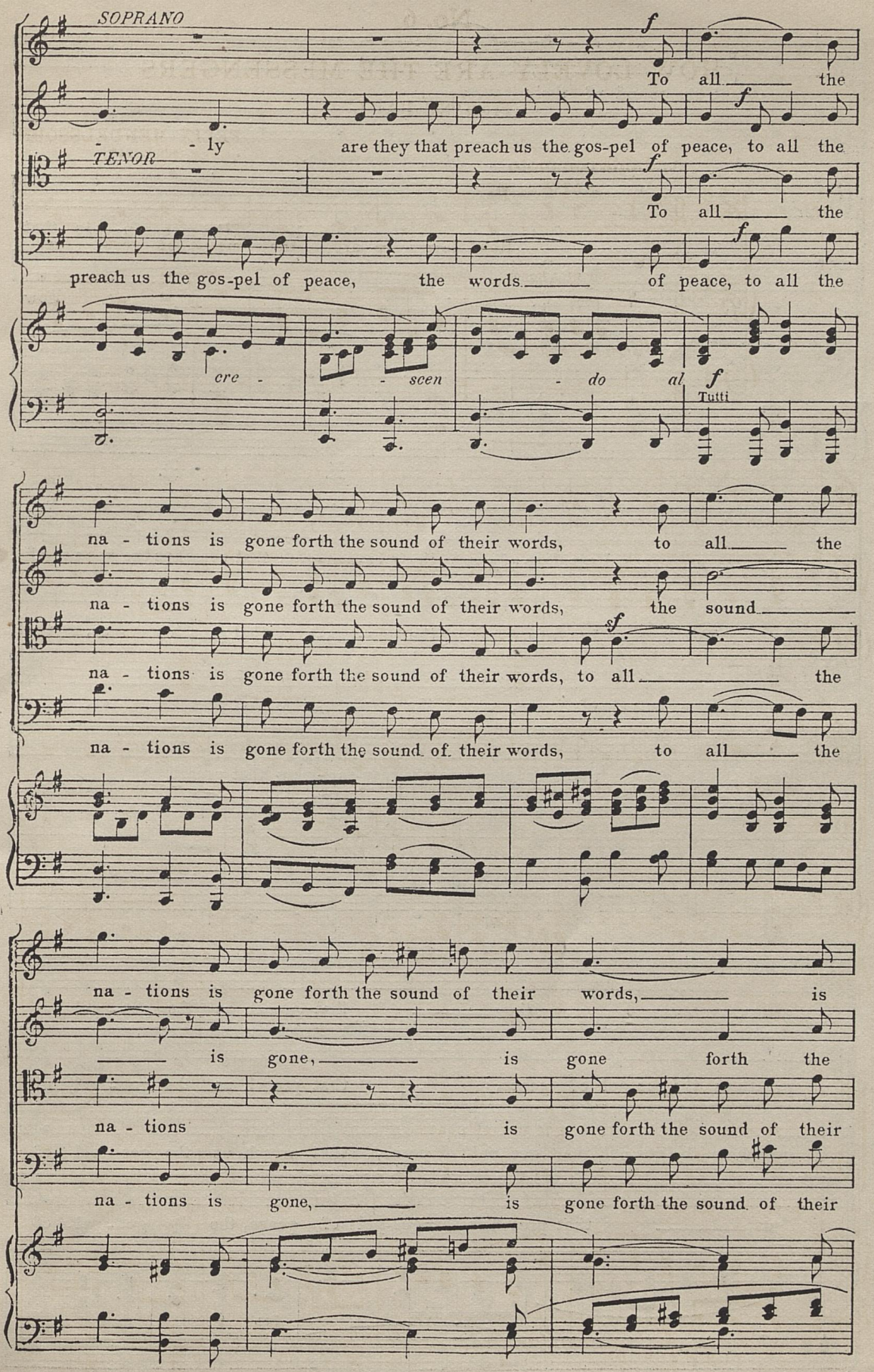
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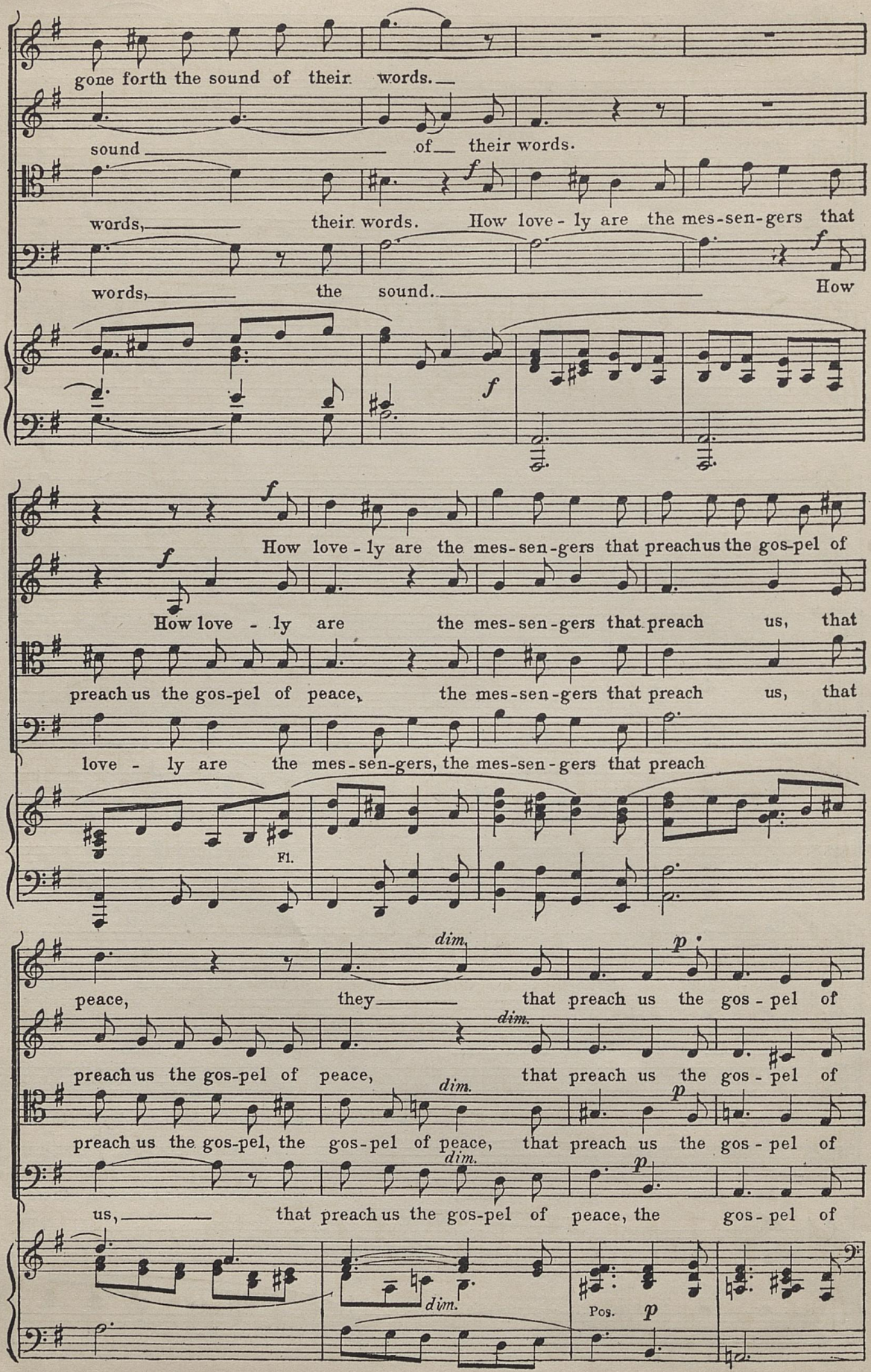
HOW LOVELY ARE THE MESSENGERS

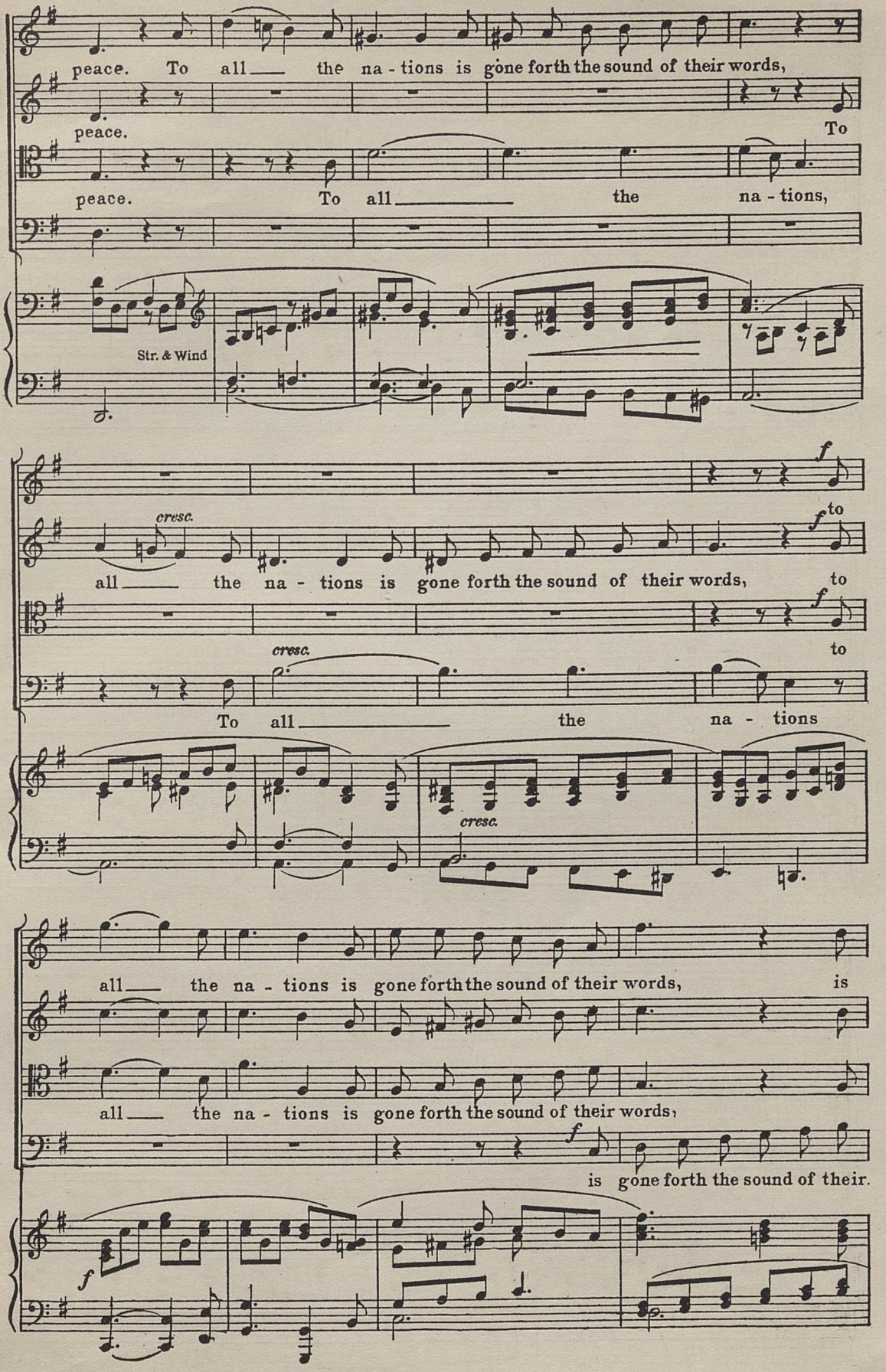
From "ST. PAUL"

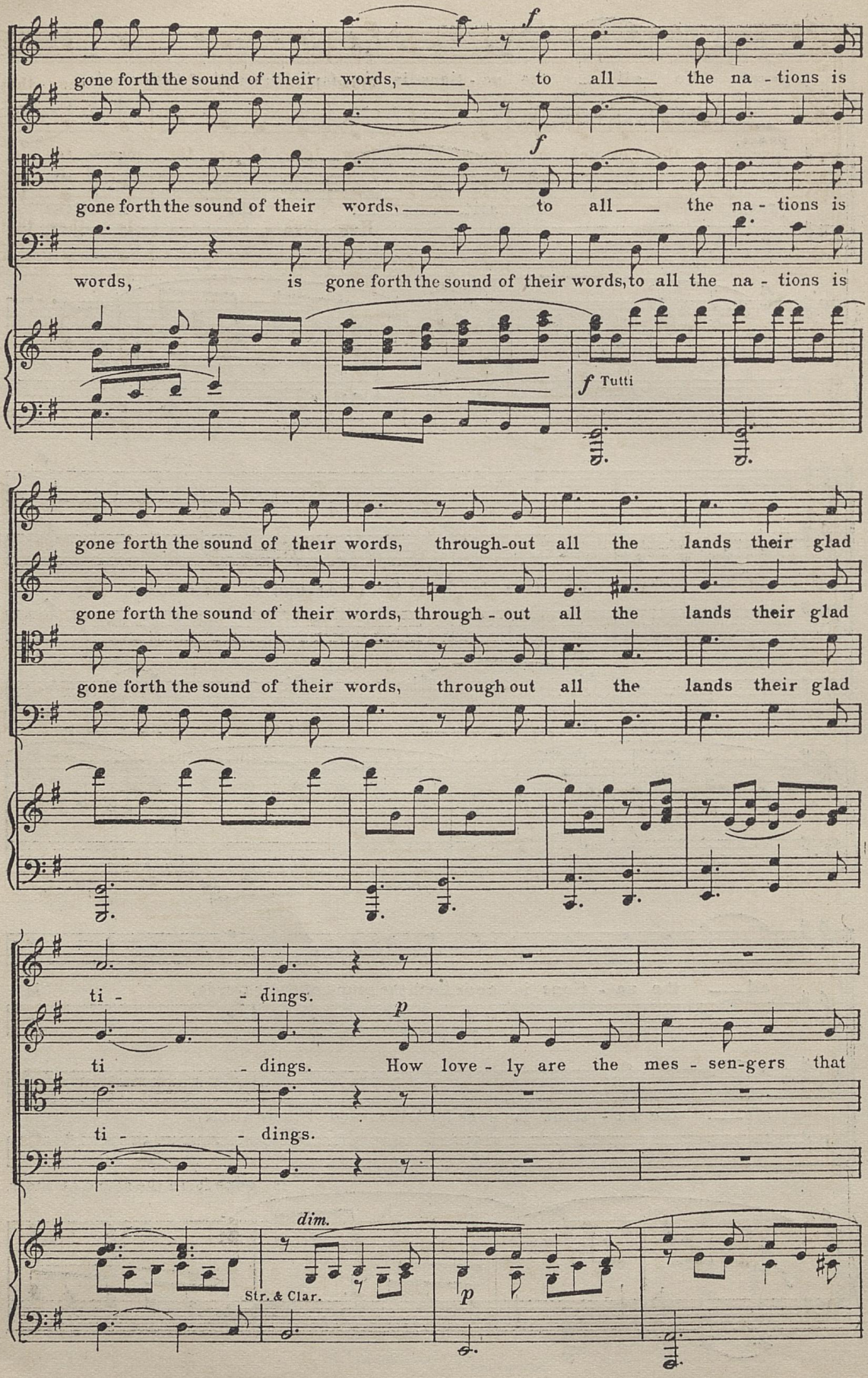
FELIX MENDELSSOHN
(1809-1847)

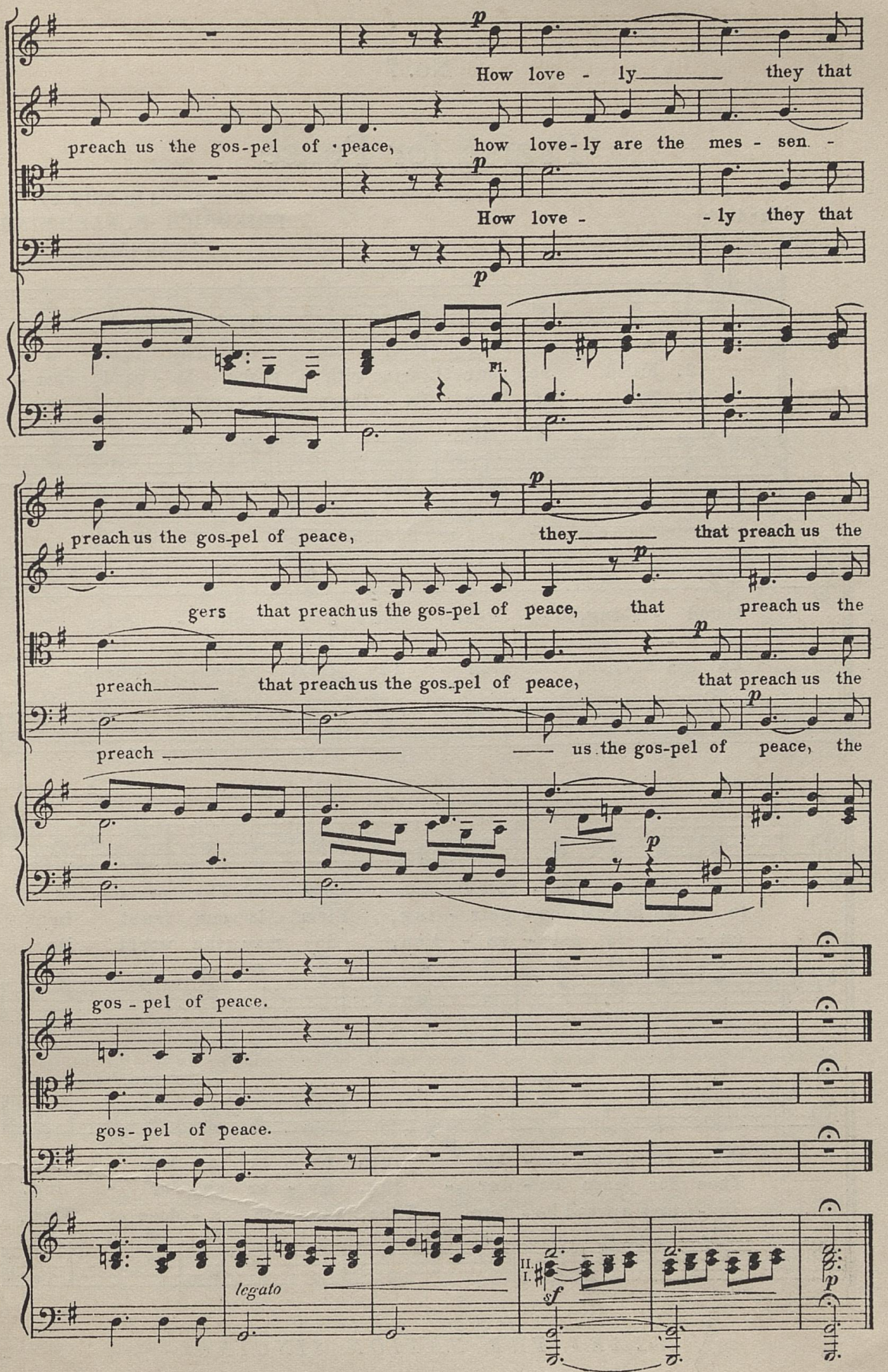



SOPRANO
TENOR
f
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- ly are they that preach us the gos-pel of peace, to all the
To all the
preach us the gos-pel of peace, the words of peace, to all the
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words, the sound. How
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How love - ly are the mes-sen-gers that preach us, that
preach us the gos-pel of peace, the mes-sen-gers that preach us, that
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preach us the gos-pel of peace, that preach us the gos - pel of
preach us the gos-pel, the gos-pel of peace, that preach us the gos - pel of
us, that preach us the gos-pel of peace, the gos - pel of
Pos.


peace. To all the na - tions is gone forth the sound of their words,
peace.
To
peace. To all the na - tions,
Str. & Wind
cresc.
all the na - tions is gone forth the sound of their words, to
to
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to
To all the na - tions
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words, is gone forth the sound of their words, to all the na - tions is
f Tutti
gone forth the sound of their words, through-out all the lands their glad
gone forth the sound of their words, through - out all the lands their glad
gone forth the sound of their words, through out all the lands their glad
ti - - dings.
p
ti - dings. How love - ly are the mes - sen-gers that
ti - - dings.
dim.
Str. & Clar.
p


p
How love - ly they that
preach us the gos-pel of peace, how love-ly are the mes - sen -
p
How love - ly they that
p
Fl.
p
preach us the gos-pel of peace, they that preach us the
gers that preach us the gos-pel of peace, that preach us the
p
preach that preach us the gos-pel of peace, that preach us the
p
preach us the gos-pel of peace, the
p
gos - pel of peace.
gos - pel of peace.
legato
II.
I.
sf
p

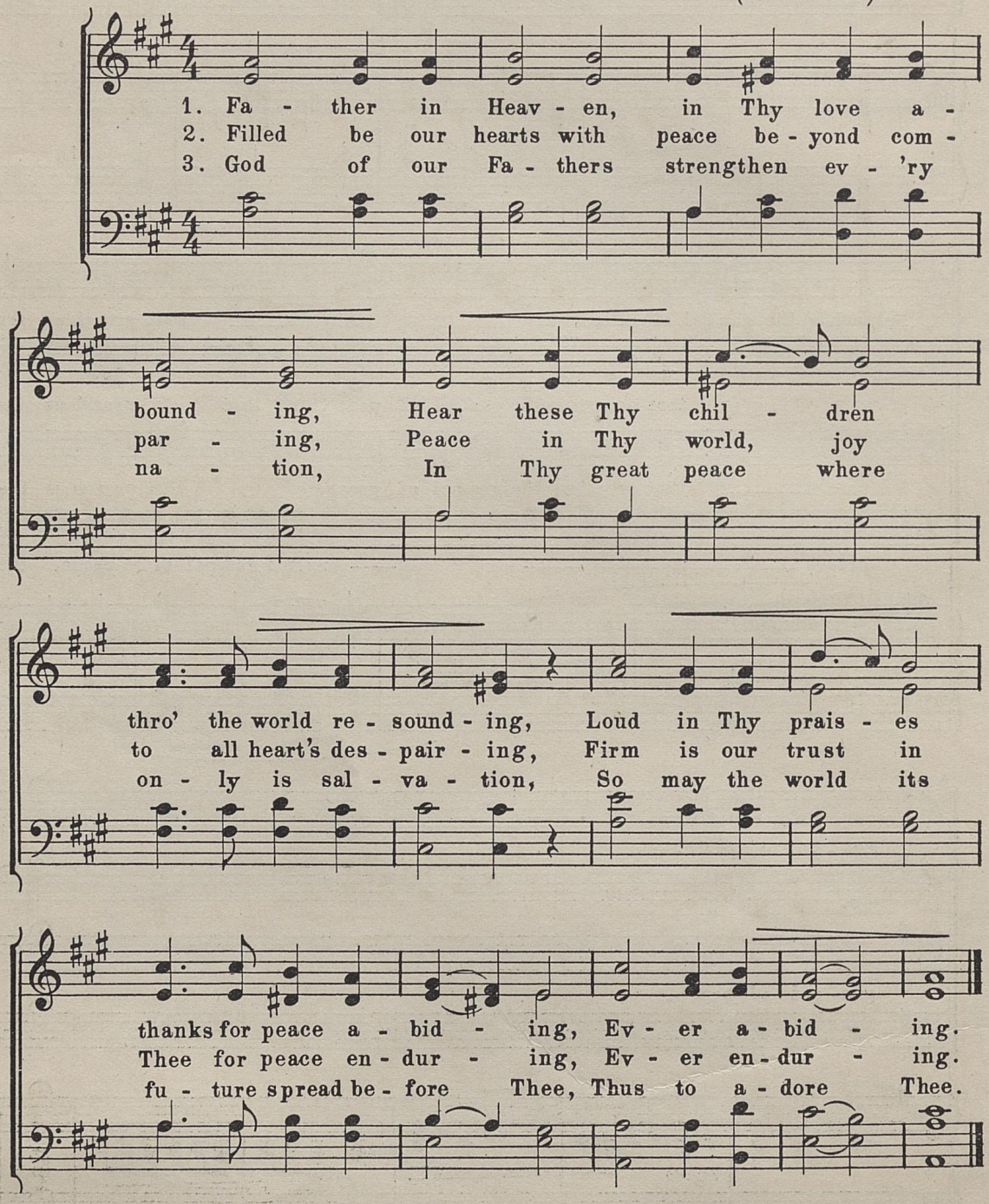
No. 7

Praise for Peace

(Integer Vitae)

Words by
ANGUS S. HIBBARD.

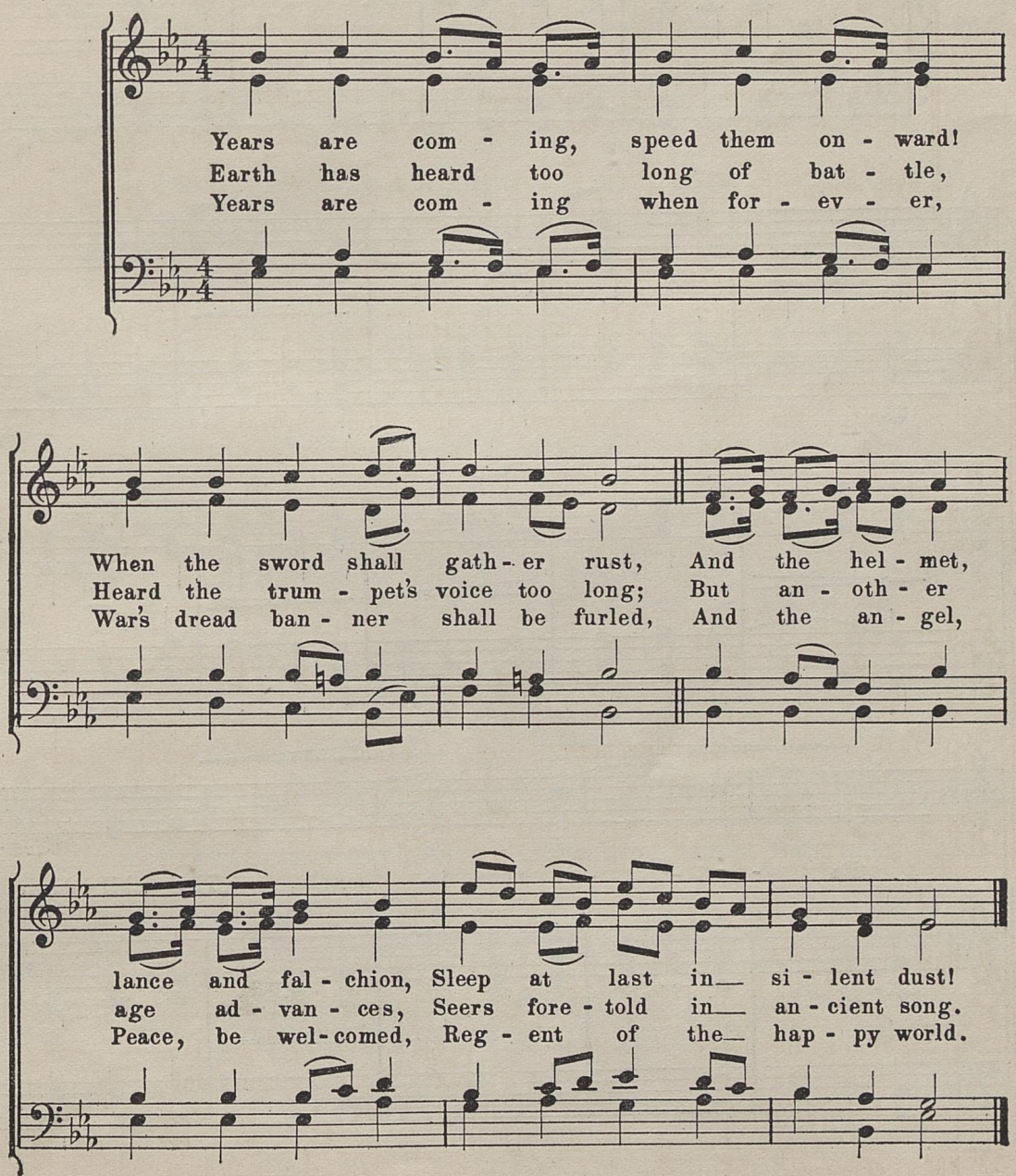
Composed in 1810 by
FRIEDRICH F. FLEMMING.
(1778-1813)



No. 8

Years of Peace

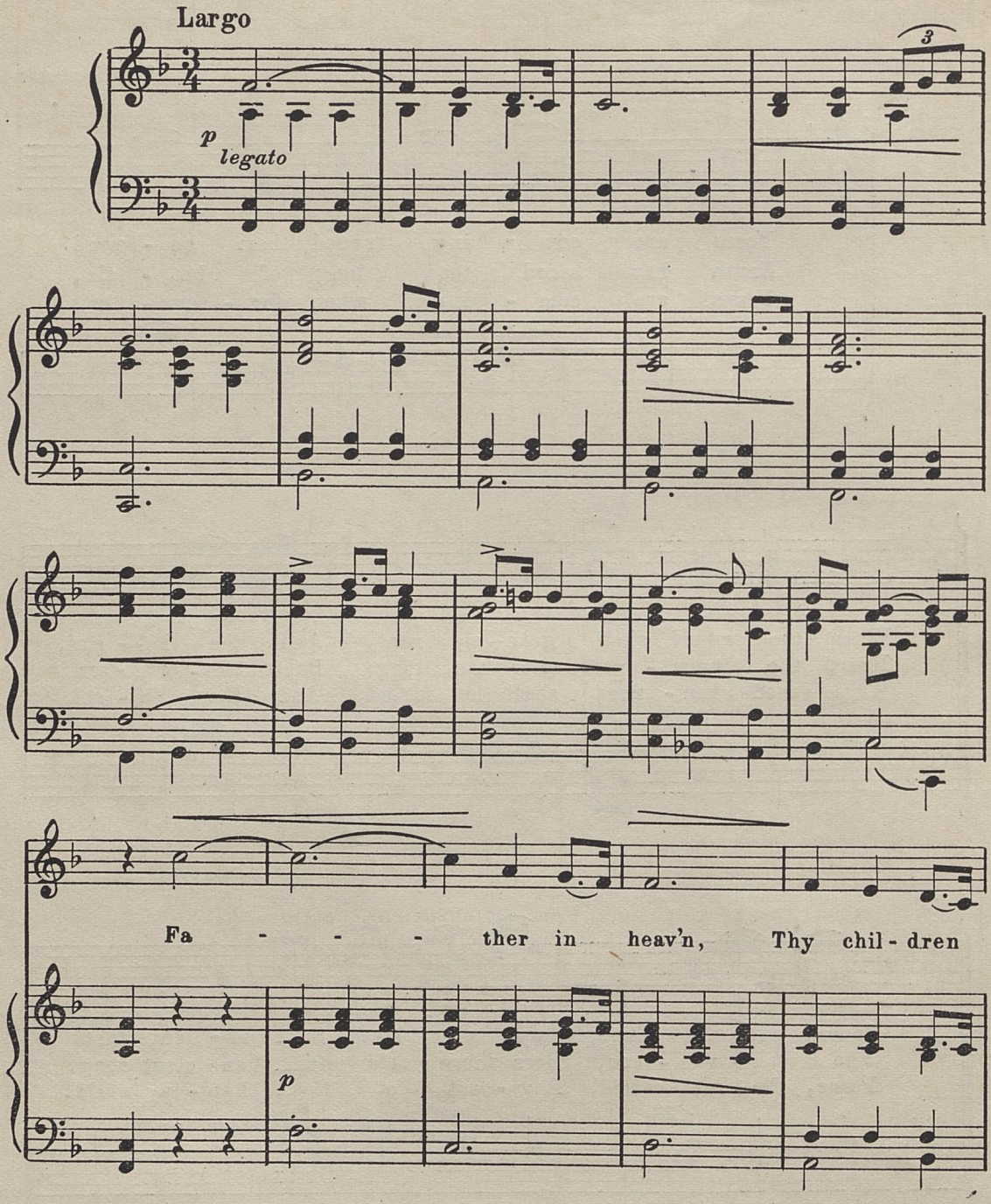
ANON Sicilian Air

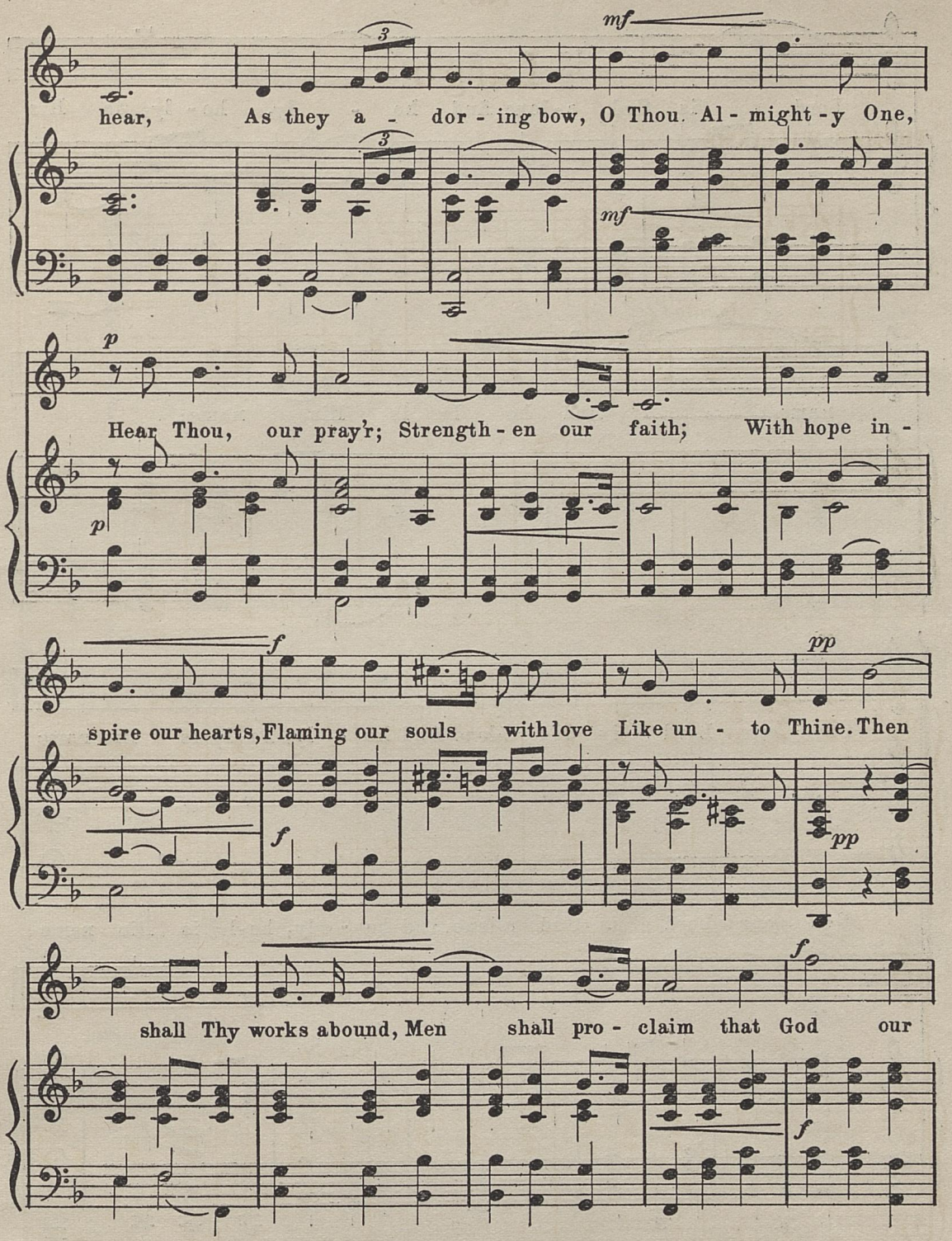


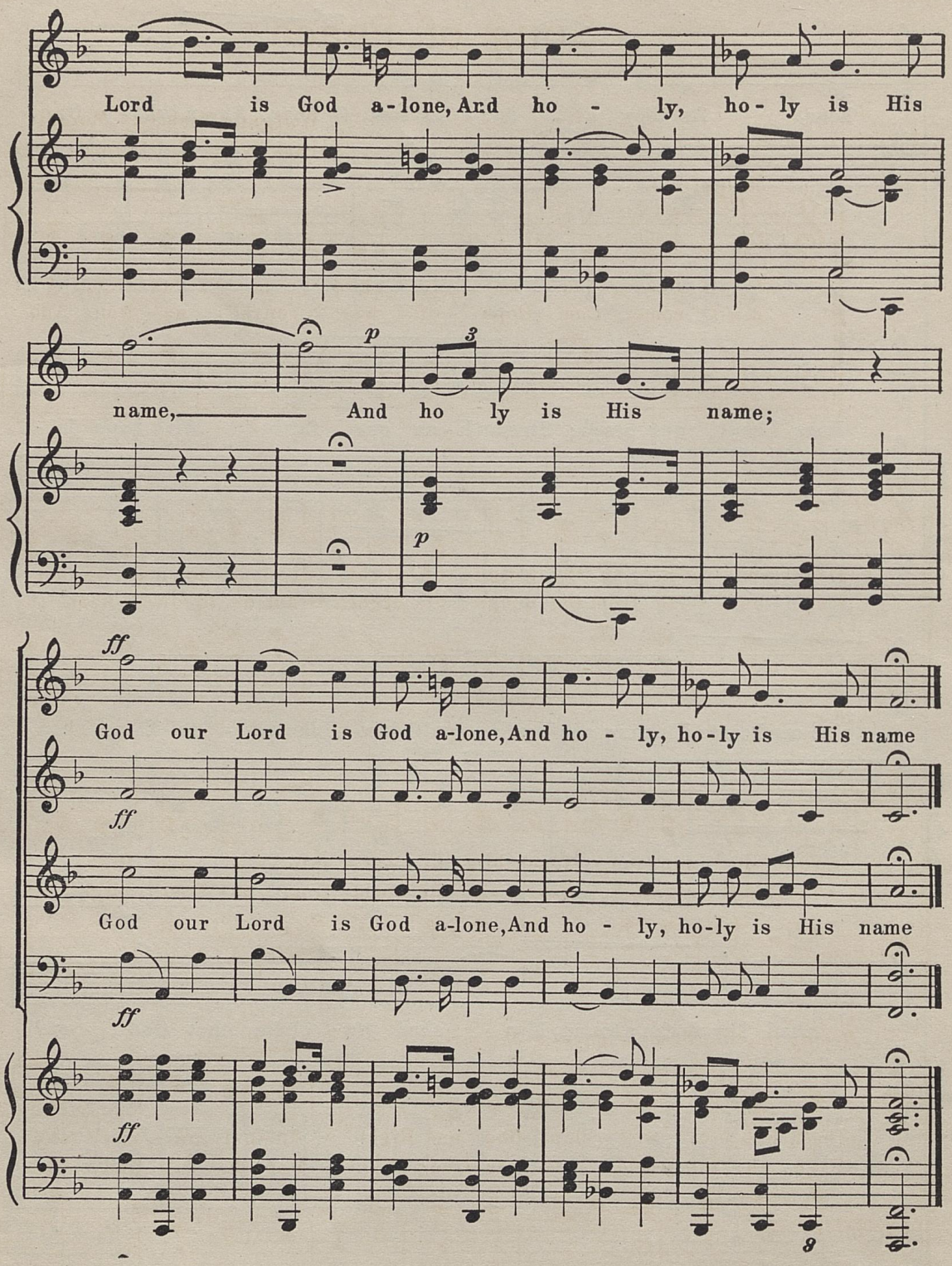
No. 9

Largo

THOMAS WILLIAMS. HANDEL.




mf
hear, As they a - dor - ing bow, O Thou. Al - might - y One,
mf
p
Hear Thou, our pray'r; Strength - en our faith; With hope in -
p
f
pp
spire our hearts, Flaming our souls with love Like un - to Thine. Then
f
pp
f
shall Thy works abound, Men shall pro - claim that God our
f

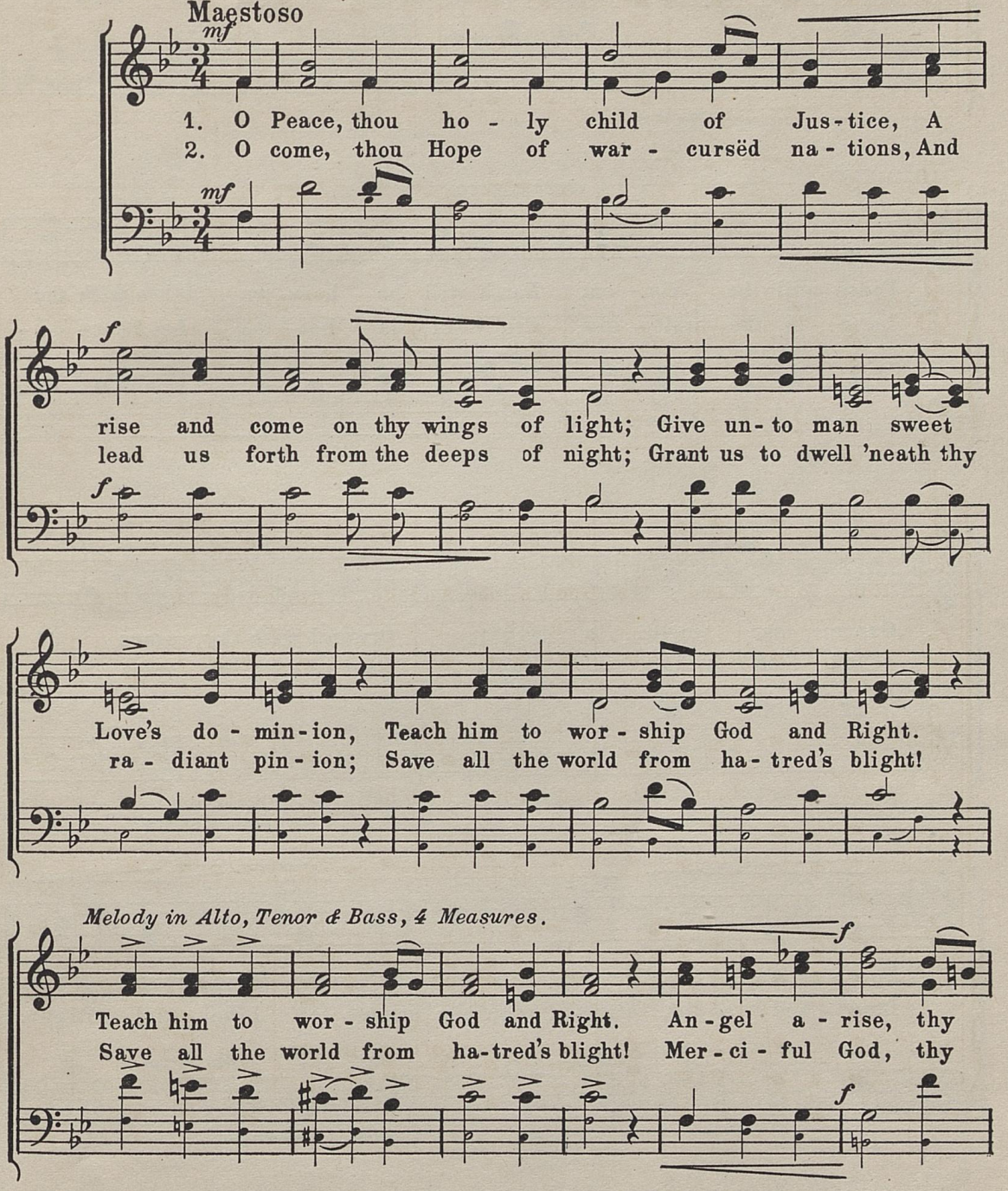

Lord is God a-lone, And ho - ly, ho - ly is His
name, And ho ly is His name;
God our Lord is God a-lone, And ho - ly, ho-ly is His name
God our Lord is God a-lone, And ho - ly, ho-ly is His name

No. 10

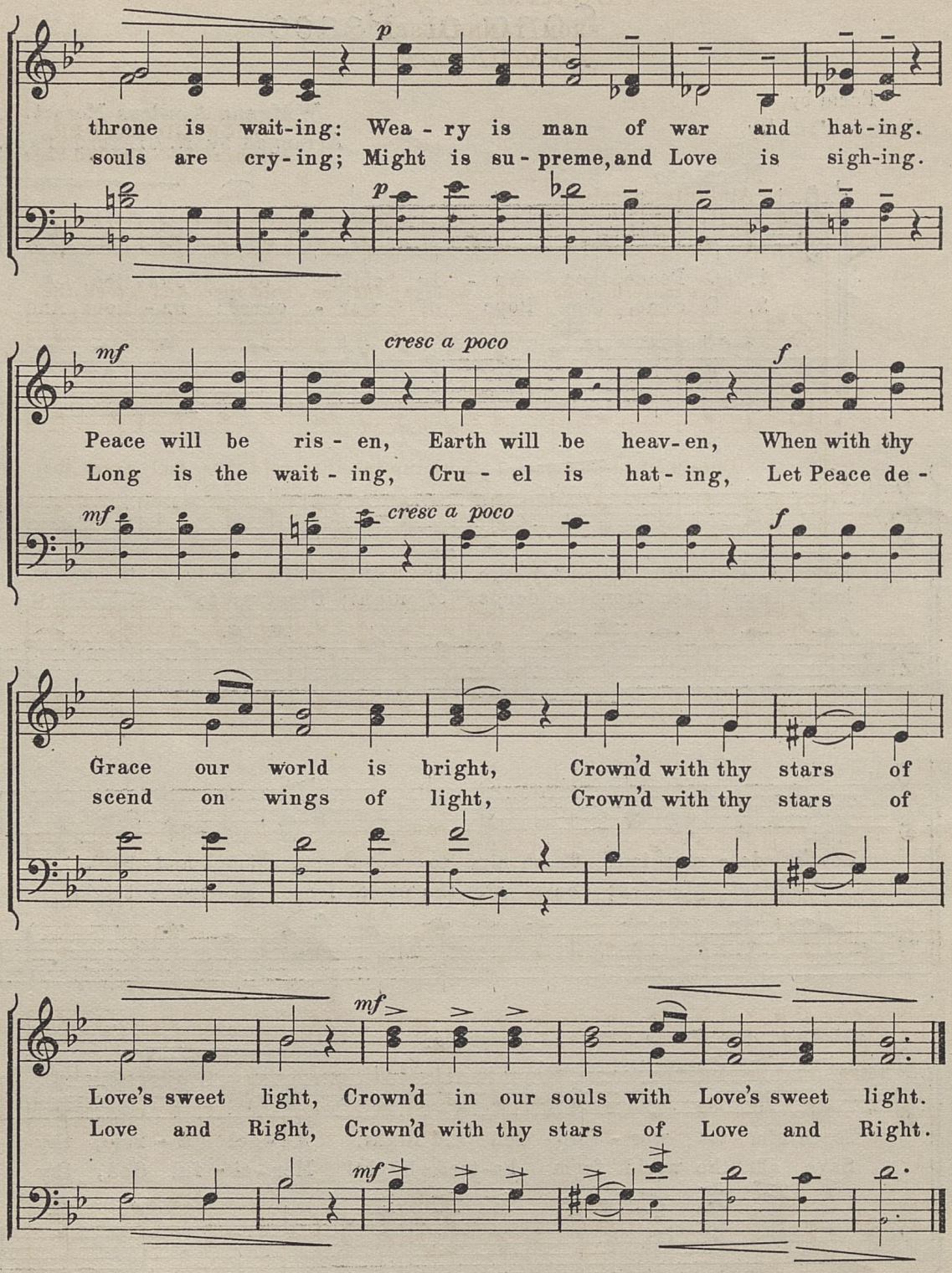
Song of Peace

Poem by
Frederick Manley

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart.
Arranged by N. Clifford Page.



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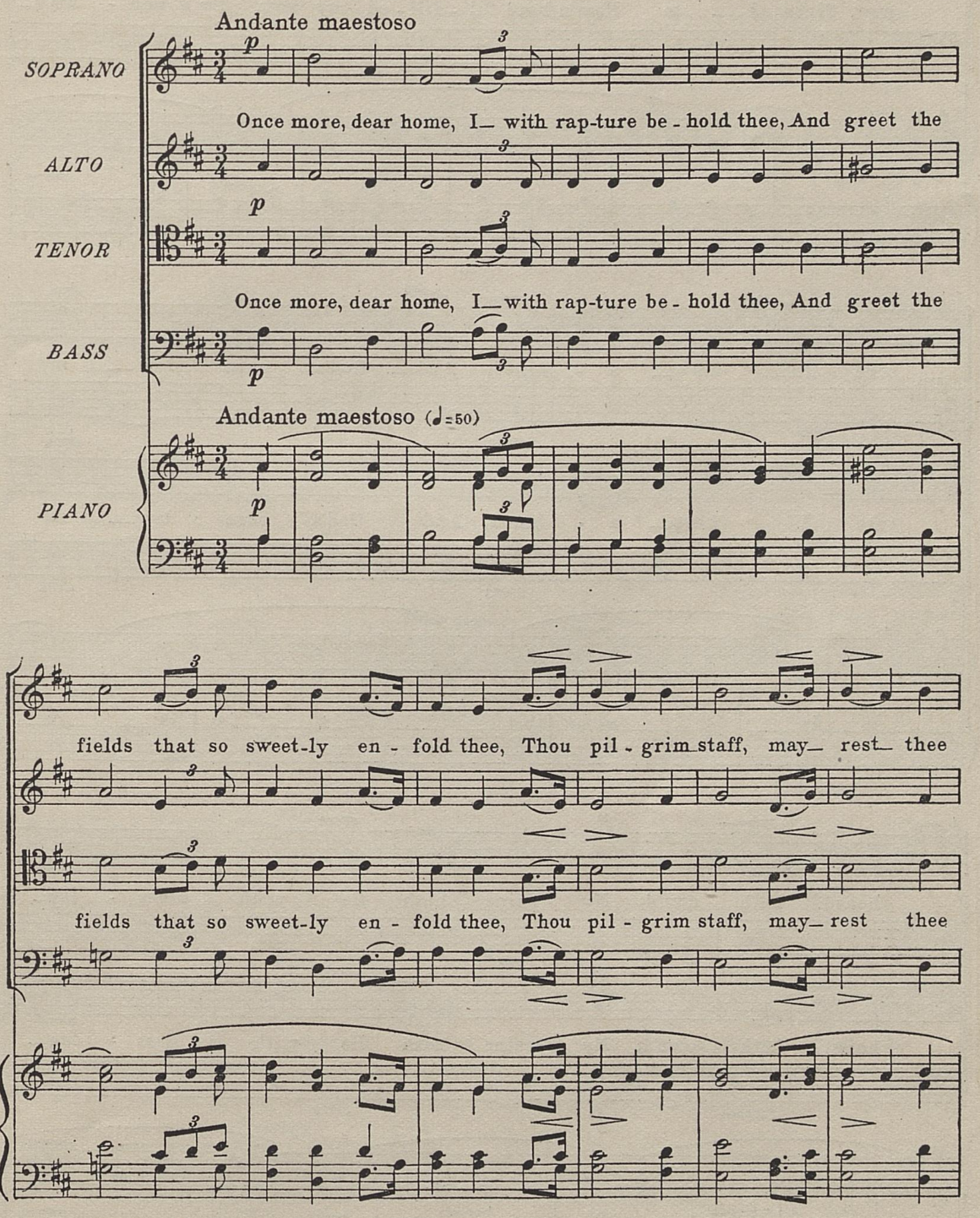

p
throne is wait-ing: Wea - ry is man of war and hat-ing.
souls are cry-ing; Might is su - preme, and Love is sigh-ing.
mf
cresc a poco
f
Peace will be ris - en, Earth will be heav-en, When with thy
Long is the wait - ing, Cru - el is hat - ing, Let Peace de -
Grace our world is bright, Crown'd with thy stars of
scend on wings of light, Crown'd with thy stars of
mf
Love's sweet light, Crown'd in our souls with Love's sweet light.
Love and Right, Crown'd with thy stars of Love and Right.

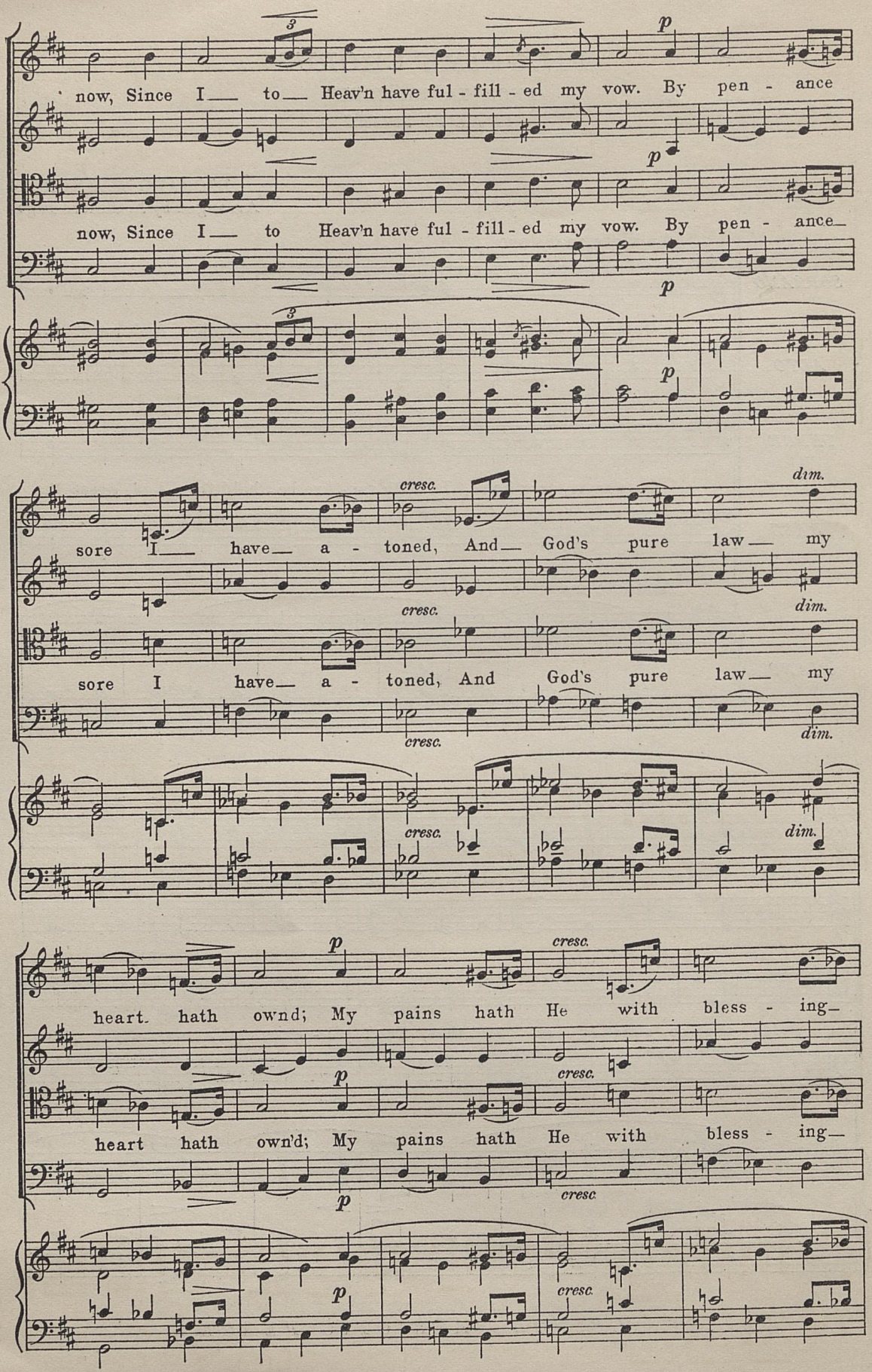
PILGRIMS' CHORUS

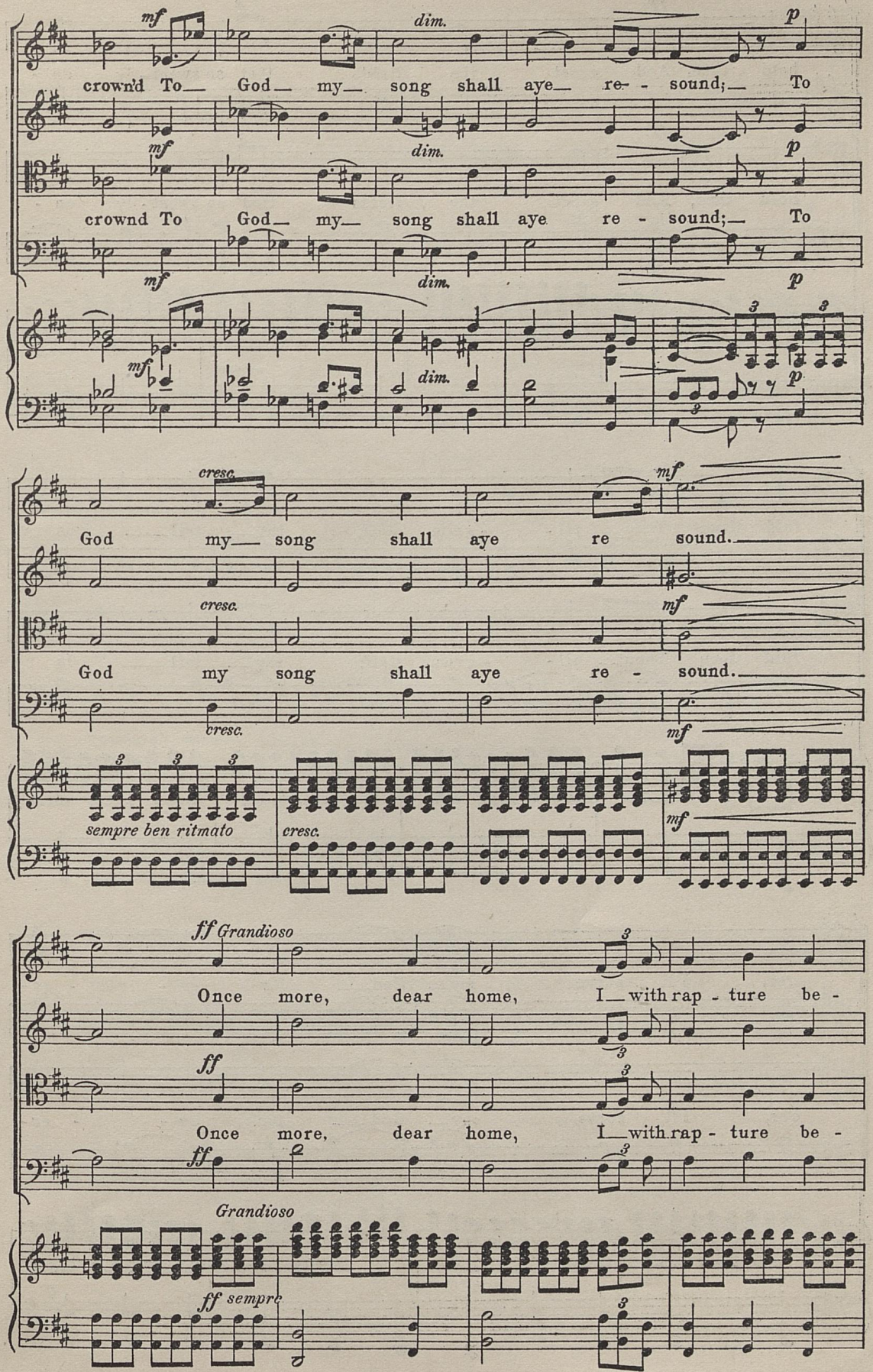
FROM "TANNHÄUSER"

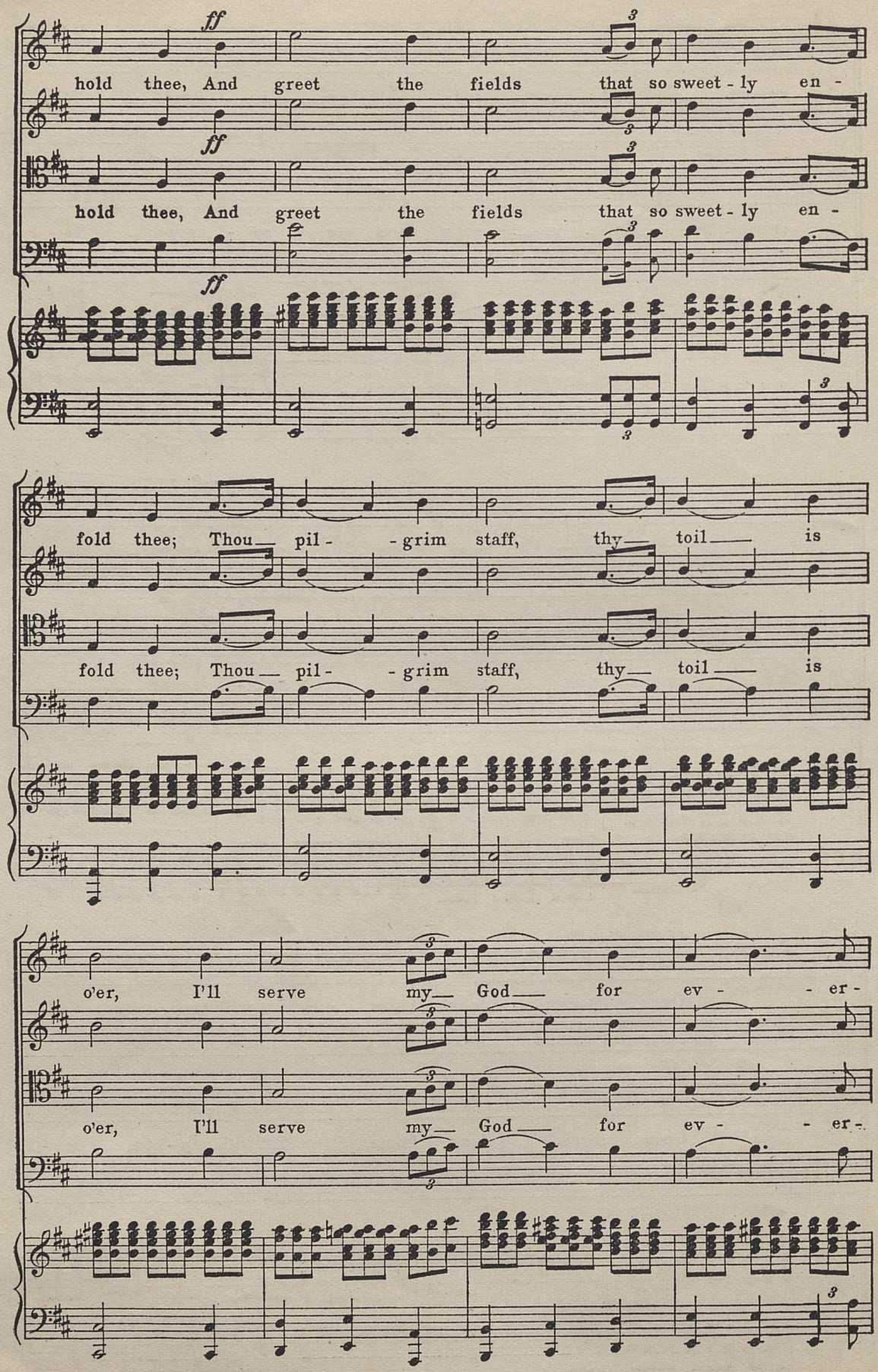
FOR MIXED VOICES

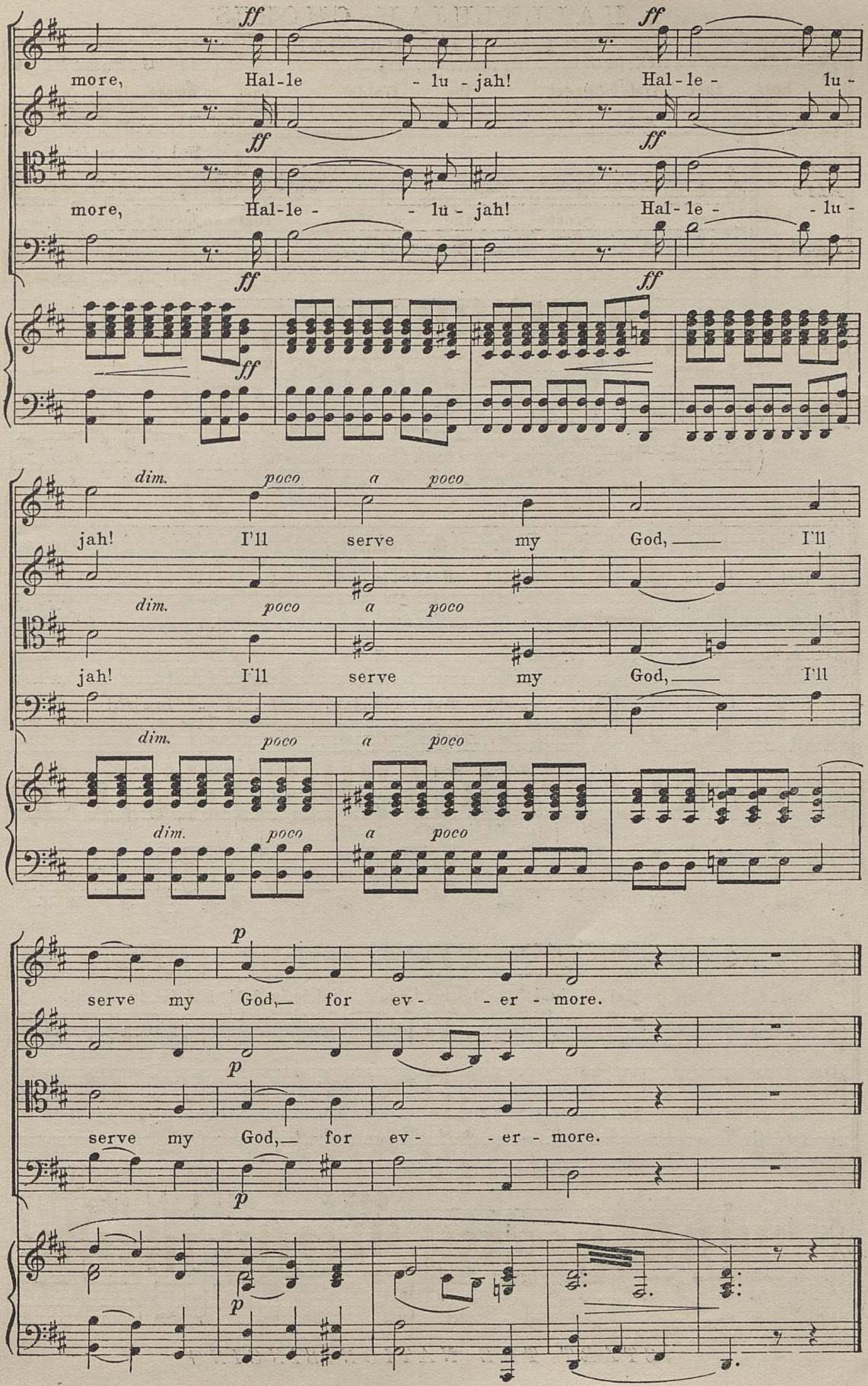
RICHARD WAGNER
Arranged by N. Clifford Page




now, Since I to Heav'n have ful - fill - ed my vow. By pen - ance
now, Since I to Heav'n have ful - fill - ed my vow. By pen - ance
sore I have a - toned, And God's pure law my
sore I have a - toned, And God's pure law my
heart hath own'd; My pains hath He with bless - ing
heart hath own'd; My pains hath He with bless - ing
p
cresc.
dim.


mf
dim.
p
crown'd To God my song shall aye re - sound; To
crownd To God my song shall aye re - sound; To
cresc.
mf
God my song shall aye re sound.
God my song shall aye re - sound.
sempre ben ritmato
ff Grandioso
Once more, dear home, I with rap - ture be -
ff
Grandioso
ff sempre

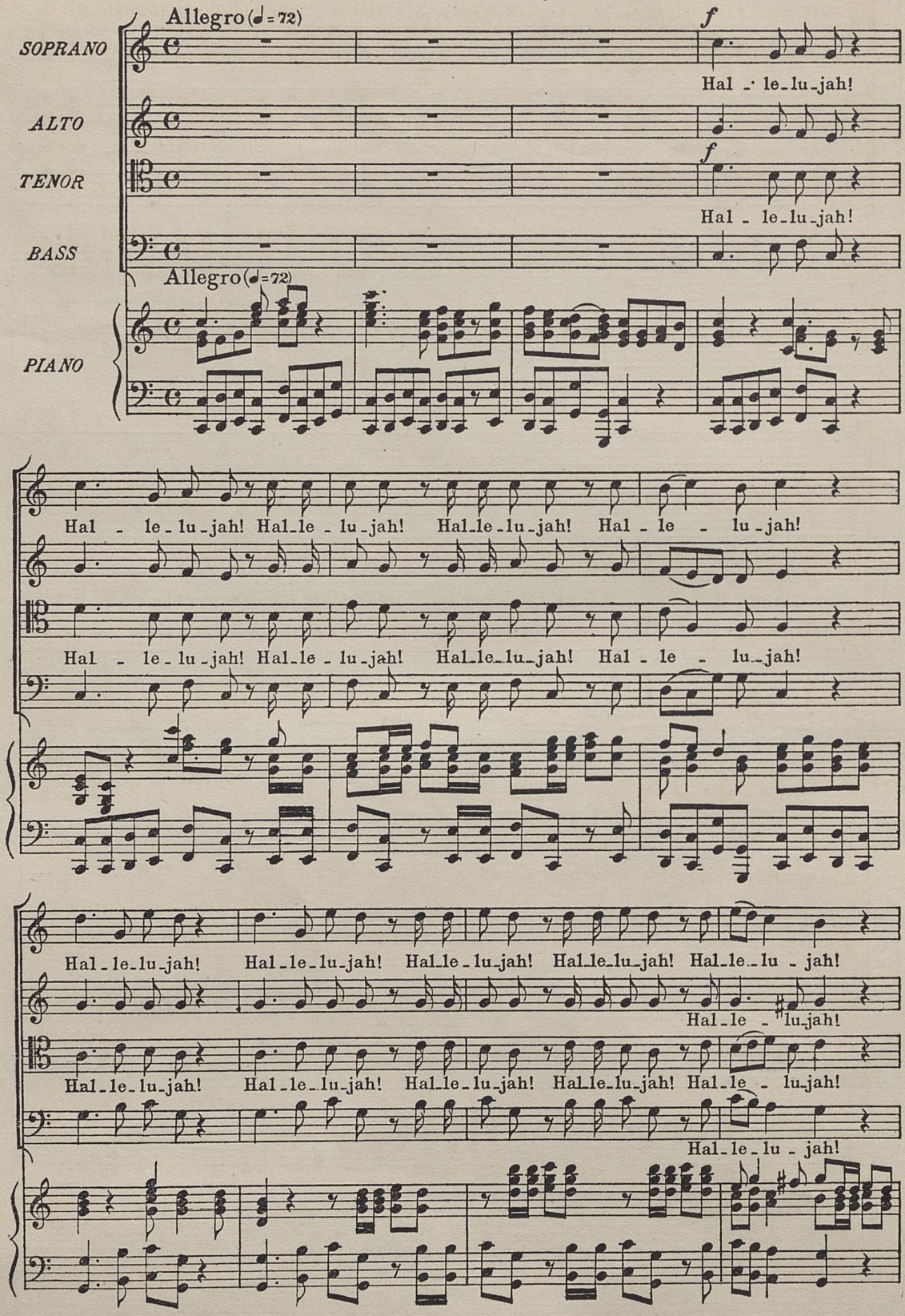

ff
hold thee, And greet the fields that so sweet - ly en -
ff
hold thee, And greet the fields that so sweet - ly en -
ff
fold thee; Thou pil - - grim staff, thy toil is
fold thee; Thou pil - - grim staff, thy toil is
o'er, I'll serve my God for ev - - er -
o'er, I'll serve my God for ev - - er -


more, Hal-le - lu - jah! Hal-le - lu -
more, Hal-le - lu - jah! Hal-le - lu -
jah! I'll serve my God, I'll
jah! I'll serve my God, I'll
serve my God, for ev - er - more.
serve my God, for ev - er - more.

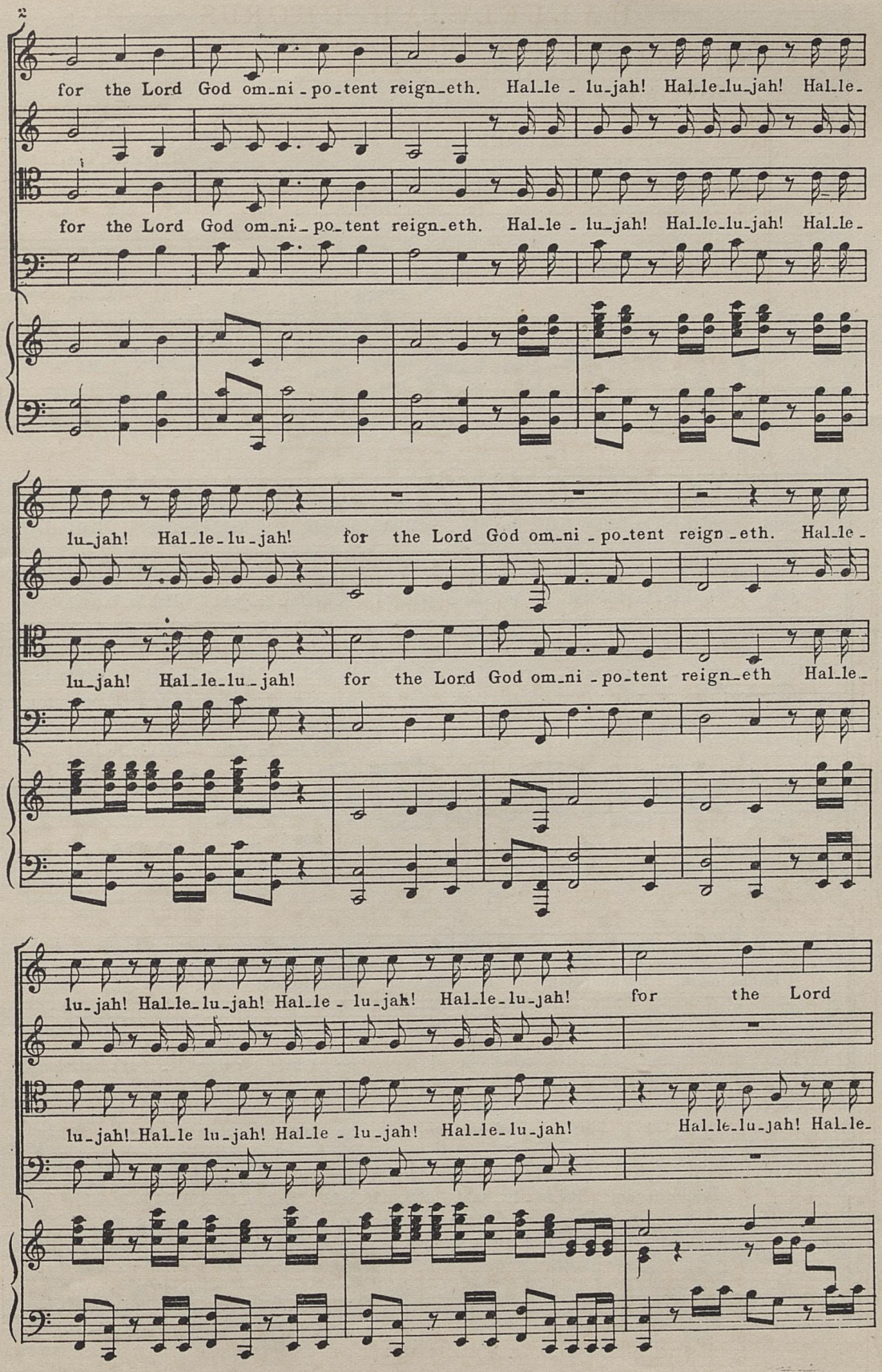
HALLELUJAH CHORUS

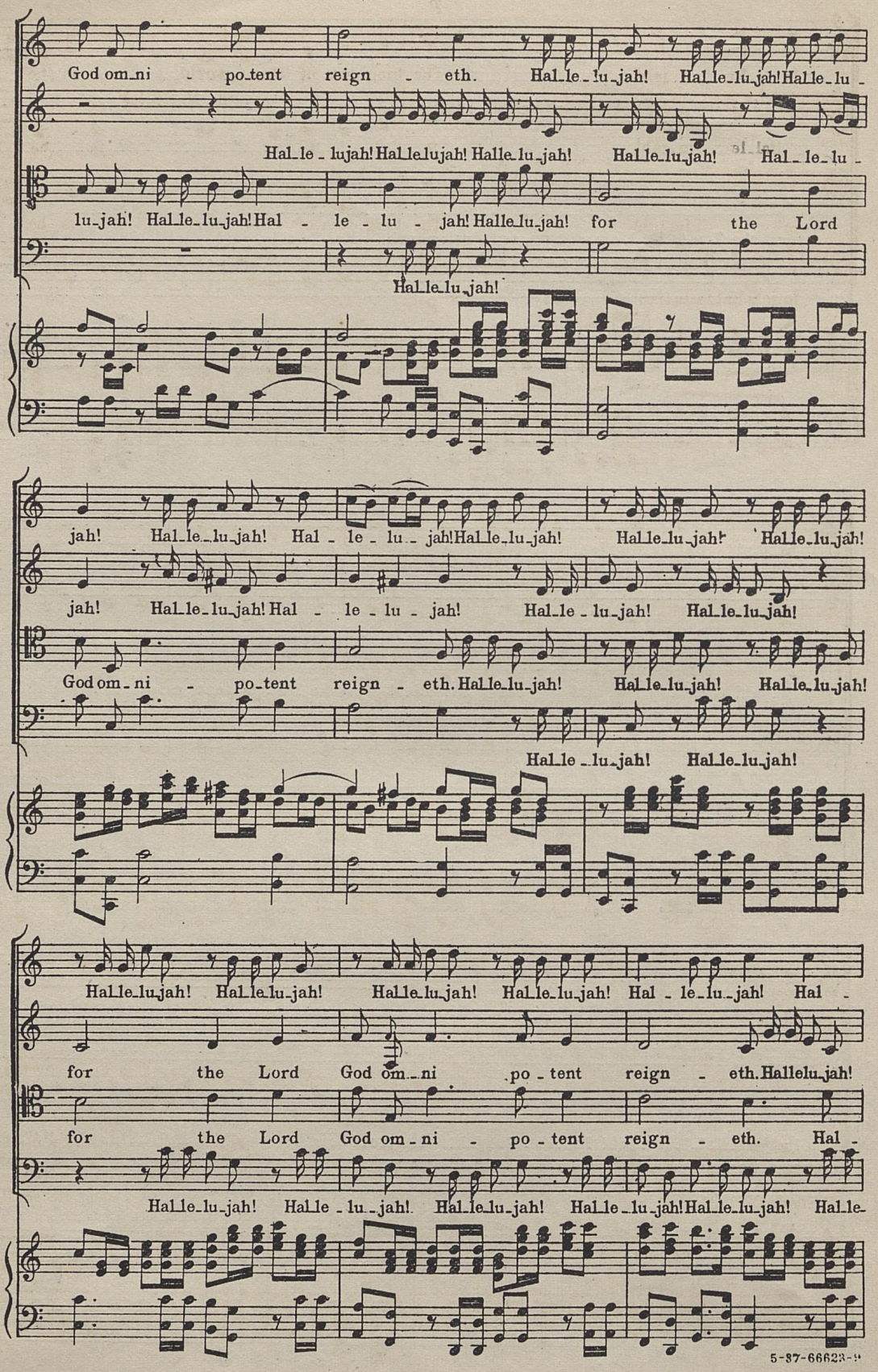
From "THE MESSIAH"

REV. XIX, 6; XI, 15; XIX, 16 (ORIGINAL KEY, D) G. F. HANDEL

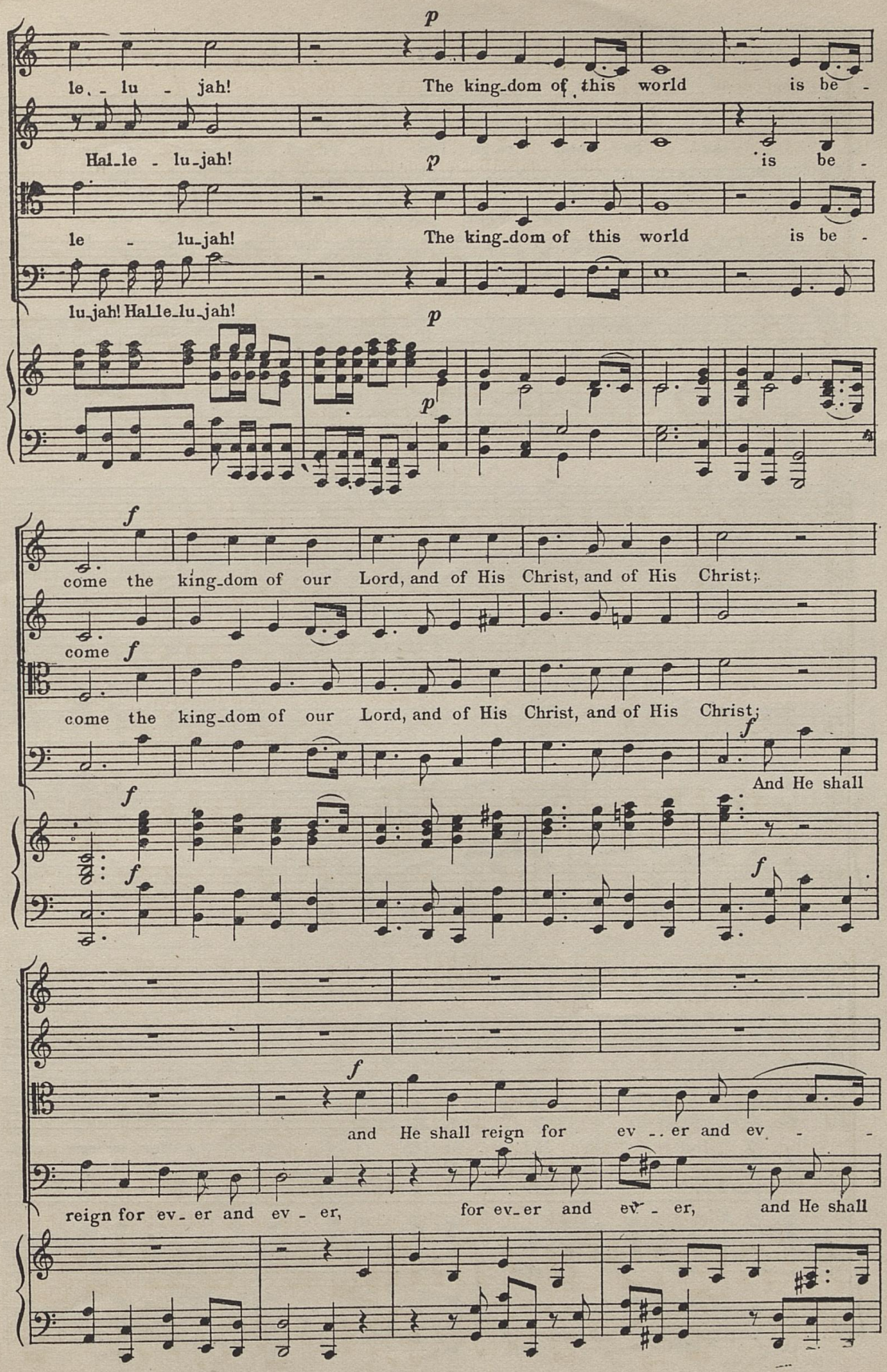


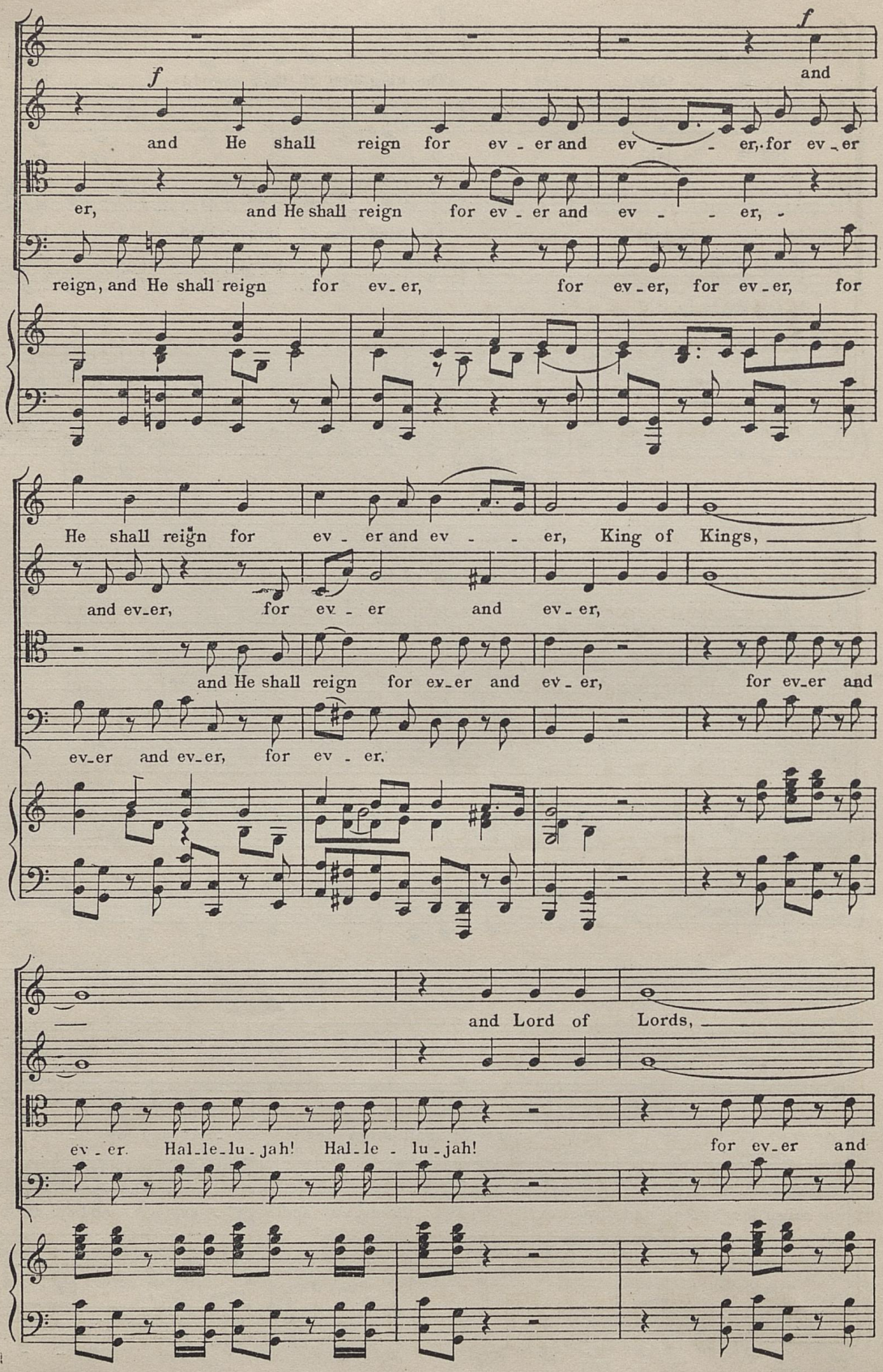
START THE NATION SINGING


for the Lord God om-ni-po-tent reign-eth. Hal-le-lu-jah! Hal-le-lu-jah! Hal-le-
for the Lord God om-ni-po-tent reign-eth. Hal-le-lu-jah! Hal-le-lu-jah! Hal-le-
lu-jah! Hal-le-lu-jah! for the Lord God om-ni-po-tent reign-eth. Hal-le-
lu-jah! Hal-le-lu-jah! for the Lord God om-ni-po-tent reign-eth Hal-le-
lu-jah! Hal-le-lu-jah! Hal-le-lu-jah! Hal-le-lu-jah! for the Lord
lu-jah! Hal-le lu-jah! Hal-le-lu-jah! Hal-le-lu-jah! Hal-le-lu-jah! Hal-le-

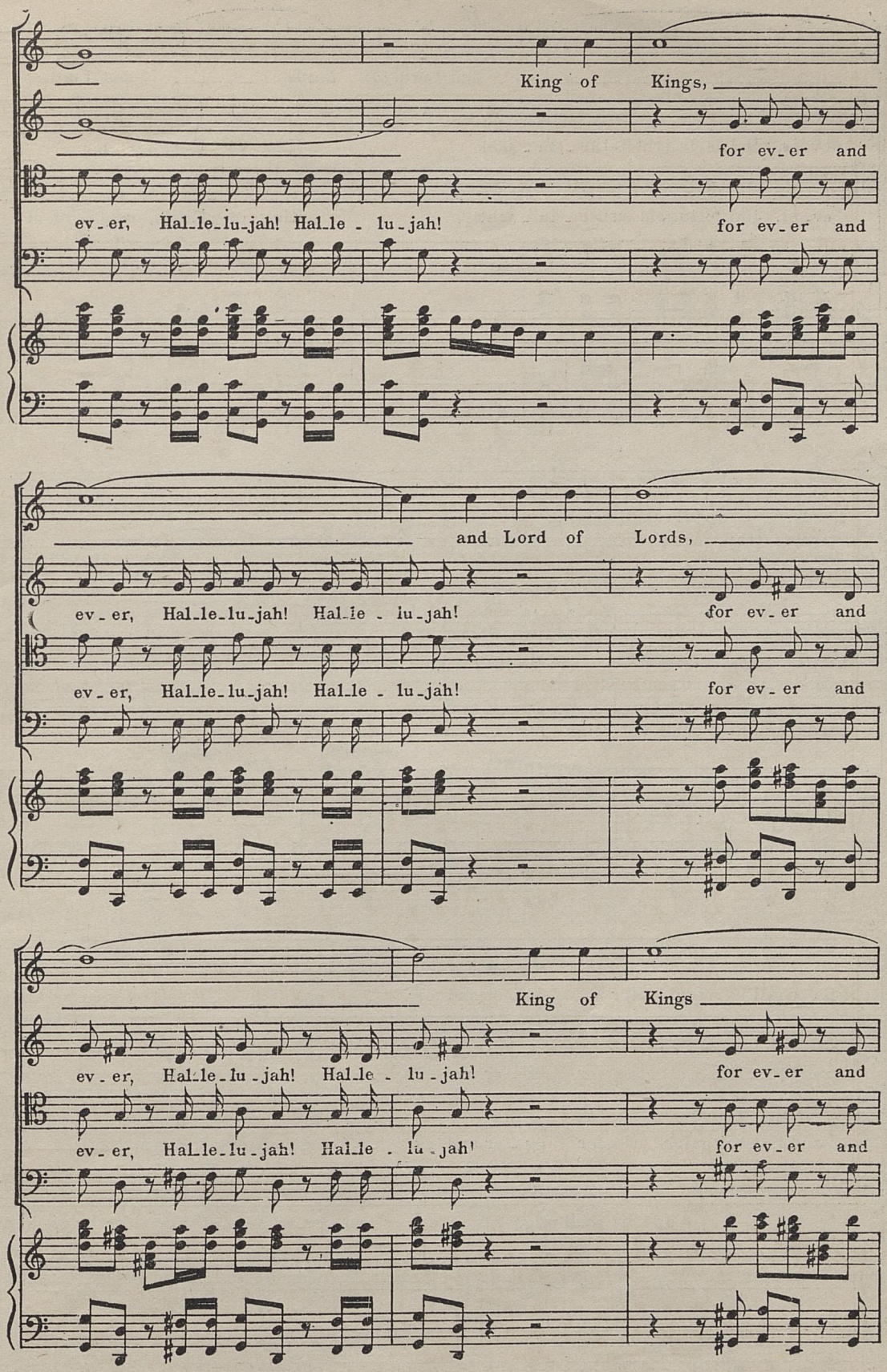

God om-ni - po-tent reign - eth. Hal-le-lu-jah! Hal-le-lu-jah! Hal-le-lu -
Hal-le - lujah! Hal-le-lujah! Halle-lu-jah! Halle-lu-jah! Hal - le-lu -
lu-jah! Hal-le-lu-jah! Hal - le - lu - jah! Halle-lu-jah! for the Lord
Hal-le-lu-jah!
jah! Hal-le-lu-jah! Hal - le - lu - jah! Hal-le-lu-jah! Halle-lu-jah! Halle-lu-jah!
jah! Hal-le-lu-jah! Hal - le - lu - jah! Hal-le - lu-jah! Hal-le-lu-jah!
God om-ni - po-tent reign - eth. Halle-lu-jah! Hal-le-lu-jah! Hal-le-lu-jah!
Hal-le-lu-jah! Hal-le-lu-jah!
Hal-le-lu-jah! Hal-le-lu-jah! Halle-lu-jah! Hal-le-lu-jah! Hal - le-lu-jah! Hal -
for the Lord God om-ni po - tent reign - eth. Hallelu-jah!
for the Lord God om-ni - po - tent reign - eth. Hal -
Hal-le-lu-jah! Hal-le - lu-jah! Hal-le-lu-jah! Hal-le-lu-jah! Hal-le-lu-jah! Hal-le-

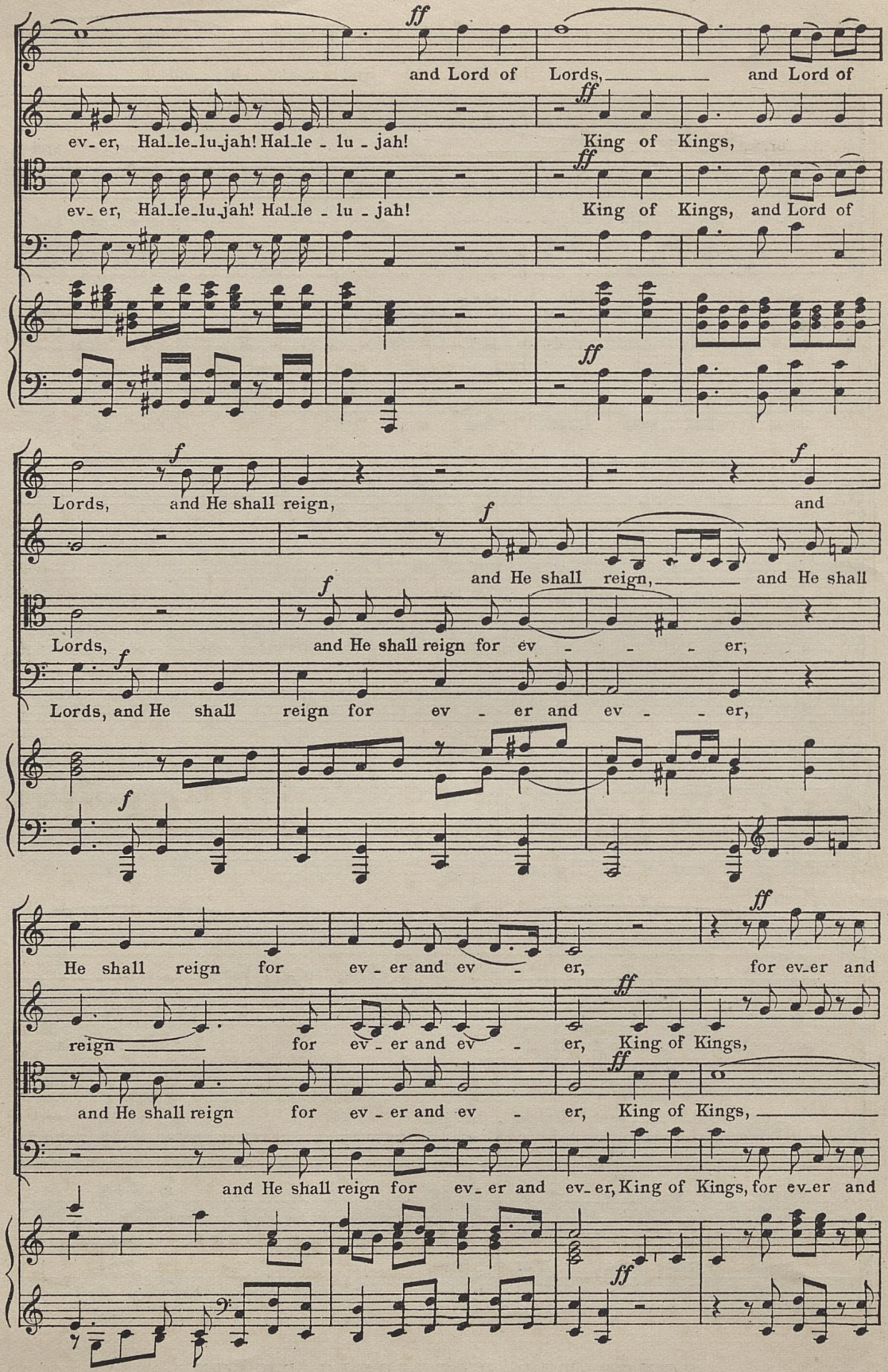
5-37-66623-9

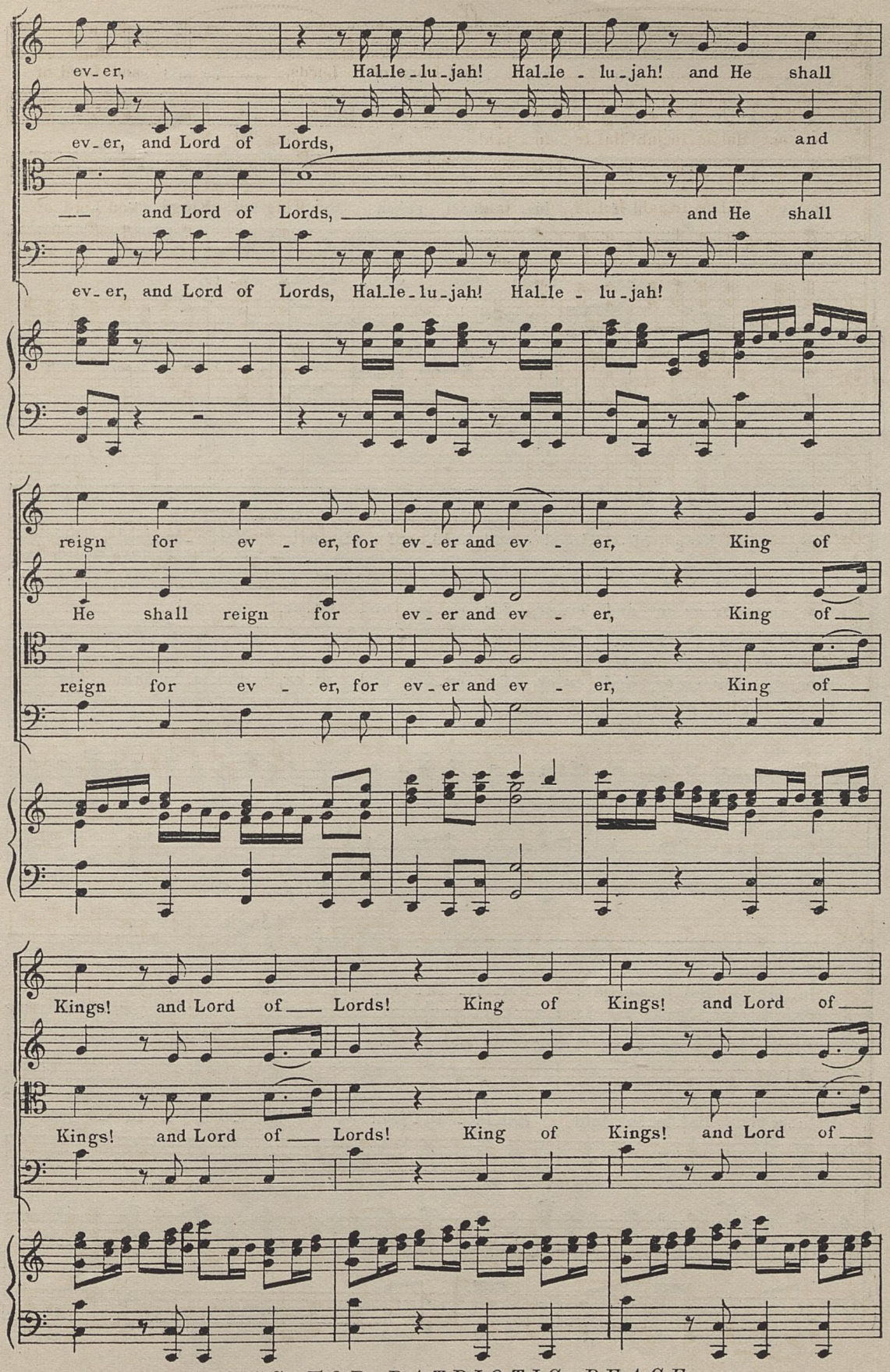

p
le - lu - jah! The king-dom of this world is be -
Hal-le - lu-jah!
p
is be -
le - lu-jah! The king-dom of this world is be -
lu-jah! Hal-le-lu-jah!
p
p
f
come the king-dom of our Lord, and of His Christ, and of His Christ;
come
f
come the king-dom of our Lord, and of His Christ, and of His Christ;
f
And He shall
f
f
f
and He shall reign for ev - er and ev - -
reign for ev-er and ev - er, for ev-er and ev - er, and He shall

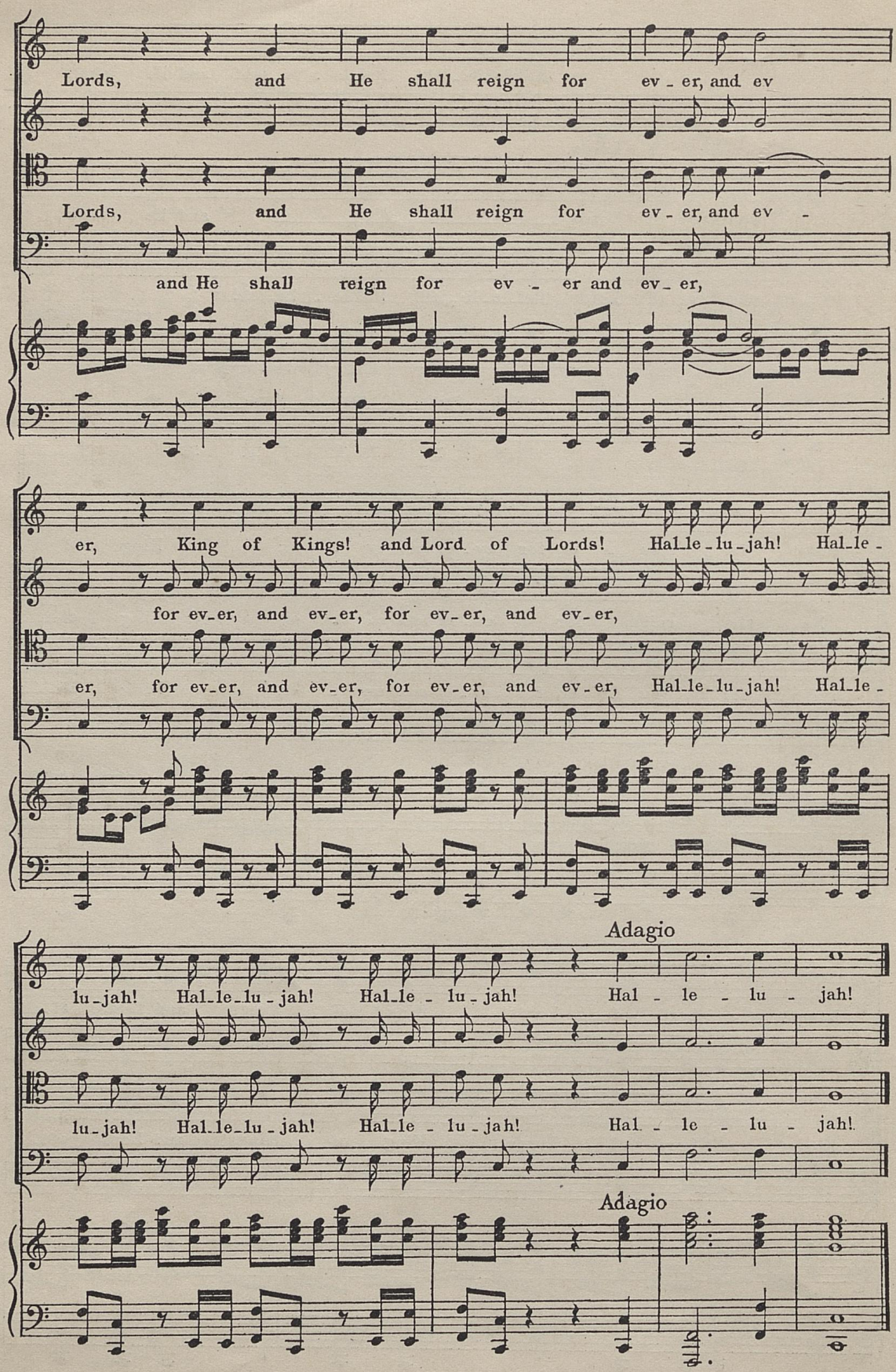


START THE NATION SINGING


King of Kings,
for ev-er and
ev-er, Hal-le-lu-jah! Hal-le - lu-jah!
for ev-er and
and Lord of Lords,
ev-er, Hal-le-lu-jah! Hal-le - lu-jah!
for ev-er and
ev-er, Hal-le-lu-jah! Hal-le - lu-jah!
for ev-er and
King of Kings
ev-er, Hal-le-lu-jah! Hal-le - lu-jah!
for ev-er and
ev-er, Hal-le-lu-jah! Hal-le - lu-jah!
for ev-er and

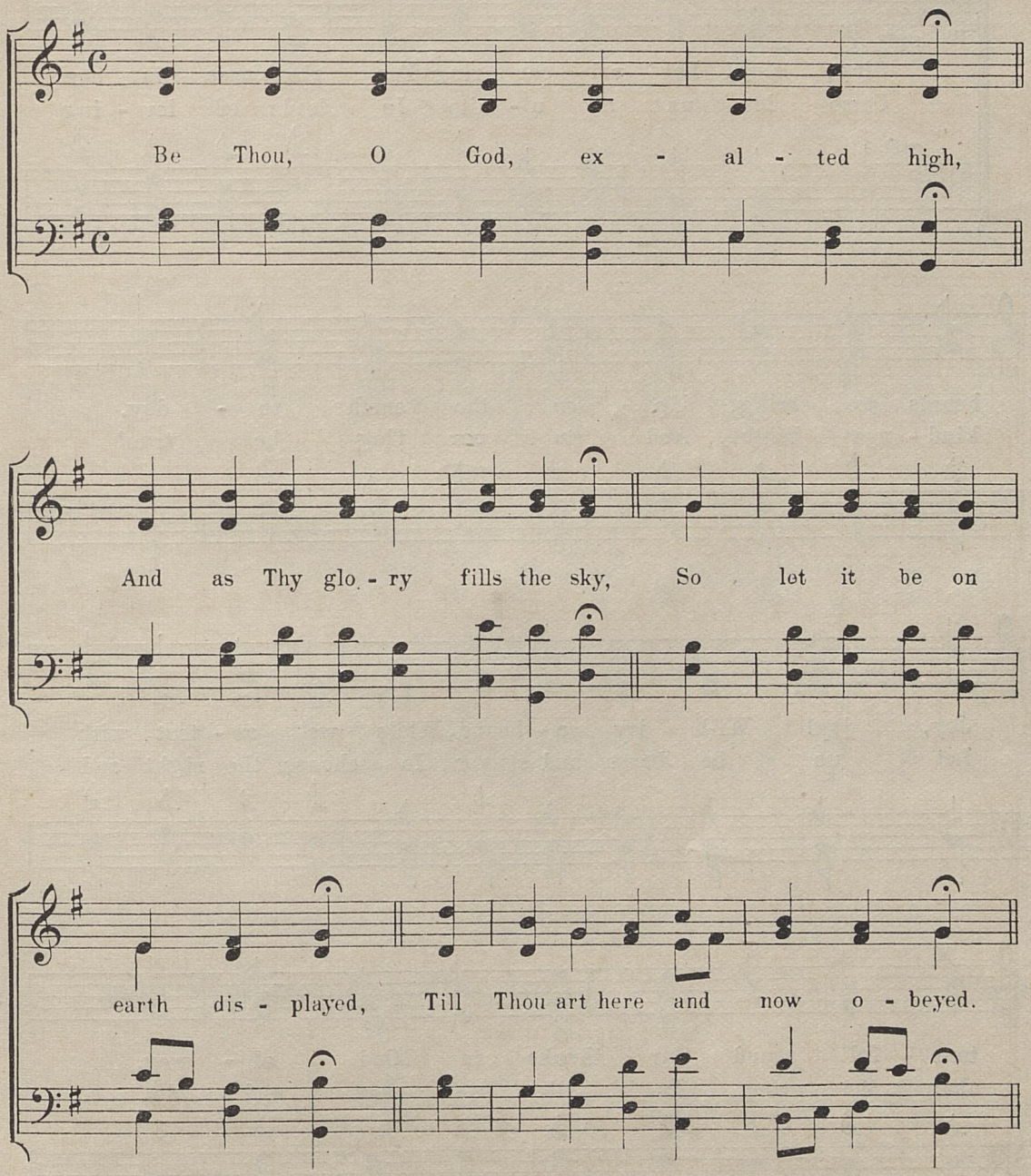

and Lord of Lords, and Lord of
ev_er, Hal_le_lu_jah! Hal_le_lu_jah! King of Kings,
ev_er, Hal_le_lu_jah! Hal_le_lu_jah! King of Kings, and Lord of
Lords, and He shall reign, and
and He shall reign, and He shall
Lords, and He shall reign for ev - - - er,
Lords, and He shall reign for ev - er and ev - - er,
He shall reign for ev_er and ev - er, for ev_er and
reign for ev_er and ev - er, King of Kings,
and He shall reign for ev_er and ev - er, King of Kings,
and He shall reign for ev_er and ev_er, King of Kings, for ev_er and


ev-er, Hal-le-lu-jah! Hal-le - lu-jah! and He shall
ev-er, and Lord of Lords, and
— and Lord of Lords, — and He shall
ev-er, and Lord of Lords, Hal-le-lu-jah! Hal-le - lu-jah!
reign for ev - er, for ev-er and ev - er, King of
He shall reign for ev-er and ev - er, King of —
reign for ev - er, for ev-er and ev - er, King of —
Kings! and Lord of — Lords! King of Kings! and Lord of —
Kings! and Lord of — Lords! King of Kings! and Lord of —


Lords, and He shall reign for ev - er, and ev
Lords, and He shall reign for ev - er, and ev -
and He shall reign for ev - er and ev - er,
er, King of Kings! and Lord of Lords! Hal-le-lu-jah! Hal-le-
for ev-er, and ev-er, for ev-er, and ev-er,
er, for ev-er, and ev-er, for ev-er, and ev-er, Hal-le-lu-jah! Hal-le-
Adagio
lu-jah! Hal-le-lu-jah! Hal-le-lu-jah! Hal - le - lu - jah!
lu-jah! Hal-le-lu-jah! Hal-le-lu-jah! Hal - le - lu - jah!
Adagio

Doxology

Tune, OLD HUNDRED. L. M. Guillaume Franc.



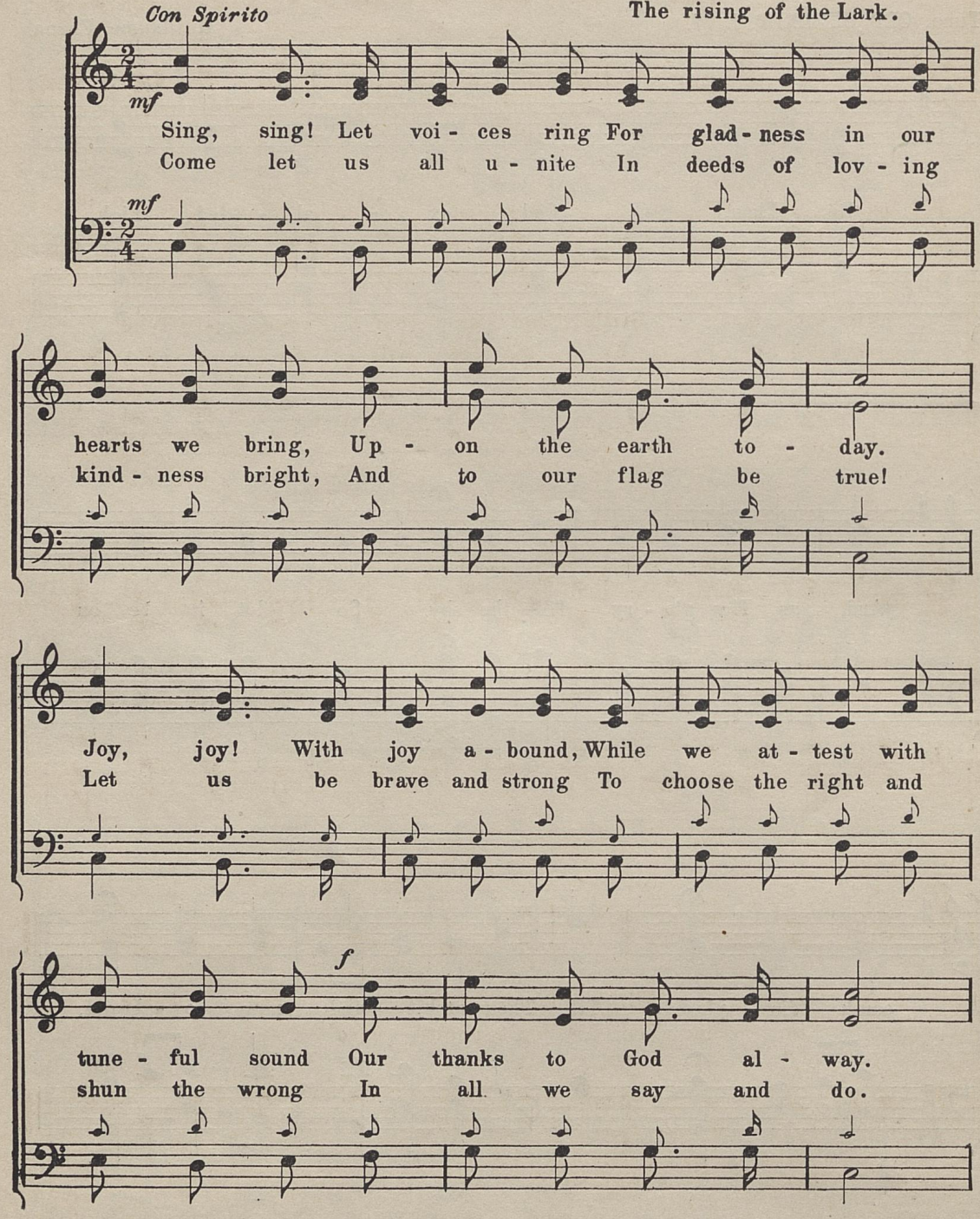
A Song for Little Children

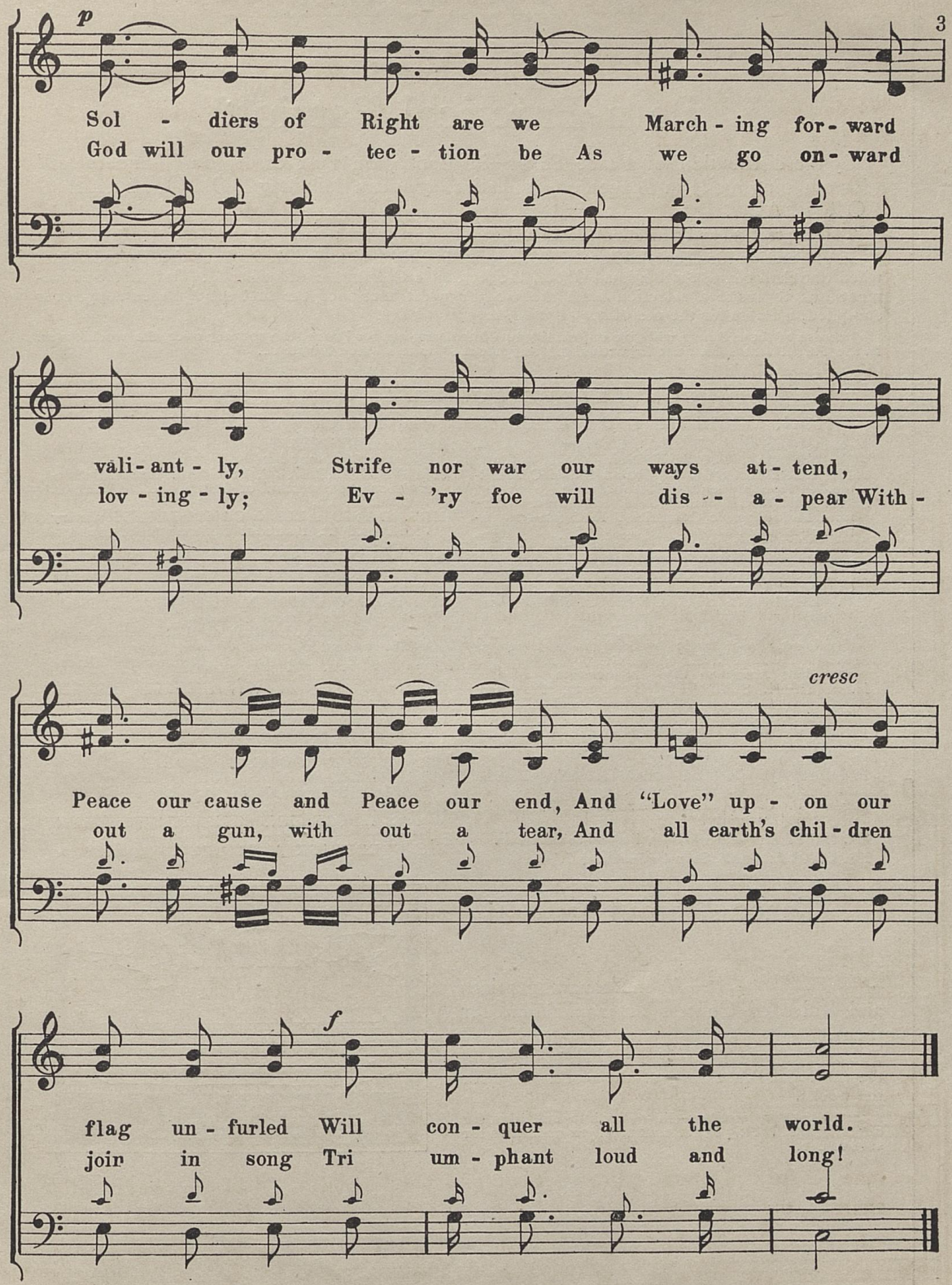
2

Peace is Our Cause

Words by
HARRIETTE Y. WARNER.

Song for Children or Four Voices, ad lib.
Adapted from Welsh Air,
The rising of the Lark.




p
3
Sol - diers of Right are we March - ing for - ward
God will our pro - tec - tion be As we go on - ward
vali - ant - ly, Strife nor war our ways at - tend,
lov - ing - ly; Ev - 'ry foe will dis - - a - pear With -
cresc
Peace our cause and Peace our end, And "Love" up - on our
out a gun, with out a tear, And all earth's chil - dren
f
flag un - furled Will con - quer all the world.
join in song Tri um - phant loud and long!

Will You?

Be a Practical Patriot?

By the distribution of Peace Songs—in Books, on Post cards, on "Bannerettes" (for outgoing mail) in Peace Song Bulletins—you can definitely DO SOMETHING FOR PEACE.

This is practical and patriotic. Peace and true Prosperity are twins.

In preparation for Peace Jubilees of praise songs in cities and towns throughout the United States when war shall cease, the National Choral Peace Jubilee Committee was formed. Its first achievement was to make a selection from the world's great music of the first set of Peace Songs ever compiled, suitable for the use of *any creed, any nativity.*

The use of these Songs will give uniformity to Choral prayers for Peace, the country over, the world over. In the United States their use is particularly important to unite all men for peace.

INCOMPLETE PERSONNEL OF COMMITTEE:

HON. WILLIAM HALE THOMPSON, Mayor of Chicago, Honorary Chairman

MR. ANGUS S. HIBBARD, Chicago.
MR. WM. L. TOMLINS, New York.
MISS LUCY K. COLE, Chairman Music Committee, National Educational Association.
MRS. EMERSON H. BRUSH, Elmhurst, Chairman Philanthropic Committee National Federation of Musical Clubs.
MRS. FANNIE FERN ANDREWS, Boston, Secretary American School Peace League.
B. H. WORTMANN Choir Master, Holy Name Cathedral. Chicago.
MR. LEOPOLD STOKOWSKY, Philadelphia, Conductor Philadelphia Orchestra.
MRS. GEORGE B. CARPENTER, Chicago, President Civic Music Association of Chicago.
MR. J. HORACE McFARLAND, Washington, President American Civic Association.
MRS. H. K. SCHOFF, Philadelphia, President National Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teachers Association.
PROF. P. W. DYKEMA, Madison, University of Wisconsin.
MAESTRO CAMPANINI.
BISHOP JOHN W. HAMILTON, Boston Methodist Episcopal Church.
DEAN P. C. LUTKIN, Evanston, Ill., Northwestern University.

MR. HARRY EDWARD FREUND, National Commissioner.
MR. CLYDE A. MANN, Executive Secretary, Chicago

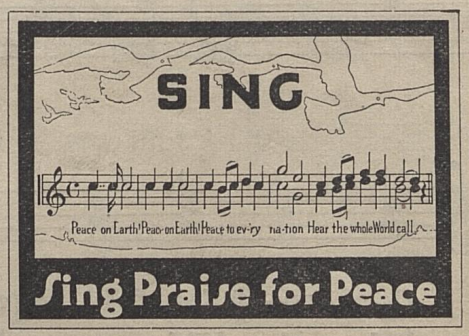
MRS. AGNES C. HEATH, Supervisor of Music, Chicago Public Schools.
MR. WILL EARHART, President. National Supervisors Association of Public School Music, Pittsburgh, Pa.
MRS. DAVID ALLEN CAMPBELL, Honorary Vice-President, National Federation of Musical Clubs.
REV. CHARLES S. MacFARLAND, New York, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.
MR. HENRY GORDON THUNDER, Philadelphia, Director Choral Society.
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MR. CHARLES N. WHEELER, Chicago.
MR. E. L. COBURN, St. Louis, Supervisor of Music.
MR. FREDERICK A. STOCK, Chicago, Director Chicago Orchestra.

Peace Ammunition

Ten Peace Songs—Agents' quantity prices and Rules of Contest on application for them.

Peace Song Bulletin—for ten weeks; news of the work and Peace Song of the week: $1.00 for ten weeks.

Peace Song Bannerettes—In red, white and blue for outgoing mail. Sing Peace on Earth. In quantities for sale or use.



Peace Song Bannerette

Publication Bureau

FIRST NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
CHICAGO

Laura Clay
Apr. 21, 1915.

NATIONAL TOUR UNDER THE AUSPICES OF
THE WOMAN'S PEACE PARTY

OF

THE WORLD'S GREATEST PEACE PLAY

"HOW ARE YE BLIND,
"YE TREADERS DOWN OF CITIES, YE THAT CAST
"TEMPLES TO DESOLATION, AND LAY WASTE
"TOMBS, THE UNTRODDEN SANCTUARIES WHERE LIE
"THE ANCIENT DEAD, YOURSELVES SO SOON TO DIE!"

THE TROJAN WOMEN

OF

EURIPIDES

TRANSLATED BY GILBERT MURRAY

PRESENTED BY

THE CHICAGO LITTLE THEATRE COMPANY

THE TROJAN WOMEN OF EURIPIDES, FIRST ACTED IN 415 B C. AT ATHENS DURING THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR, HAS, IN VIEW OF THE PRESENT WORLD-WAR, BEEN CHOSEN FROM THE WORLD'S ENTIRE DRAMATIC LITERATURE BY THE WOMAN'S PEACE PARTY, AS STILL THE MOST VIVID, THE MOST POIGNANT AND THE MOST BEAUTIFUL ILLUSTRATION OF WAR'S UTTER FUTILITY AND UNMITIGATED EVIL, PARTICULARLY AS WAR AFFECTS WOMEN AND CHILDREN. THE WOMAN'S PEACE PARTY SENDS IT, NOT AS AN ARCHAIC CURIOSITY, BUT AS A DIRECT MESSAGE, INSPIRATION AND APPEAL, HERE AND NOW TO THE MEN AND WOMEN OF AMERICA.

Applications for vacant dates may be made to the Chicago Little Theatre, 410 South Michigan Avenue, or to the Woman's Peace Party, 116 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

TERMS OF ENGAGEMENT

1 performance	$200
2 performances on the same day in the same place	350
2 performances on two consecutive days in the same place	400
3 performances on two consecutive days in the same place	450
3 performances on three consecutive days in the same place	475
4 performances on three consecutive days (half a week) in the same place	500
8 performances on six consecutive days (one week) in the same place	900

In addition to the above, railroad expenses from Chicago or from the last stopping place will be charged as follows:

For the first fifty miles or fraction thereof	$100
For every subsequent fifty miles or fraction thereof	75

Special terms will be quoted for longer engagements. In certain cases, for large centres only, bookings on a percentage basis may be arranged.

THE TROJAN WOMEN can be given on any stage raised not less than 24 inches from the floor, and measuring not less than 25 feet deep, 24 feet wide, and 14 feet high, with a proscenium opening not less than 20 feet wide; the space included by these measurements must be entirely free from all obstruction; the stage must be provided with an electric feed-wire carrying 110 volts, either direct or indirect current, and capable of being tapped. At least two dressing rooms, adjacent to the stage, adequately ventilated, heated and lighted, and supplied with water, are required. Theatres provided with sloping floors and fixed seats and seating six to eight hundred people are the most desirable; larger auditoriums may be used, provided that they have exceptionally good acoustic properties. All daylight must be completely excluded from both stage and auditorium; no performance will be begun until this requirement has been complied with. Open air performances may be given at night under special conditions.

"The Chicago Little Theatre has achieved an international reputation for its experiments along new lines of staging and lighting. Sheldon Cheney's recent book on 'The New Movement in the Theatre' finds the playhouse one of the most significant in the country,—'an organization which stands today as one of the most vital expressions of the new dramatic spirit in America.'" The Hattons in THE CHICAGO RECORD-HERALD.

"The entire net profits of The Chicago Little Theatre Company's tour of America in THE TROJAN WOMEN will be devoted to the Woman's Peace Party. The players and staff, who receive no salary apart from their living expenses,—each person travelling with the Company being allowed exactly the same sum for that purpose,—desire to remain anonymous. Two hundred dollars cover the entire cost of a performance, completely equipped with scenery and lighting apparatus, and given by a Company of twenty-one people. The ordinary fee for a single lecture by a speaker of established repute is one hundred dollars, exclusive of travelling expenses; for double that sum the Woman's Peace Party offers one of the world's greatest plays, with scenery, costumes and lighting installation specially designed and constructed for the present production and exemplifying the latest developments in modern stagecraft, and presented by a group of professional players of international reputation.

"In mediæval wars the artist, safe under the 'Truce of God,' was permitted to give his message of beauty and truth. Today the women of America, safe in a neutral country, have this opportunity to further the great message of a great artist in the cause of peace."

JANE ADDAMS, Chairman Woman's Peace Party, Chicago.

THE TROJAN WOMEN

OF

EURIPIDES

Translated by GILBERT MURRAY

PERSONS OF THE PLAY

in the order of their appearance

Hecuba ---------- widow of Priam, king of Troy
Chorus ---------- of Trojan women
Talthybius ---------- herald of the Greeks
Soldiers ---------- attendant on Talthybius and Menelaus
Cassandra ---------- daughter of Hecuba
Andromache ---------- widow of Hector, prince of Troy
Astyanax ---------- child of Andromache and Hector
Helen ---------- wife of Menelaus
Menelaus ---------- king of Sparta, and general of the Greeks

For ten years the Greeks besieged Troy, and in the tenth year they captured it; and they put the Trojan men to the sword, and they led the Trojan women into captivity. The scene of the play represents a battlefield outside the walls of Troy; the action, which describes the fate of the Trojan women and children, opens after the fall of the city and occupies a whole day from sunrise to sunset; the lyrical interludes of the Chorus mark the passage of time.

The audience is respectfully requested not to applaud during or at the close of the performance.

Illustrated souvenirs of the play ---------- price 35 cents,
Gilbert Murray's translation ---------- price 75 cents, and
Packages of peace literature ---------- price 5 cents and 10 cents
may be purchased from the attendants.

The performance lasts 90 minutes, and there is no intermission. Before the performance a short address will be given by

A REPRESENTATIVE

OF

THE WOMAN'S PEACE PARTY.

PRESS NOTICES

ST. LOUIS "The production of this truly magnificent tragedy by The Little Theatre of Chicago is an event to be remembered for a lifetime. So potently, with such infinite care for detail, and such a spirit of enthusiasm for the poet's purpose do the players carry the majestic drama to its close that one rises from one's seat with a gasp of amazement and pleasure. Much of the effect of the play is due to the unrivalled translation by Gilbert Murray."—THE STAR.

"Nobly played—a lofty achievement. The sustained lamentation of the desolate wives and mothers becomes an unforgettable cry of sorrow and hopeless homelessness. The sombre significance of their speech fills the soul with an unutterable compassion. The purest heights of tragic sublimity (are reached in such) complete poetic beauty magnificently realized, (such) majestic sequence of splendid drama. The achievement was made so vitally human that the appeal of its ancient figures became as irresistible as though they were men and women of one's own time. And the audience was held spell-bound by these great simplicities—spell-bound for nearly two hours. The complete performance left a deep impression of tragic beauty upon the minds of the audience."—Ripley D. Saunders in THE POST-DESPATCH.

"The very soul and fire of Euripides. The low and golden words were as a rolling music, and conveyed to a St. Louis audience in singularly wonderful English 'one of the great wrongs of the world wrought over two thousand years ago in Greece into music and made beautiful by the most tragic of the poets.' "—THE MIRROR.

CHICAGO "The most successful attempt I have seen, either in England or in this country, to preserve the real spirit of the ancient classical drama in reproduction on a modern stage. The performance used all the modern effects of artifice, light and shade, with singularly beautiful effect; yet it retained the essential spirit of Greek drama, which is the harmony of all the arts. In pleasing contrast with most stage performances that I have seen, the characteristic was under-emphasis rather than over-emphasis. The effect on my mind—and I find the same impression in all with whom I have conversed—was a continuous spell of pathetic charm from first to last. It was a performance worthy of Euripides as the world's greatest master of pathos."—Richard Green Moulton of the University of Chicago in THE EVENING POST.

"Masterly and lovely. The best value in theatricals that has been vouchsafed in this town for many seasons. A strong popular appeal."—James O'Donnell Bennett in THE RECORD HERALD.

"Most effective. Entirely artistic and satisfying. Exceptionally well performed."—DRAMA LEAGUE BULLETIN.

"The most real, the most poignant, beauty,—masterpieces of poetic delivery, stabbing the heart with flash after flash of beauty and awe,—full of a deep and overpowering loveliness. (Here are) some of the very best voices I have ever heard, plangent voices, carrying the music of an old world grief across the centuries, bringing to the heart a strange heaviness and yet a strange exultation."—THE EVENING POST.

BOSTON "Euripides' TROJAN WOMEN could hardly have moved the Athenians more than it did those that sat before it yesterday in the little auditorium of Lime Street. Perhaps, indeed, the tragedy gained force by such concentration. The agony and the pity of it seemed to cry and break out of such pent environment, (with) a more stripped illusion and a starker and more piercing emotion than the theatre often yields, a power before which our softened imaginations both thrill and blanch,—a thing of pain and yet of an infinite and purging piteousness. After all these centuries, there are few tragedies of pity that in the theatre may so search and melt seeing minds and listening hearts as does THE TROJAN WOMEN."—H. T. P. in THE BOSTON TRANSCRIPT (five columns).

MILWAUKEE "We are glad for the singing quality of the verse, glad for the dramatic expression of the terrible waste of war. Our feeling of desolation is roused from its depression by the sting of the wrongs committed. The oppressive persistent wail of the women becomes atmospheric only, in its value, and enwraps a glowing tragedy that smoulders and burns and blazes like the fire of Troy itself. A production of real quality and beauty."—THE JOURNAL.

"An artistic triumph,—majestic, but simple, appealing and direct."—THE FREE PRESS.

NEW YORK "If anyone thinks that there has ever been given in this generation a better rendering of a Greek play, then he will have to quarrel with persons more acquainted with the subject than I. Its whole effect was to pierce the minds of the audience with a tragic beauty."—Floyd Dell in HARPER'S WEEKLY.

"Finely, reverently, and lovingly presented. What a mighty tragedy wrought in the lives of women by war is this, coming down to us from the years before Christ. How little the human heart has changed,—these women crying to us, heart to heart, across the ages. No greater proof exists than this tragedy of the fatuity of the contention that women should not interfere in legislation, because they cannot participate in war,—as if women had not participated in all wars right down to the present day, when we hear the lament of the mothers and wives for their needlessly slaughtered dear ones."—LIFE AND LABOR.

A PRIMER OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT

BY

LUCIA AMES MEAD



NINTH EDITION
REVISED

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY
WASHINGTON, D. C.
1915

The following pages contain the revision of 1915, the ninth edition of the enlarged text of the illustrated exhibit of the American Peace Society at the World's Fair, St. Louis, 1904, which received a gold medal. The Primers are sold at ten cents a copy, $5.00 a hundred. American Peace Society, Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.

FOREWORD.

Christian nations in 1915 are enacting the greatest tragedy in all the ages. The world now stands at the turning point of human history and the fate of civilization hangs in the balance.

The European war differs from every other war, not merely, because it is employing 28,000,000 men, is spending $50,000,000 a day and is carrying bitterness and bloodshed into three continents, like a dozen wars in one, but because, since Napoleon's day when travel was no faster than in Abraham's time, the world has become organic, complex and sensitive, and now all neutrals suffer with belligerents. This war is destroying the world's capital and impoverishing customers; there is pinching poverty in Alabama, Brazil and China, and higher prices everywhere. The world's innocent suffer with the guilty. Had war ended forever in July, 1914, three generations of prosperity without the burden of arms could not have wiped out the world's old war debts. The interest on them was all that many could pay. The incredible sums now spent are borrowed from the inheritance of the unborn. Future generations, unable to bear the intolerable inherited burden, may repudiate it and thus bankrupt and overthrow their governments.

Causes of the European War.

There are two wars with two distinct political causes. The Eastern war is largely the outcome of the Balkan war and of the rival ambitions of Russia and Germany.

The Western war is due to the alliance of France with autocratic Russia; this compelled her in loyalty to fight, but most unwillingly. France had abandoned her earlier intention to regain Alsace-Lorraine but, finding her death rate almost reached her birth rate while Germany's population increased by 20,000,000, she allied herself with Germany's rival and loaned her enormous funds, part of which were pledged for armaments.

Could France have broken her alliance with Russia, Germany, who was loth to fight her, would not have invaded Belgium, and France, Great Britain, Canada, Australia, Africa, and Japan would not have been dragged into war.

The psychological causes of the war are the fallacies, economic illusions and confused thought which were for generations taught

by militarists, legislators, editors and preachers. These men, though educated in technique and science, misread human nature, economic laws and the laws of God.

Christianity has not failed. Its principles were never tried by any government. But church and school sanctioning two codes of ethics—one for the nation, another for the individual—both failed lamentably to teach clear thinking on either ethics or economics and to create the international mind.

The World's Peace.

The world's peace depends chiefly on eight nations, seven of which are "Christian." These eight own nine-tenths of the armaments of the world. Six of them are at work destroying civilization—Russia, Germany, Austria, Great Britain, France and Japan. The seventh, Italy, has her troops mobilized and may go to war. The United States, alone free and unmenaced, bears a stupendous responsibility to help the nations at the war's end to attain a permanent peace. Its peculiar privilege is to show the way to a United World.

The great powers must together take one of two paths. The one leads upward through general reduction of armaments and world organization to peace and progress; the other, downward through continued reliance on force to conscription the world around. This means, presently, an armed Asia facing an armed Europe, and perpetual fear and suspicion, intolerable debt, and the decay of civilization. The world now is one; no nation suffers alone; world problems have become our own. Apathy and timidity here may be fatal not only to us, but to civilization. An agonized world calls upon America for sanity, courage and leadership.

America's Duty.

To refuse increase of armaments until the war is over; to wait, while all possible enemies are becoming poorer and weaker, and not create suspicion and ill will by taking advantage of the situation.

Increase of war preparations now beyond the usual amount would be construed as a menace by tax-ridden Japan. It would lessen our influence with the warring powers when we at the war's close ask for a general reduction of armaments. It might make our action tip the world's balance for more militarism instead of less. The safest nation in the world is called by suffering humanity to show courage, confidence and moral leadership. If we engender panic and suspicion by establishing more military schools and by following the Old World's folly of supreme reliance on force, we strike a blow at civilization and progress.

What Constructive Work for Peace Demands.

1. A convention of neutral nations to band themselves into a League of Peace; to consider conditions of permanent world peace and to try to prevent "fighting to a finish."

2. No indemnities when this war ends; no transfer of land by conquest; an abolition of defensive alliances; a substitution of a Concert of Powers for "Balance of Power."

3. The immediate calling of the Third Hague Conference after the war and the creation of much needed law. There must be collective action for righteous readjustments of abnormal boundary lines, for neutralizing trade routes and for removal of unjust conditions lest these breed further war.

4. The carrying out of the program for World Organization—as sound and healing a remedy for world anarchy as it has been for three-quarters of a century while the physicians of peace have offered it to blind and stubborn governments who now cry out in anguish because they had not taken it.

THE PRACTICAL PROGRAM FOR WORLD ORGANIZATION.

Already Achieved.

1. Some degree of representative government in practically all independent nations, even in China, and the peaceful union of small states to form larger ones, as in Italy and Germany.

2. A Permanent Tribunal of Arbitration opened at The Hague in 1901, with provision for Mediation and International Commissions of Enquiry. In 1907, provision for a Prize Court to decide upon captures made in time of war.

3. For any one of the forty-four signatory nations to lay its case before the Hague Court whether its opponent agree or not, and for a third Conference which was planned for 1915.

4. Prohibition against bombarding or laying tribute on unfortified places.

5. Approval of a Permanent International Court of Arbitral Justice.

6. The Porter-Drago convention, practically preventing the use of force to collect contractual debts.

7. Establishment of an International Institute of Agriculture in Rome by signed treaties of forty-seven nations. The International Postal Union embracing the globe and hundreds of unofficial international organizations. Endowments amounting to the cost of one battleship, to promote justice and peace between nations.

8. Treaties between all the Central American States and also between some other nations to submit all differences to arbitration.

Yet to be Achieved.

1. Treaties by all nations pledging reference of all international disputes to arbitration, or to one or more of the International Courts of Justice yet to be established.

2. The development of Hague Conferences into a Stated World Congress, at first only advisory, but gradually increasing its powers and evolving a code of international law. This will deal not only with measures to preserve peace, but with quarantine, commerce, tariff, and all matters which affect international relations.

3. Gradual disarmament and transference of troops from military to civic service of the state. The principle of non-intercourse embodied in law as penalty for breaking pledges.

4. A small International Police for land and sea.

These measures will not do away with the use of militia and may not end the possibility of civil war for an indefinite time;* but they will end our barbarous international duels by substituting the System of Law for the System of War.

The First Hague Conference.

On May 18, 1899, one hundred delegates of the twenty-six nations that had representatives at St. Petersburg met in the Queen's House in the Wood at The Hague to consider the Czar's rescript issued in August, 1898. The mightiest monarch in Christendom, appalled that the increased cost of armaments was leading to the "very cataclysm they are desired to avert," had urged the nations to discuss the question of limitation and reduction of armaments. For nearly three months the Conference in three committees worked steadily on its problems. Vast numbers of letters and telegrams were sent from America to Andrew D. White and the other American delegates at The Hague, and at a critical moment this strong expression of American opinion had great weight. Though disarmament was not definitely arranged for, a Permanent International Tribunal, as the necessary first step towards it, was agreed upon by the delegates. They also arranged for commissions of inquiry and methods of mediation and conciliation between the signatory powers.

Their achievement was the greatest of the kind in human history. The delegates, who had assembled with misgivings, like those at our Constitutional Convention in 1787, parted in confidence and hope.

The Hague Court was opened in April, 1901. A fine mansion was purchased for it—and used until the Peace Palace provided by Mr. Carnegie was opened in 1913—and a permanent secretary installed. It has now a board of one hundred and forty-four judges from the countries that ratified the Conventions. These judges remain at home until selected to try a case. Recourse to the Hague Court is optional until nations pledge themselves by arbitration treaties to use it. Several jurists have repeatedly been asked to serve at The Hague, and thus have in a peculiar sense become international judges.

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*When civil war in any country becomes a menace to civilization, it may be ended by the friendly offices of a group of States or, as a last resort, by recourse to cutting off outside supplies of munitions of war and by the employment of non-intercourse.

The Hague provision for Commissions of Inquiry prevented strife between England and Russia when the Russian admiral in the North Sea fired on an English fishing fleet, mistaking it for Japanese torpedo boats. An international commission of admirals which met in Paris allayed English fury, and Russia paid the widows and orphans more than $300,000 for her blunder. The Hague provision for mediation was used by President Roosevelt when he invited Russia and Japan to send commissioners to settle their war at Portsmouth, N. H.—one of the most romantic achievements of modern history.

The Second Hague Conference.

In June, 1907, the second Hague Conference, the call for which had been delayed by the Russo-Japanese war and the Pan-American Conference, convened with 256 delegates from forty-four nations, representing practically the power and wealth of the world. Hon. Joseph H. Choate headed the American delegation and presented a plea for a Court of Arbitral Justice at The Hague, to supplement (and not abolish) the present Arbitration Tribunal. This was agreed upon, and will be established as soon as any group of nations agrees upon the method of selecting judges. This court will hold regular and continuous sessions, and gradually build up a definite system of international law. The Porter-Drago doctrine arranged for the peaceful settlement of difficulties arising from non-payment of contractual debts. Germany, which had been an obstacle to progress in 1899, led to the establishment of a Prize Court, to adjust ownership of captures in war. This marks the first real concession of the absolute right of sovereignty, and is a very important precedent. The Conference was practically unanimous in endorsing the principle of obligatory arbitration. Among provisions agreed to for lessening the injustice of war was that forbidding bombardment of unfortified places.

A third Hague Conference was planned and, two years previous, suitable preparations were to be made by an international commission to avoid the loss of time incident to the second Conference.

Some Causes of War.

Fear and suspicion, bred of huge armaments. War traders, coining large dividends from war supplies, who own newspapers and promote war scares in order to get contracts.

A military class, ambitious for activity and promotion.

Contempt for peoples who have not white skins.

Lack of power to put one's self in another's place, and a superstitious notion that questions of honor can be settled by explosives.

Ignorant and perverse interpretation of the Bible, judging God's will by ancient Israel's barbaric deeds instead of by Christ's spirit.

Greed for high interest, which war loans provide. Rich investors have much political power, and are made richer by war, while the masses are impoverished. Most wars would end quickly were war loans impossible.

"The vast expenditure on armaments, the costly wars, the grave risks and embarrassments of foreign policy, the stoppage of political and social reforms within Great Britain, though fraught with injury to the nation, have served well the business interests of certain industries and professions."—*The English Economist, Hobson.*

"That original sin of nations—the greed of territorial aggrandizement."—*Gladstone.*

"You push into territories where you have no business to be and where you had promised not to go. Your intrusion provokes resentment, and resentment means resistance. You instantly cry out that the people are rebellious, in spite of your own assurance that you have no intention of setting up a permanent sovereignty over them. You send a force to stamp out the rebellion. Having spread bloodshed, confusion, and anarchy, you declare, with hands uplifted to the heavens, that moral reasons force you to stay. These are the five stages in the Forward Rake's Progress."—*John Morley.*

Investors. Foreign investments are enormously increasing in weak and poorly governed countries. Poor Asiatics are supposed to be better customers than our own negroes and poor whites and South Americans. Put this year's naval budget into Southern schools, create new wants and resources, and we should have immensely larger sales near home.

The Sensational Press. It enlarges on every misunderstanding and evil rumor. It exaggerates and distorts news with false head-lines—anything to create a fever, sell papers, and coin money. Its readers are fooled, and fooled all the time.

What Might Have Been.

A treaty between Germany and France of delay before hostilities, such as the United States has signed with 30 nations. Had France been able to avail herself of it, Russia would probably not have entered war. At all events the western war would not have come. Had the nations waited but one month, the financial forces would probably have brought pressure to avert war.

Had even one month of the war's cost been turned into constructive work, it could have used $1,500,000,000 in creating all these things in the warring lands:

1,000 Churches, at $50,000 each.
1,000 Public Libraries, at $100,000 each.
1,000 Hospitals, at $100,000 each.
500 City Halls, at $200,000 each.
3,000 schools, at $100,000 each.
500 Factories, at $500,000 each.
10,000 Farms, at $10,000 each.
10,000 Shops, at $10,000 each.
10,000 Engines, at $10,000 each.
150,000 Houses, at $2,000 each.

Common Fallacies.

That armies and navies are but national police, and will be needed as long as police are. Police and armies have totally different functions. Police will be needed until the millennium. Militia will be needed as long as there are rioters and lynchers; but armies and navies might be banished in the immediate future. Police do not punish criminals, but use only that minimum of force necessary to bring them to an impartial court. Armies and navies, on the contrary, settle cases themselves by sheer brute force, without reference to evidence or justice. National armies and navies will diminish gradually, to be replaced at last by a small international armed police. The united action of European and Japanese troops at Pekin foreshadowed this.

That armies and navies are useful in giving employment. So is a Baltimore fire or Galveston flood, a San Francisco or Kingston earthquake. The murder of President McKinley gave work to doctors, bands, undertakers, florists, and reporters. The many suffer while a few temporarily gain.

That barrack drill educates slovenly peasants into clean, well-disciplined men. Were there no armies, hundreds of millions more dollars every year could be turned into schools, with proper physical training, and eventually there would be no ill-fed, slovenly classes left.

That a military expert knows the nation's military needs better than other men do. As well ask an architect whether you need a house, or a dressmaker whether you need a gown, as to ask a soldier whether we need more armaments. It is human nature to magnify one's profession and to want large appropriations. The soldier gets no glory or promotion in time of peace, and naturally wants something to do. The business man is a far more impartial judge of the nation's danger from foreign jealousy.

That we need a larger navy to keep the peace. Our navy already ranks third. It may be second when the war is over. It has no fear of the greatest navy so long as our Canadian line remains unguarded. Our outlay for our navy has increased seven hundred per cent since 1886. We are going wildly beyond the needs of defense, are considered aggressive, and are arousing suspicion and jealousy. Our rich, safe nation, without enemies except those we provoke, of all others can best afford to lead the world toward reduction of arms.

That war kills off surplus population. There is none. The earth is very sparsely settled, and is incalculably rich in resources. We have only begun to see the possibilities of scientific farming. All the population of the globe could be put into Texas, and allow a half acre to each family.

"You can't change human nature." All history gives this fallacy the lie. Nothing in the world is changing faster than human tastes and activities. If our bad instincts cannot be wholly rooted out, they can be kept dormant. Emerson and Lincoln showed better than their savage, tattooed ancestors what human nature is. The European war did not come because men loved slaughter. They loathed it, but were helpless to free themselves from the war system that they had permitted.

"In time of peace prepare for war." This principle is responsible for the European war. It means, when you are friendly with a neighbor, build up a wall between you; be on the alert for insults, and prepare to knock him down. Since opening the Hague Court, the motto for sane nations is, "In time of peace prepare for peace."

War prevents stagnation and makes nations brave and strong. Famines, fires, and floods bring out bravery in some men also. Shall we therefore desire them? War makes far more men immoral, diseased, and cruel than it makes brave and noble. Bravery in battle does not imply courage to vote an unpopular ticket, to do business honestly, or to be brave outside of war. War skims off the cream of manly vigor and leaves a skim-milk nation to produce a weaker race. Napoleon's wars destroyed the strength of France. The French physique has been inferior ever since.* Spain's chronic wars have left an enfeebled race. Peaceful China is the only nation of antiquity that survives.

Nothing but blood can wipe out blood. This is a savage and silly superstition. As well say that only ink can wipe out ink.

Nations will never arbitrate questions of honor or of vital importance. The armed cavalier who fought duels at the slightest provocation, two hundred years ago, thought no court could settle

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* See President Jordan's "The Blood of the Nation."

a question of his honor. His descendants, who carry no swords, pick fewer quarrels and settle even the most vital ones in court. Nations will gradually follow suit as soon as they create a World Court. The skeptics in 1901 said the Hague Tribunal would amount to nothing; but its first case was begun in much shorter time than our Supreme Court at Washington had to wait for its first case. Within the century the World Court will become a universal substitute for international duels or the nations will be on the highroad towards decay.

"Trade follows the flag." All the statistics show the contrary. Trade goes where it finds customers. Only thirty per cent of England's foreign trade is with her own possessions.

True and Sham Patriotism.

Patriotism is not tested by a show of bunting nor making noise nor by boasting of our bigness and our strength, but by daily deeds of service through good citizenship.

Flags and fire-crackers no more indicate service of country than pew-cushions and steeples indicate service of God. Pride of ancestry, interest in genealogy and colonial furniture, admiration for martial music and gold lace are sometimes mistaken for patriotism.

Are not Americans singularly unpatriotic in time of peace—that is, more than nine-tenths of the time? Our civic corruptions, due to civic apathy and general disregard of law, made us a by-word in Christendom. Increase of wealth and opportunity has made multitudes selfish and indifferent to the country's dangers. This means treason to the Republic. It means that we have deserters and cowards as well as patriots in office, factory, shop, and parlor.

What Editors Can Do.

They can largely change the course of history by choosing how and what they will report. If they are first of all patriots, they will be as willing to sacrifice dollars from advertisers and subscribers as soldiers are to lose limb in battle when the country's welfare demands it.

They will dare write unpopular truths. They will forbid "fake" reports and misleading head-lines. They will "blue pencil" flippant comment and cynical sneers upon peace, progress, and justice. They will realize the obligation of doing the thinking for the masses, and will no more poison their minds for a few paltry dollars than they would poison their food.

They will show the relation between imperialism and militarism; they will not confound "expansion," which term refers only to area, with "imperialism," which concerns method of government.

They will show the virtues of other nations as well as our own, will condemn all hysterical talk about a Yellow Peril, and will show the truth of Ambassador Wright's statement that "the talk of war with Japan is not even respectable nonsense."

Said John Hay, Secretary of State: "If the press of the world would adopt and persist in the high resolve that war should be no more, the clangor of arms would cease from the rising of the sun to its going down, and we could fancy that at last our ears, no longer stunned by the din of armies, might hear the morning stars singing together and all the sons of God shouting for joy."

What Voters Can Do.

They can ask all candidates for Congress whether they will join its Arbitration Group, will vote against increase of the navy, and for the neutralization and independence of the Philippines. They can create public sentiment in favor of securing passage by the Senate of the broadest arbitration treaties with all nations and of a pledge by all nations at the Third Hague Conference to begin a general and extensive reduction of armaments. They should keep constant watch on the 530 men in Washington who voice the American Republic. These are constantly surrounded by over 700 "active and retired army and navy officers, who," said Justice Brewer, "are making a military center of our national capital."

What Teachers Can Do.

They can join the American School Peace League,* which has no fees. It has about 45 State organizations, and is initiating similar leagues in Europe. It is powerfully aiding a better teaching of history, literature, and patriotism.

1. Children are natural partisans. Make plain to them that the American Revolution was not a conflict between America as a whole and England as a whole, but between the Liberal and Tory parties in both countries. Let pupils memorize noble passages from Chatham, Burke, and others who sided with us against King George; also Longfellow's "The Arsenal at Springfield," and similar poems.

2. Enlarge on the causes and results of wars, but not on details of campaigns. Show that loyalty to truth and justice is more than loyalty to any man or race or place or party. Teach pupils that we began our three foreign wars since 1789, and lost in them all told less than 15,000 men by foreign bullets. This is only one-tenth the number lost annually by tuberculosis! Our constant, definite dangers are from within; we have no enemies without.

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* Secretary: Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, 405 Marlborough street, Boston, Mass.

We sustained the Monroe Doctrine when we had a very small navy. Our great navy implies no more security.

3. Teach the history and significance of arbitration. Teach graphically what *a million* means. Few adults have any conception of it. Utilize for arithmetical problems some of the significant statistics on the cost and waste of war and armed peace. Let children figure up the number of dollars spent if one had been thrown into the ocean on the first Christmas day and continued every minute for 19 centuries and see that this is about what Europe has wasted in one month at the rate of $50,000,000 a day. Never let children sing without explanation such words as "The army and navy forever," or "Then conquer we must, for our cause it is just." This is misleading. In war, justice does not imply success. The strong wins.

4. Celebrate the 18th of May, the anniversary of the opening of The Hague Conference, by instructive exercises in the schools. This is recommended by the superintendents throughout the country.

5. Oppose the movement to put rifle shooting into the schools. No nation taxes its people to teach its boys the art of killing. For us to begin would imply a new danger and timidity on our part that has no basis. Spend the time and money in teaching boys to make friends rather than how to kill supposed enemies.

What Business Men Forget.

Three-fourths of the teachers of the United States are women. The salary of the average woman teacher has been about half that of a garbage-hauler or street-sweeper. Our true national defense is not short-lived battleships, but what teachers can achieve. Our rich country, lying safe between two oceans and with no enemies on earth, spends about $12,000,000 a month upon its navy. Were this sum for only one year put into building up our men, instead of building destroyers of other people's property, each one of our millions of illiterates over ten years old would get a three-years' schooling.

When Washington urged a "respectable defensive posture" for our Government, he obtained it at about $1,000,000 a year. Today, when population is twenty-five times as great, our total outlay for national defense has increased two hundred and fifty times.

Armed peace is probably the chief cause of poverty in Christendom. Two-thirds of the nations' revenues are, on an average, spent upon "national defense."

What Business Men Can Do.

Chambers of Commerce and Merchants' Clubs should send to the World Peace Foundation for a list of all bills pending in Congress every session which affect the peace cause, and should bring their influence to bear after making investigation of these.

Business men can endow lectureships in colleges and theological schools, to provide yearly lectures on international justice and the organization of the world. They can help extend the prizes offered at the Intercollegiate Contests, in which 500 students in 22 States contested in 1914 by orations on peace and arbitration.

They might win worthy fame and help to change the course of history by endowing the American School Peace League, which needs $50,000 annually to reach the teachers and normal schools and enable them to teach history and patriotism from the twentieth-century point of view.

Syndicate articles written by experts should be sent to every newspaper. Economic facts about the cost of armed peace should be advertised everywhere. Why are not business men more practical? When millions can be had for naval displays, our people are criminally neglectful in spending so little to show the public the methods to attain peace with justice. Utilize the moving-picture shows.

What Ministers Can Do.

Preach about international relations in the spirit of Jesus Christ instead of Joshua. Always clearly explain the context of Christ's saying, "I came not to bring peace, but a sword," etc. Never permit "Boys' Brigades" in your church.

Read the history of arbitration, and consider the practical program for the organization of the world. Preach on peace problems until your congregation is adequately informed. Do not confound international peace, which is attainable in a generation, with universal peace, which requires the conversion of the lowest classes in all nations and requires an indefinite time. Always show your audience what are the next practical steps toward peace *and what they can do.* Apply to the Church Peace Union, 70 Fifth avenue, New York City, for information and literature.

After this mad conflict the chief concern of the church must be to interpret one nation's point of view to another and to remove bitterness.

What Parents Can Do.

Permit drums and trumpets, color, music, marching, "dressing up," all that is harmless about military display; but never allow toy guns or soldiers or playing at killing. As well give children

toy coffins, and let them play "hanging," as to permit the ghastly business of shooting human beings to be associated with sport and pleasure.

Substitute beautiful pageants for dangerous sports and lawlessness. Put copies of Verestchagin's pictures of war in your son's room, if he is inflamed with the military spirit. Cultivate imagination—putting one's self in the "other fellow's" place.

Select the newspapers your children read and religiously teach them the significance of the European war, how it could have been avoided, and the only hope of preventing future wars. War news excite, but do not educate immature minds. Discuss politics, world movements, and race prejudices with your boys and girls as if they were as vital as family affairs. Show that you covet for them a keen sense of justice more than high marks or prizes. Teach them that the true culture "counts nothing human foreign."

HISTORY.

Peace Congresses.

The first International Peace Congress was planned in Boston and held in London in 1843. Of its three hundred delegates, thirty were from the United States. The second received its impulse from Elihu Burritt, and was held in Brussels in 1848. The third, in Paris, in 1849, had an attendance of two thousand, and was presided over by Victor Hugo. The fourth was in Frankfort in 1850, and the fifth in London in 1851. Burritt was an active promoter of all of these last.

The Peace Congresses were revived in 1889, and have been held in Paris, London, Rome, Berne, Chicago, Antwerp, Buda-Pesth, Hamburg, Paris, Glasgow, Monaco, Rouen, Boston, Lucerne, Milan, Munich, London, Stockholm, Geneva, and The Hague. Since the meeting in 1903, most European nations have signed arbitration treaties pledging reference to the Hague Court, and France and England, unfriendly to each other for centuries, have quietly settled by diplomacy a half-dozen matters any one of which in former days might have led to war. The mere fact of a World Court being ready to hear disputes causes many cases to be peaceably settled out of court.

The International Peace Congress of 1904 met in Boston in October, and was opened by Secretary Hay. It was by far the largest International Peace Congress ever held, and was followed by great meetings in many American cities.

National Peace Congresses in addition to the international have been held in England, Germany, France, and the United

States. The first National American Peace Congress was held in New York City from April 14-17, 1907, to arouse public sentiment regarding the points to be considered at the second Hague Conference. Secretary Root addressed it, and many thousands of persons attended it. The Second Congress was in Chicago in 1909. The Third National Peace Congress in 1911, at Baltimore, was opened by President Taft. The fourth was held in St. Louis in 1913, and the fifth will be in 1915.

Two National Arbitration Conferences have been held in this country, in Washington, in 1896 and 1904.

The annual Mohonk Arbitration Conferences since 1895, to which Mr. Albert K. Smiley annually invited hundreds of judges, college presidents, captains of industry, etc., have had great influence, and will continue by his provision.

History of Arbitration.

Since John Jay was burned in effigy in Boston for putting an arbitration clause into our treaty with England in 1794, there have been upwards of six hundred international disputes settled by arbitration or by special commissions. The most notable fact is that no nation involved has repudiated its pledge and gone to war. Except the dozen or more cases which have been sent to the Hague Arbitration Tribunal, most of them were settled by special courts or commissions arranged for the occasion. Hereafter, the Arbitration Tribunal will probably settle many such cases even after the Court of Arbitral Justice agreed on in 1907 is finally opened. America had the honor of opening the Hague Court. The first case sent to it was the "Pious Fund" case between the United States and Mexico. The second was the Venezuela case, to which eleven nations were parties. Forty-six nations of the two hemispheres have now no excuse for war with each other. Since 1899, 175 arbitration treaties, some of them still unratified, have been signed between signatory powers.

The United States took the initiative in bringing about the establishment of a Central American Court of Arbitration, which has probably prevented two wars, and Mr. Carnegie gave $100,000 to erect its court building.

Many questions involving honor, *e. g.*, the Alabama Claims, have been arbitrated. Ex-President Taft has rightly maintained that all questions of vital interest and honor can and ought to be peacefully settled.

The New World's Work for Peace.

Following Edwin Ginn's gift in 1910 of $1,000,000 for the World Peace Foundation, Mr. Carnegie gave $10,000,000 for the

Carnegie Peace Endowment. His previous gifts of $1,500,000 for the Peace Palace and International Library at The Hague with a gift of $2,000,000 in 1914 for the Church Peace Union, added to those above mentioned, make a sum far exceeding all that had previously ever been given in the world for the peace cause. Nevertheless, the available income for the peace cause from all foundations and societies in the world amounts to less than the cost of one torpedo-boat destroyer.

A century before the Czar's rescript, Jefferson, Samuel Adams, Washington, and Franklin were zealous advocates of peace.*

The United States led the world in organized work for peace. We established three Peace Societies in 1815—the first in the world. A great wave of peace effort spread over the country during the next generation. Noah Worcester, Channing, Sumner, William Ladd, Elihu Burritt were among its leaders. The International Peace Congresses had their inception in Boston. Here, too, were taken the first steps toward forming the International Law Association of four hundred jurists—one of the foremost agencies for the world's peace. Seventy years ago agitation for a World Court was so common here that Europeans called it "The American Way."

Bolivar, the Washington of South America, did much to promote peace by means of arbitration treaties. The constitution of Brazil decrees that no territory shall ever be taken by conquest.

In 1900, Argentina and Chile were on the verge of war over territorial boundary disputes, but a revulsion of feeling, originating in the noble protest of an eloquent bishop of Argentina, led to an agreement to arbitrate their difficulties. The arbitration satisfied both countries. In March, 1904, upon a mountain pass on the lofty Andes boundary line there was erected a colossal bronze statue of Christ, as a memorial of the compact of perpetual peace between these nations, and as a better guardian of the border than a cordon of fortresses.

Some Famous Workers for Peace.

1. Henry IV of France, who formed his "Great Design" for the federation of Europe.

2. Hugo Grotius. His "Rights of War and Peace," published in 1624, says Andrew D. White, "of all works not claiming to be inspired has proved the greatest blessing to humanity."

3. William Penn in 1693 published his remarkable "Essay toward the Present and Future Peace of Europe."

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* See some of their trenchant and little known statements in Edwin D. Mead's "The Principles of the Founders."

4. Immanuel Kant, the great German philosopher. In his essay on "Eternal Peace" he showed that war would not cease until the world was organized, and that it could not be safely federated until the nations had representative government.

5. David L. Dodge, of New York, founded the first Peace Society.

6. William Ellery Channing, the ablest and most strenuous supporter of peace that the American pulpit has produced.

7. Charles Sumner. In his famous address on "The True Grandeur of Nations" and other great addresses, he worked as earnestly against war as during his whole life he worked against slavery.

8. Elihu Burritt. He secured cheap ocean postage. Half a century before the Czar's rescript he proposed a World Court.

9. The Baroness von Suttner, of Austria, whose story, "Lay Down Your Arms," together with her constant work for peace, won her the Nobel Prize in 1905.

Statesmen and Jurists.

The Interparliamentary Union, composed of about three thousand members of parliaments of different nations, held its annual meeting in St. Louis in September, 1904. Congress voted $50,000 for the entertainment of the foreign delegates. It was founded in 1889 by Wm. R. Cremer, M. P., afterwards knighted, who received in 1903 the annual prize of about $40,000 left by the Swedish inventor, Nobel, to be given to the person who had done the most to promote peace. The Union was founded in 1889 at Paris. It was at the request of the Interparliamentary Union, in 1904, that President Roosevelt called the second Hague Conference, which, owing to various hindrances, was delayed until assembled by the Czar in 1907. Next to the Hague Conferences, this great body of statesmen has been most influential in promoting progress toward peace. The group in the United States Congress has about two hundred and eighty members. Dr. Christian Lange, an able Norwegian statesman, is its permanent secretary.

The International Law Association was formed in 1873, and has a membership of over four hundred jurists and publicists. It is a strong factor in developing international law and promoting better international relations.

United States judges in the Hague Court: Judge George Gray, Hon. Oscar S. Straus, Prof. John Bassett Moore, Senator Elihu Root.

Two Remarkable Books.

Jean de Bloch, eminent economist, financier, and Russian Imperial Councilor, who was born near Warsaw in 1836 and died in

1902, was a poor Polish Jew, who by rare ability rose to wealth and power. As an administrator of railroads, he studied war as affected by food and transportation. His great work, "The Future of War," in six volumes, based on the researches of many experts, is a scientific demonstration of the futility of war today when waged between equal powers. The last volume, summing up his conclusions, is in English. Bloch's book was one of the causes of the Czar's calling the Hague Peace Conference. Bloch met and influenced the delegates at The Hague, and in lectures in Paris and London he exerted a wide influence.

"Norman Angell," in his volume, "The Great Illusion," now translated into over twenty languages, gives a startling revelation of the economic fallacies of the day regarding the relation of armaments to the maintenance of trade and prosperity. He proves how, under modern conditions of business and banking, the victorious nation in war loses more than it can possibly gain; that navies do nothing to create trade; that since all nations have become interdependent, it is for its highest advantage to promote the prosperity and buying power of every nation with whom it trades. The senseless naval rivalry between Great Britain and Germany is shown in a new light and the war has not invalidated the principles of the book.

What Great Soldiers Have Said.

"The more I study the world, the more am I convinced of the inability of brute force to create anything durable."—*Napoleon at St. Helena.*

"War is a most detestable thing. If you had seen but one day of war, you would pray God that you might never see another."—*Duke of Wellington to Lord Shaftesbury.*

"Though educated a soldier, and though I have gone through two wars, I have always been a man of peace, preferring to see questions of difference settled by arbitration. It has been my misfortune to be engaged in more battles than any other American general, but there was never a time during my command when I would not have chosen some settlement by reason rather than the sword."—*U. S. Grant.*

"My first wish is to see this plague to mankind banished from the earth," and, "although it is against the profession of arms and would clip the wings of some young soldiers soaring after glory, to see the whole world in peace and the inhabitants striving who should contribute most to the happiness of mankind."—*Washington.*

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* Mr. Angell is one of the leaders in the "Union of Democratic Control," which since the war began is voicing the sanest sentiment of Great Britain as to plans for a permanent peace and the control of foreign policies by the people. This plan opposes the crushing of any nation as a result of the war and aims at international co-operation.

"I confess without shame that I am tired and sick of the war. Its glory is all moonshine. It is only those who have neither heard a shot nor heard the shrieks and groans of the wounded who cry aloud for more blood, more vengeance, more desolation." "War is hell."—*General Sherman.*

"War will eliminate itself. . . . By the next centennial, arbitration will rule the world."—*General Sheridan.*

Books Recommended.

The Friendship of Nations (profusely illustrated, for young people, 275 pages), Lucile Gulliver. Ginn & Co..... $0.75

The Great Illusion (translated into over twenty languages; an important revelation of economic fallacies), Norman Angell. G. P. Putnam's Sons..... $1.00

Swords and Ploughshares, 18 illustrations (a general survey for the average person), Lucia Ames Mead. G. P. Putnam's Sons..... $0.85

The Two Hague Conferences (valuable for reference), Prof. Wm. I. Hull. World Peace Foundation..... $1.65

Addresses on War, Charles Sumner. World Peace Foundation..... $0.65

Moral Damage of War, 462 pages, Walter Walsh. World Peace Foundation $0.90

Blood of the Nation, paper cover (how war destroys virility), David Starr Jordan. World Peace Foundation..... $0.15

Pamphlets Recommended.

Published or Supplied by World Peace Foundation,
40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass.

Heroes of Peace.
Outlines of Lessons on War and Peace.
The War; How to teach it in the schools.
Club Women and the Peace Movement.
The Nemesis of America.
The Drain of Armaments.
Woman and War.
Washington, Jefferson, and Franklin on War.
The Mission of the United States in the Cause of Peace.

Supplied by the American Peace Society,
Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.

Pride of War (brilliant narrative), Gustav Jansen..... $1.30

The American Japanese Problem, Sidney L. Gulick..... $1.75

The Christ of the Andes, per hundred..... $1.00

Hymns for Peace Meetings..... $0.05

Women in the Peace Movement, per hundred..... $1.50

Wanted: Aggressive Pacifism, per hundred..... $1.00

The Two Hague Conferences and Their Results (5 cents each), per hundred $2.50

Supplied by the American Association for International Conciliation, 407 West 117th Street, New York City:

Three Men Behind the Guns, Chas. E. Jefferson (September, 1914).
The War and the Way Out, G. Lowes Dickinson (December, 1914).

Send for full lists of publications of these three organizations.
Sample copy free on application.

"Japan's Message to America and America's Reply," Rev. C. F. Aked, L.L. D., Published by Japan Society of America, Orient Building, 332 Pine Street, San Francisco, Cal.

The Japanese Problem and A New Immigration Policy, Sidney L. Gulick. Bulletins No. 9 and 10, February, 1914. Federal Council of Churches, 105 E. 22d St., New York City.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE UNITED STATES TOWARD PREPAREDNESS

AN ADDRESS

BY

H. A. GARFIELD

PRESIDENT OF WILLIAMS COLLEGE

MARCH, 1916



An address delivered at the Mount Morris Baptist Church, New York, Jan. 23, 1916, by H. A. Garfield, President of Williams College

THE ATTITUDE OF THE UNITED STATES TOWARD PREPAREDNESS

ALL Americans believe in preparedness: we disagree only as to its kind and extent. Preparedness is a question of public policy, not of diplomacy. It is, therefore, a political question to be answered by the people and their representatives. But it is not a partisan question and ought not, therefore, to be made the football of politics. It ought to be discussed widely and thoroughly because it raises issues demanding the adoption of definite policies affecting our status at home and our relations abroad. No discussion of the question is adequate which does not include all phases of preparedness. Most of the discussion thus far has dealt with a single phase or has confused the arguments applicable to all of them. One phase of the question is military, another political, another social. I propose to consider each briefly.

I

The need of military preparedness is the simplest of the three to argue. It is easy to prove that vast armies can be landed on our coasts and lay waste the sea-board. Take for example, Great Britain. The British navy outranks ours three to one. Her merchant marine is more than ten times that of our sea-going merchant vessels. She could land 170,000 men and 90,000 animals on our shores in 14 days.[1] Yes, but under what circumstances? Only if the sea were first cleared of our defending fleet, and if all other conditions were favorable; and, what

[1] Army War College (U. S.). Statement of a Proper Military Policy for the United States, September, 1915.

is much more to the point, if Great Britain *wishes* to invade the United States. The student of military science always assumes that a nation which *can* attack *will* do so. From the point of view of his problem, he is correct, but his assumptions are not and ought not to be ours. If mere number and speed of vessels are to be considered, we can get much more impressive figures from the immigration reports. 200,000 foreigners have landed on our shores in a single month. More than 1,000,000 have landed in New York harbor in a single year.

But, aside from the wish of any nation to invade us, the question of military preparedness is not merely one of numbers and of speed of vessels. Even as a military problem, it must be qualified by the *ifs* of practical experience. What do the military writers say concerning over-sea expeditionary campaigns? All recognize that the problems are intricate and that experience thus far has not demonstrated precisely what can be accomplished. History offers us no example of an expedition brought together and sailing under hostile guns. In no case has a fleet of the size deemed necessary for a successful descent upon the United States attempted to proceed in compact, thoroughly convoyed formation across the ocean, nor does anyone pretend to say what would be the effect of a mid-ocean attack upon the unity and *morale* of such an expeditionary force. No landing has yet been attempted in the face of opposing forces on land or sea, except at Gallipoli,[1] and no nation is likely to repeat the blunder. It is agreed that landing on a hostile coast is possible only when the landing force is protected by a naval force superior to that which the enemy can bring to the spot at the decisive moment of

[1] Gen. Ian Hamilton's report to Lord Kitchener. *The Official Gazette*, Jan. 6, 1916, quoted *New York Times*, Jan. 7, 1916.

landing, and that in long voyages if the battle fleet is defeated there is nothing for the transports to do but to return home. After considering all the improvements introduced by modern machinery, it remains true that a transport fleet is a body easily wounded and that a few hostile cruisers or torpedo boats could inflict on it incalculable damage. It is furthermore stated that to attempt to make an effective landing within range of considerable hostile garrisons or fortifications is impossible.

The testimony concerning expeditionary forces is generally treated under three heads, embarkation, the voyage, and landing. As to the first, it is clear that success depends on the skill and experience of the officers in charge and on the port facilities. Before one can fairly comprehend the immensity of the task, a word is necessary as to the number of ships of all kinds required for the expedition. Let us assume, as the writers generally do, an expeditionary force of 100,000 troops. No one pretends to say that it is feasible to transport these troops with their horses, field guns, equipment, and ammunition without providing a base of supply which must be carried along. Moreover, it is agreed that success in modern warfare demands the presence of siege guns, complete equipment for landing on an open shore; in fact, everything to support life for man and beast and keep each in fit fighting condition for a period of from five to thirty days after landing. Telfer-Smollett[1] of the English army estimates that 134 large steamers would be required to transport an army corps and a cavalry division (*i.e.*, 36,500 to 48,000 men and from 1,500 to 3,000 horses). According to this estimate,

[1] Telfer-Smollett, Lieut.-Col. C. E. D. The best method for carrying out the conjoint practice of the navy and army in embarkation and disembarkation for war. Journ. Roy. United Service Institution, v. 49, p. 353. London, 1905. Gold medal prize essay.

therefore, at least 270 ships would be needed for an assumed expeditionary force of 100,000 men and 6,000 horses.

One must make heavy drafts upon his imagination to picture a fleet of 270 troop-ships, to say nothing of the additional ships necessary for seige guns, ammunition, and base of supplies, and of the convoying battleships. The 134 ships alone anchored as near as is thought to be safe, viz., at intervals of 400 yards between ships, would form, as Telfer-Smollett says, "an enormous parallelogram 1½ miles wide and more than 3 miles deep . . . . marked out on the ocean by 134 steamers, helpless, unmovable, and crowded with soldiers, horses, and equipment." If this fleet should form in order four abreast, there would then be a line 33 ships long, that is, a parallelogram nearly one by eight miles in extent. But observe that 134 ships will bear only one-half the assumed expeditionary force of 100,000 men and that no account is here taken of the ships which must accompany the fleet.

To load and bring together such a fleet is nothing short of an herculean task. It cannot be accomplished from any one port because speed is of the utmost importance. At least half a dozen ports of departure must be cleared for action and made to contribute with clocklike precision to the composition of this mammoth flotilla. Moreover, the fleet must be brought together at a common meeting place. Care must be taken that no enemy is lurking about, otherwise there will be mortal injury to the enterprise at the outset. All agree that speed and surprise are important elements in the problem. The speed can be no faster than that of the slowest vessel and innumerable things may happen to disarrange the order and delay the voyage. Nor will it do to apply the old

maxim "divide and conquer." It is agreed that an expeditionary force must be kept together—that it is weakened and imperilled by attempting landings at different places. No, the journey must be made by the fleet as a single body enclosed as it were in the surrounding hulls of battleships. There must be ships of war enough to prepare the way and to act as convoy for the transports.

But if the task of loading appears herculean and the perils of the voyage extraordinary, what shall be said of the difficulties of landing? Of ships of all kinds, including battleships, there will be no less than 500. One writer, though not a military authority, places the figures as high as 900.[1] A dock is the best landing place, but obviously this cannot be had for the asking and the great ports are well protected by fortifications. Edelsheim[2] states that the fortifications of the great American trade harbors cannot be subdued without serious loss. The next best place of landing is stated to be a protected bay, but most of the historic landings have been necessarily made on an open coast, the least satisfactory of the three. Before a landing anywhere can be planned, it is necessary that the battleships of the invading force should clear the sea of enemy ships. Moreover, landing on an open coast will be greatly delayed if the weather be not propitious. Assuming, however, that the weather conditions are favorable, this mammoth fleet will, according to the military experts, approach the shore on the night before the intended landing. Obviously, it must be an extensive shore, for if we are to consider only the ships

[1] Jonathan A. Rawson, Jr. *New York Evening Post*, Oct. 4, and Nov. 20, 1915.

[2] Freiherr von Edelsheim. In the service of the German General Staff in 1901. Operationen Über See. Gray's translation, London, 1915.

bearing troops, horses, and such supplies as will be immediately necessary, we have discovered that 270 ships must be drawn up in order, no simple task on a sufficiently dark night when lights must be extinguished if there is to be the least element of surprise in the landing. It is estimated that the ships must not be more than four deep from the shore, otherwise the distance and the danger of collision of the passing transports between ship and shore would be excessive. But we will assume the difficult task to have been performed. On the morning of the next day then, there will be drawn up, say one mile from shore, 270 ships in four lines, each line 16 miles long. How many stretches of main shore 16 miles long, connected with strategic points have we?

The experts agree that an oversea expedition is a mammoth undertaking, is without parallel in experience, and that nothing but long-continued practice in times of peace conjointly between military and naval forces will render the undertaking anything but extremely hazardous. Admiral Fiske[1] urging a greater navy and army says that if the only kind of defense required is to prevent invasion, navies are hardly needed. Our dependence should then be, he says, on forts, mines, and submarines. As to the length of time of the expeditionary enterprise from its inception to the day of landing, it is variously estimated, the minimum being fourteen days. But this is only if Great Britain with her enormous tonnage were undertaking the task. The lowest estimate for any other nation is from 16 to 22 days,[2] provided weather conditions are perfect and there are no delays due to sea battles or the breaking down of machinery. Considered as a practical proposition,

[1] Rear Admiral Bradley A. Fiske, U. S. N. Naval Principles. *No. Am. Rev.*, Nov. 1915, p. 693.

[2] Army War College. Statement, *supra*.

the estimates vary from four to nine weeks. Edelsheim says: "If on the German side the preparations of the transport squadron and the landing begin as soon as the battle fleet is sent out, it can be assumed that in ordinary circumstances this corps will be in a position to begin operations on American soil after about four weeks."[1] As to the question of secrecy, it is agreed that there is very little chance of an expeditionary force sailing without knowledge of the fact.

One of the arguments advanced for a larger and more effectively organized military establishment is based on the proposition that the "use of raw troops" and "want of expansive organization, adequate for every emergency"[2] prolongs war and is wasteful of men and treasure. Up to a certain point this is true. Our army and navy ought to be well organized and equipped, and economically maintained. But we ought not to have a larger military establishment than we need to police our country and defend our shores.[3] The so-called offensive-defensive military policy is certain to excite jealousy and is likely to provoke war. One great war is vastly more ruinous than many small ones. From the Declaration of Independence to 1880, we had one year of war for every three years of peace, but the total wastage during this period, including, of course, the enormous losses of the Civil War, was insignificant compared with the wastage of the present European war. And yet the least prepared of the European nations was better prepared from a military point of view than our forces were at the beginning of any of our wars.

[1] Operationen Über See. *Supra*, p. 102.

[2] Bvt.-Maj.-Gen. Emory Upton, U. S. A. The Military Policy of the United States, p. viii, Washington, 1912.

[3] Cf. Sec'y of War (U. S.). Annual Report, 1914, pp. 4, 5.

Another argument advanced for an increased military establishment is that "the safeguard of isolation no longer exists."[1] The statement is startling and most important if true. The reason advanced by the War College for this statement is that the oceans are now easy avenues of approach by reason of the number, speed, and carrying capacity of ocean-going vessels. But the United States also shares in this advantage. If the ocean can be crossed more quickly by enemy ships of greater tonnage, our greater ships can come as swiftly to the point of attack. The submarine, the aeroplane, and the wireless telegraph are as helpful to us as to the enemy. To base our building program upon that of other nations is to put ourselves in the vicious circle of naval competition and to commit ourselves to a policy dictated by Europe and absurdly inapplicable from a political point of view to our needs. I for one, am not ready to accept the dictum of our War College that "the use of any part of the high-sea fleet for local defence . . . . is a misuse of naval power."[2] It may indeed "defeat the chief object of the navy" as maintained by the War College, but we are less concerned to accommodate ourselves to the wishes of the navy than to insist that the navy carry out our policy of defence. What that policy shall be is not yet determined. If the Congress of these United States, after due deliberation, decides to adopt the war policy of Europe and at all hazards secure and maintain control of the high seas as recommended by the War College division of our General Staff Corps, then and then only will we be warranted in entering into competition with European governments in the building of navies. If this calamitous program should be adopted, then indeed our navy must be made "free to

[1] War College Statement. *Supra*, p. 8.
[2] War College Statement. *Supra*, p. 9.

take the offensive promptly," but in that event we can no longer complain of the aggressive-defensive policy of any nation under the sun. We will then have committed ourselves to the dismal belief that war is the natural state of man and peace a foolish dream. Adequate defense of our coasts doubtless calls for battleships, but it calls especially for swift-sailing vessels and submarines. We have great soldiers and noble-hearted men in our army and navy, but it is not for them to determine our policy at this crisis. What this policy shall be is closely knit up with the second phase of our main question, namely, political preparedness.

II

The first question which confronts us here is this:—Are we likely to be drawn into war with one of the European powers in the near future through the infraction of the Monroe Doctrine, or of some other right which we conceive to be essential to us as a sovereign people? Those who answer this affirmatively and therefore urge military preparedness on a scale hitherto unknown in the United States must adopt one of two hypotheses—either that the world will continue to be actuated by motives with which we are familiar, or that there will be a profound change away from inclinations to peace to the militaristic type exemplified by Rome and the Middle Ages. To those who adopt the latter premise I have little to say. It is based upon an assumption unsupported by reason. It is unreasonable because it leaves out of account the appeal to self-interest. Nothing the belligerents have done in the present war warrants the assumption. The invasions of Belgium, France, and Russia by the Germans and the occupation of Greek territory by the Entente Allies, have

been in each case in response to what the invaders *believed* to be military necessity. Whatever view we may take of the argument from necessity, it is at any rate based on reason and not on lust of conquest. We do not yet know what the result of the campaign in and about Salonika will be, but it is to be observed that the forces of Austria and Bulgaria have halted outside the Greek border, while the forces of the Allies have entrenched themselves at Salonika. If reports from Vienna are to be believed, Salonika has ceased to be regarded as of strategic value. The Austro-Bulgarian forces appear to be content to keep the way open from Vienna to Constantinople and to allow the forces of the Allies to maintain their expensive base at Salonika. The circumstances may change at any moment, but the failure of the Austro-Bulgarians to pursue their retreating enemy over the Greek frontier is evidence of the continued existence of motives with which military men and modern governments are familiar.

In a lecture recently delivered at Williams College, Professor T. C. Smith, after reviewing the history of the several wars in which the United States has been involved, said: "Since the formation of our Republic, then, it is a safe conclusion to draw that neither England, France, Italy nor Spain has sought war with us. They have tried even under difficult circumstances to conduct themselves so as to avoid pushing us beyond the danger line, just as we, on our side, have acted with similar discretion. It was only when a naval and commercial war was under way and England and France were deeply involved, with their fighting blood up, that their behaviour was persisted in against our protests until we lost patience. The two newer powers, Japan and Germany, so far as their record goes, have displayed an identical disposition. Of course there has been an abundance of bad language and of

threats besides ill-will and contempt. From the literature, newspapers, and parliamentary speeches in these countries one might easily gather a great collection of anti-American utterances, and from such anthology draw the conclusion that an irrepressible antagonism existed between our country and each of the others. But dislike and speculative imaginings regarding world-rivalries are worth nothing as historical evidence of national policy when placed against the actual performances of states. One of the most vicious historical fallacies is to credit such utterances with any importance when they are not actually carried out in deeds. The plain fact that Japan, for instance, has uniformly behaved with dignity and restraint, regardless of the grievance created by the legislation of California, outweighs any amount of conjectural antagonism on the part of the Japanese people and state, in defining Japanese policy."[1]

The Mexican crisis of 1866 has been cited recently to prove the wisdom of military preparedness. It is said that Napoleon III yielded to our demand that French troops be withdrawn from Mexico because then, for the only time in our history, we were prepared with an army of 1,500,000 veterans trained by four years of war. It is true that Grant and others of our military group wished to fight. Seward did not. Like the present administration, he adopted a policy of progressive firmness and patience. He also was called weak and pusillanimous, but his policy won the victory. How little our military preparedness had to do with the result is shown by the sequence of events. On May 1, 1865, we had 1,052,038 veterans under arms. Then we began to disband. On November 6 of that year, when we refused to recognize the Maximillian government, about 800,000 had been

[1] Faculty Lectures. Series 1915-16. Nov. 30, 1915.

sent home. On April 3, 1866, when France agreed to withdraw her troops from Mexico, not more than 80,000 men were left in our army. June 30, 1866, the army numbered only 42,000. But the crisis of the affair was not reached until November, five months later, when "the volunteer army of the Civil War had practically ceased to exist."[1]

"If history teaches anything and if analogies are of any value," to quote Professor Smith again, "one is warranted in concluding that the United States is not yet in any greater danger of war than it has been many times in the past, and that while the possibility of a crisis arising over European war methods exists, the two sides have shown what can at worst be termed a willingness to avoid war with this country. If we fight we shall do it because we see fit, not because war is forced upon us."

Under what circumstances will Europe seek a cause of war with the United States? If we possess or claim the right to possess or control that which Europe needs, and if we refuse to grant Europe's demands, a cause of war will be discovered. What is it that each of the nations now at war will need most of the Western Hemisphere after peace is established? In the first place, each will look for trade connections. Nowhere will this need be more satisfactorily met than in the Americas. Europe will turn to the west for trade as an exhausted man turns to food. The man will fight for food and Europe for trade if necessary. But it will not be necessary for Europe to fight. Trade is reciprocal. When each party has something the other wants exchanges follow. In the second place, each of the nations now at war will seek to establish friendly relations with as many other nations as possible, for each will advocate some policy of international law

[1] J. H. Rhodes. Hist. of the U. S., v 5, chap. xxvi.

which will seem to it vital and which it will try to have established. For this reason, also, our friendship will be desired. Each belligerent at the present time dislikes us in proportion to our refusal to permit practices favorable to its mode of warfare, but contrary to international law. But none will allow this dislike to stand in the way of its ultimate need. We ought, therefore, to prepare to satisfy these reciprocal, commercial, and political needs. No one except the ultra-pacifists will deny that in so far as our army and navy are below their normal equipment and condition they should be brought up to fullest efficiency. If we have an army and navy, let them be adequate to our needs. My quarrel is with those who fail to see that our needs are also Europe's needs and, being blind, would scare us into the adoption of a foolish policy. To over-develop in any direction is to weaken ourselves. If Europe's need is to trade with us, then we ought to prepare for a great increase in our foreign trade. Anything which hinders development in that direction is unwise. We think ourselves philanthropic when we send food and clothing to needy non-combatants abroad. We shall perform an equally worthy service if, after the war, we open our markets to the reviving commerce of Europe. Under these circumstances, political preparedness demands that we find a way to adjust international differences by the reciprocal method. This method emphasizes national duties and international rights. We are concerned in a common welfare that includes all nations. Such a method of adjusting international differences is proposed by the League to Enforce Peace. Any organization which looks merely to our own national welfare advocates a mistaken policy unsuited to the times and inimical to the existence of the ties which bind the people of the several nations together. The League to Enforce

Peace postpones force to arbitration, but it insists that its decrees shall be carried out. This is the essence of free government. It calls upon us in case of need to join in enforcing its decrees, but it does not impose upon us the necessity of supporting a military establishment in excess of what we decide to be necessary for our needs.

The essential feature of every reciprocal arrangement is trustworthiness and freedom from suspicion. If the United States adopts a policy contrary to the spirit of the proposed reciprocal arrangement, or which arouses distrust, it will imperil the arrangement from its inception. We cannot reverse our attitude toward standing armies and big navies without at least exciting the suspicions of Europe. It will make little difference on what ground we base our program. Europe will see in the departure from our traditional policy a menace that will move the nations to greater military activity. Moreover, we must not fail to consider the effect of this departure upon our institutions of government. If we admit the principle of military competition with Europe, we must reject an important principle of democracy or fail miserably in the competition. Democracies are by their nature unable to compete successfully with autocratically governed countries in the conduct of war. Of this the framers of our Constitution were well aware and therefore provided machinery whereby, in the event of war, the President of the United States may become military dictator. Do not misunderstand me. Democracies have waged great wars, but they have done it wastefully and have succeeded only when they have evolved themselves for the time being into something not democratic. The departure advocated by the enthusiasts for a big army and navy is not for a season but permanently. We must be big and we must stay big. That is the burden of their vocif-

erations. What I urge upon you to believe is that if this is to be done it is folly to attempt longer to maintain our democratic institutions. If necessity dictates that we enter into competition with European states in the maintenance of great army and navy establishments, then wisdom demands that we adopt as permanent machinery of government that which under our Constitution was intended for emergencies only; in other words, that we put our liberties in commission and clothe our President with autocratic powers and surround him with expert military advisers. Do we wish to do so? It is a question which deserves our most serious consideration. But it is impossible to answer it wisely until we first decide upon a national policy. Is the Congress now sitting prepared to adopt a policy, and, if so, are we prepared to stand back of Congress? The Monroe Doctrine is the only great principle affecting international relations that has received much consideration, and concerning its nature and scope there is diversity of opinion. New questions are emerging—the freedom of the seas—government manufacture and control of munitions of war—Pan-Americanism—the rights of neutrals. How do we stand on these questions? Ought we to strengthen our coast defences, provide ourselves with mine-laying ships and swift-sailing torpedo boats, or ought we to follow the advice of the experts who tell us that the battleship is "the primary or paramount type" of a fleet? Preparedness of the right kind is the result of a long process. It calls for years of training not alone in the science and art of war, not even primarily in that branch of human activity. The sword is the surgeon's knife, and war an operation on the diseased condition of civilization. That which lies back of military preparedness and which is a condition precedent to its achievement is the training of school and

college. It is found in the business and professional schools. It is vitalized by the dynamic power of religious teaching and experience. It is developed by learning how to subordinate self-interest to the common welfare. This brings us to the third phase of our question, namely, social preparedness.

III

We are beginning to understand that the victories of the present war are due to social and civic preparedness quite as much as to military preparedness. A nation cannot be strong whose citizens in large proportion are indigent or enfeebled in body, mind, or will. No nation can make effective use of its naval and military forces whose citizens are not both ready and able to devote their best powers to the improvement of social conditions. To this end we greatly need, first, to learn the meaning of thoroughness in training, whether in the workshop or the school.

"Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control
These three alone lead life to sovereign power."

Then, being well trained, we need to learn the art of cooperation—in meeting emergencies, in the harder task of overcoming conditions adverse to the development of our less fortunate fellows, and in the still more difficult task of building up community life, for this calls for great devotion to ideals and exertion of force of will. Nor would I limit this by a narrow patriotism. It is true that activities are limited by environment. Men must labor for the community in which they find themselves. But their aim should be to strengthen the community—that is, to improve the living conditions of all the unfortunate members of the community, in order that the community may in its turn add strength to the state. But the state—one's country—is not the end. The state must in turn

make its contribution to the family of nations to the end that the lot of men everywhere may be ameliorated. We begin with man and we work back to man. Communities and states are but instrumentalities to an end. The end is *useful* service to mankind.

But you will say, this is pure altruism. What has it to do with the stern and terrible reality of war? Everything. The condition in which England finds herself to-day is proof enough of it. As Lloyd George is reported to have said, England's worst enemy at the present time is drink. So long as Englishmen are unwilling to sacrifice personal liberties to the common weal, they will by so much weaken their power to overcome the common enemy. But we need not point the moral by comments upon a sister nation. We, too, resent what we are pleased to call infringement of our personal rights. Sumptuary laws, even when the object is clearly for the public welfare, are considered intolerable. This is strikingly evidenced by the attitude of many temperance-loving people toward liquor-traffic regulation. They abhor the saloon, but they cannot bring themselves to legislate against it. They apparently include among the "unalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," the right of intoxication. If we were all of one mind concerning the necessity of military preparedness on a large scale, it would still be true that selfishness in the name of Liberty plays too large a part in our national life to promise effective results. Political parties are preparing to make capital out of the present crisis. Manufacturers in many instances are unwilling to sacrifice profits to the betterment of the social conditions of their employees, to say nothing of the subtile influence of the manufacture of munitions upon the opinions of men concerning peace and war. Fears and prejudices are played upon to put through pro-

grams involving vast expenditures for military purposes. If success attends these efforts, the crushing weight of the financial burden will probably fall most heavily upon those least able to bear it.

Were it necessary, every American would be willing to bear his share of the burden of war, but is he ready, has he shown himself ready to bear his share of the burdens of social preparedness? In view of the fact that there is time for deliberation, is it not the part of wisdom and true patriotism to pause, to look before we leap? The crowd demands hasty action. Not all are unselfish. The pressure on Congress and the President is well-nigh overwhelming. Let us as reasonable men urge upon the attention of our representatives in state and nation the impressive duty of social preparedness. Meanwhile, Congress may wisely bring our army up to its full quota and provide for such increase as will enable us to discharge our trust in the Philippines and elsewhere without unduly weakening our forces at home. The training camps, established two years before the outbreak of the war, afford opportunity for the reasonable training of our young men. The strengthening of our fortifications and the construction of coast defense vessels of suitable type will, with our present navy, protect us against the possible danger of invasion.

Preparedness in every department of civic and social life is our greatest present need. We shall not be prepared until we have driven out illiteracy and reduced to a minimum the waste of incompetence, of accident, sickness, and unemployment, and have learned the art of governing ourselves wisely and economically. A people so trained will know when to build battleships and equip armies and when not to do so. They will not listen to selfish ambition nor be moved by false pride nor take counsel of fear.

World Peace Foundation

(*International School of Peace*)



Mrs. Anna Sturges Duryea's

Addresses
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Address
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II

The Midnight Cry

by

Rt. Rev. David H. Greer, D.D.

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The Midnight Cry

A Sermon Preached by the Rt. Rev. David H. Greer, Bishop of New York, in the Cathedral, on October 4.

"At midnight there was a cry made, Behold, the Bridegroom cometh; go ye out to meet him."—St. Matt. xxv. 6.

The parable to which these words belong, whatever else it teaches, pictures in vivid form what seems to be a law or method of human progress. It is this: Not only that good comes out of evil, which is a matter of common or not uncommon observation, but that it often comes, the very greatest good out of the very worst and blackest form of evil, when the evil is so great, so terrible and so appalling, when it is midnight, and the lamps have gone out, and it is dark, very dark, and men's hearts are failing them for fear, because in the darkness they have lost their way, then it is that the cry is heard—"Behold the Bridegroom cometh; go ye out to meet him!"

Let us make that thought our theme "The Midnight Cry." And first I remark, that when the evil comes, the overwhelming evil, or the great calamity falls, crushing out our courage and blotting out our hope, for ourselves and for our race—standing in those ruins, in their very midst, and with an experience of them, then it is that something like a feeling of despair is apt to come and touch and take possession of us and like a heavy mantle wrap its darkening folds about us. What is the use of trying to hold fast and hard, through struggling toil and sacrifice, to some ideal life? Why not let it go? What is the use of trying to make the world better, to lift it up to a higher plane of thought, feeling and action; to lift it up to the law of love as the law of human life? What is the use? What are all our efforts worth? What do they amount to, when we seem to make not only so little progress but at times no progress at all? Or when in a

moment something comes, to break, to shatter, to scatter, all our hopes and plans and all our best attempts. It is indeed a midnight time in human life, and some of the noblest natures in the annals of mankind, the purest and the best, have had experience of it. It is in fact only they, or chiefly they, who have known and felt it. Not those who seem to get on in this world so well and so contentedly without God, but those who cannot get on without Him, to whom life without God has no value and no meaning, and yet from whom at times God has seemed to hide Himself and to be so far away and so indifferent to them. In various ways has this experience come to them; when in the confusion, the bewilderment, the desolating darkness of some great personal suffering or loss, when some sharp sword has pierced them to the quick, some hard and heavy blow has felled them to the earth, and they cannot see or feel or find their way to God in Whom they had before so implicitly believed. Or when some high and holy aim, some great and worthy cause to which they had committed themselves and for which they had labored, and which, as the cause of God, they felt must surely win, has failed and been defeated, and God does not seem to care; as though there were no God!

And yet, while this is true, how often is it also true that it was in the darkness of that midnight hour, not in the joy and beauty of a brilliant noonday of prosperity and peace, but in that midnight darkness, when all reality seemed to be blotted out, when God Himself for a time seemed to be blotted out, that then the voice was heard, sounding through the darkness—"Behold, the Bridegroom cometh; go ye out to meet him!" And they did go out; they went and found and knew Him then as they had never known Him before, and with a stronger faith in Him and a richer experience of Him and a deeper devotion to Him they entered into the joy of His fellowship and His service in the world. We have read and studied to little purpose the Christian experience of the past if we have not seen that lesson taught and have not learned that truth.

There is one particular application of this which is in all our minds to-day, and which I wish to make. Many Christian people have the belief, the conviction, that war is not in accord with the spirit of Jesus Christ or the tenor of His teaching. Some of His words perhaps when wrested from their context seem to warrant or justify the use at times of the sword, and yet when His teaching is taken as a whole, and especially when interpreted not only by His Life, but also by His Death, the whole sublime story of His Passion and His Cross, it can hardly be disputed that the teaching of Jesus Christ, however impracticable, unworkable or Utopian it may seem, does not in itself give approval to war. That at least is the opinion of very many of us, that the kingdom of Jesus Christ is not only a kingdom on the earth of peace but a kingdom to be established by peaceful means and methods. And with that conviction deeply rooted in us we have wrought and labored for peace; we have tried to promote it—Peace and Goodwill among the nations of the earth, and had seemed of late to make some good and hopeful progress. A strong peace sentiment was created or evoked and very widely spread, so much so indeed that congresses and parliaments, kaisers, kings and statesmen recognized and felt it. Peace societies were formed, peace treaties were made, peace tribunals created, and arbitral courts established in the interests of peace. It seemed indeed as though the Golden Age had come, or was about to come. War was to be hereafter the remotest of contingencies; for was not the whole world armed to prevent it? Paganism had vanished from the Christian civilization; barbarism had gone; and the international fighting code, like the duel code, if not dead was dying, and the dawn of peace had come. Poets, preachers, prophets, and even politicians were singing and proclaiming its swift and sure advance:

"The dawn, the dawn is on the wing,
The stir of change on every side,
Unsignalled as the approach of spring,
Invincible as the hawthorn tide."

Yes, so we dreamed, we hoped, we ventured to believe. Then suddenly, in a moment, almost in the twinkling of an eye, the most colossal war in the history of the world was on. The world was amazed and dazed. It was unbelievable that it should be so, and yet so it was. It seemed as though the midday sun had been suddenly blotted out and that a midnight darkness had fallen on the earth. Or it seemed as though a comet had suddenly hit the earth and set it on fire, and that all its best possessions, all its finest treasures, its greatest and choicest values, its mental, moral and material achievements, so slowly labored and wrought, its art, its science, its culture, its philosophy, its religion, were being consumed in the flames. As an English correspondent, an author of repute, in writing to a London paper said: "The big stick of brutal force was suddenly thrust into the exquisite and delicate mechanism of civilization, and civilization stopped, stopped dead. Who bothers now, he asked, about pictures and books and literature and painting? Who cares now to hear what Bergson and Eucken think? We are back again in barbarism, in the age of sticks and stones!"

Yes, it is all true—pitiably true; but it is not the whole truth. It is the voice of pessimism and panic, and if it can sound no other note it would better sound none. If civilization is wrecked, Christendom destroyed, and Christianity has perished from off the face of the earth and all its fair ideals are forever gone, then quietly, calmly and courageously, still sticking to our colors, let us go down with them and make no fuss about it. But civilization is not wrecked, Christendom is not destroyed, Christianity is not dead. Something great and good, very great and very good, is coming from it all. We learn geology, says Emerson, the morning after earthquakes. It is a fearful price to pay, but human nature being what it is, and the orderings of the world being what they are, we have to pay the price. So from this great world-upheaval and convulsion, whose cracks are reaching out to distant lands and may reach our own, we shall see more clearly what are the real and true foundations of human life.

We shall see and learn, at a fearful price, at a fearful earthquake price, that the teachings of Jesus Christ are after all true, universally true, as the law that binds the stars and holds the planets is true, and that whatsoever is not built upon that law of truth will be just as surely if not just as speedily wrecked as any physical fabric not built on the law of gravitation. We shall see and learn more clearly that the way in which to overcome the evil of the world is not the way of slaughter and violence and war, or preparation for war in the interest of peace, but the way of Jesus Christ—the hard way, the heroic way, requiring more courage, far more courage and strength than simply to yield to the animal impulse in us. The way of Jesus Christ; the way of Him who said, I, if I be lifted up, what I teach and what I am, I will draw all men unto me. The way of Him who said, "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you; not as the *world* giveth give I unto you."

To some extent indeed the world has learned and learned to respect and obey this teaching of Jesus Christ, but chiefly (not altogether, for there is much Christian work and conduct in the world), but chiefly as something which is meant for private and personal use. It is looked upon, His teaching, His religion, as chiefly a closet affair, or as something by the way, like those little stations of the Cross which the traveler meets in the European mountains, very appealing and helpful for personal devotion and pietistic use, but when it comes to great world affairs and to the management of great world affairs, commercial, political, national and international, when it comes to diplomacy and statecraft, then the teaching of Jesus Christ, however good and admirable, yea, and however true, cannot be made to work. And so men have tried to work the world without it, and are learning now from experience, from a sad and bitter experience, that they cannot work the world successfully without it. Politicians are learning, statesmen are learning, at a great price—or must they learn it over again at a still greater price?—that Jesus Christ in His teaching, apart from all theological interpretation or

apprehension of Him as the Incarnate Son of God, as most of us, I presume, believe that He was, that Jesus Christ in His teaching was the wisest, sanest, safest and most practical statesman that has ever appeared on the scene of human affairs. But still men are saying, our rulers, our governors, our diplomatists are saying, the teaching of Jesus Christ is not practicable, is not workable on a large world scale and in large world affairs, and that to try to put it to work in the present state of the world would lead to very disturbing and perhaps disastrous consequences. To which it may be said with a threefold reply: First, that if it be true, *if it be true,* then we have nothing to do with consequences. Second, that the consequences might indeed be other and better than we think. And third, that they surely could not be worse than what to-day they are in working the world without the teaching of Jesus Christ. And so as the result of this great and costly experience, this terrible experience through which the world is passing, shall we not be made to see that what we had supposed to be right is a wrong-right, and that we must go back and correct our premise with a better and truer right, with that better and truer right which Jesus Christ declared to be the law of human life and of all human affairs? Or, reverting to the simile of the text—through all this midnight darkness, sounding in and through it all, the midnight cry is heard, "Behold, the Bridegroom cometh; arise, and trim your lamps, and go ye out to meet Him, to welcome and receive Him, and with a fixed resolve more implicitly to obey Him throughout the whole scope and compass of your lives."

That is the duty call and summons of the hour, this dark hour of international strife; not merely to determine or to try to determine by going far afield the responsibility for it, although that of course is an important question which in time must be determined and which in time will be determined, and which therefore, suspending for the present our judgment, we should leave to time to determine. That is not only wise and right and fair; it is also the observance of that neutrality which the President of this Nation has asked us to observe,

and which, out of loyalty to him in his hard and trying position, if for no other reason, we should observe. But apart from this it is a question, this question of the responsibility of others at a distance, whose tendency is to make us forget or ignore or fail at least to consider, to what extent we ourselves are responsible for it. If we in this professedly Christian nation had been doing our whole duty as a Christian people, not merely in teaching and preaching, or in listening or subscribing to, but in practising and obeying this religion of Jesus Christ, would there be any war in Europe to-day? But is that too much to ask of us, too much to expect of us? Possibly so. And yet it is the duty call and summons of the hour, the call which in this hour, this midnight hour, we hear —"Behold, the Bridegroom cometh!" It is not a time for despondency, it is not a time for despair, it is a time for resolute and hopeful action—"Behold, the Bridegroom cometh"; and confessing our sin and failure and that we have all slumbered and slept, but trimming now our lamps of faith and hope and love, let us go out to meet Him, that we may learn of Him to find and to walk in the way of love and peace; peace for ourselves, peace for the Church of God, peace for the fighting and warring nations; the way of love and peace. In the midnight darkness the cry is heard— "Behold, the Bridegroom cometh; go ye out to meet Him!"

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The Church
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International Peace

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THE CHURCH PEACE UNION

IV

Europe's War, America's Warning

by

Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, Ph.D.

THE CHURCH PEACE UNION

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The Church and International Peace

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Europe's War—America's Warning

By Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, Ph. D.

Secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. Trustee of the Church Peace Union, Member of the Continuation Committee of the World Alliance of the Churches for International Friendship.

"Two men went up into the temple to pray; the one a Pharisee, and the other a publican.

"The Pharisee stood and prayed thus with himself, God, I thank thee that I am not as other men are, extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even this publican.

"I fast twice in the week; I give tithes of all that I possess.

"And the publican, standing afar off, would not lift up so much as his eyes unto heaven, but smote upon his breast, saying, God be merciful to me a sinner.

"I tell you, this man went down to his house justified rather than the other; for every one that exalteth himself shall be abased; and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted."

One of the great beauties of nature is her mingling of things unlike each other, each serving the other's needs. The natural world is not like a scientific showcase or like a library of well-ordered books. This universal order, since the stars sang their morning song together, has been the blending of a multitude of things which, in our human knowledge of them, we have set apart.

Nature consists thus of unity in diversity. Her divided and subdivided kingdoms exist only in the thought of man. She is not like our human life, marked off into its political states with their boundaries and barriers. Her various systems pervade and penetrate each other. They live upon and by one another.

In our human order also, when we live its freest and most natural life, we do not gather ourselves together so much upon the basis of similarity as that of unlikeness. The family is the highest type of our mutual life and it is a bring-

ing together of the unlike and opposite. The gentle woman and the strong man, the little child and the great father, the brother and the sister. There are striking likenesses of feature and of temperament, but these are no more marked than the elements of unlikeness.

When, however, we pass out from this natural social order of God into the realm of our artificial human associations, we find that this divine law is everywhere perverted and repressed. In God's order it is the unity of unlikeness. Man's disposition is to bring together by similarities. The one completes the defect by some compensation and gives a real and final unity. The other takes one small portion, multiplies it by itself and issues in a system of inharmonious exaggerations, so that to him that hath much more is given, and from him that hath not is taken away even that which he hath.

Thus it has been the tendency of our human blindness and error to unite the like and to separate the unlike. We have largely ordered the world, not in complementary groups, but by a cold analysis into classes, so that each man, instead of living in the world, lives within his own little class. Here he finds his own ways of doing things repeated; his particular tastes are met, the limited judgments of his little mind are conformed to, and his words stand for wisdom among those who speak like him.

Thus our human society has been largely formed after the classification of a schoolhouse rather than like the organism of a family. Test this by the population of the city in which we live, by its rigid segregation of race and station. Witness it in our commercial life, with the barons of industry about the hotel table, while the sons of toil meet in their dingy hall. Apply it to the professions, to the calling of the ministry, and note how we classify men; and to our churches, in which we often say: "Our church does not have that class of people."

It is true that this principle is not altogether bad. It would not be bad at all if it were not carried too far. Our

deep mutual sympathies uplift us in common and invigorate the will and purpose. The trouble is that in proceeding along the lines of these classifications we have depreciated the finer graces of human life and have impaired its affections, so that everywhere upon the face of its sympathy is written the commercial title "limited."

In it there is more of self-will than of pity, more of the law of the survival of the fittest than of Jesus' larger law by which the strong are to sustain the weak.

Our tendency has gone all too far to find our equals and to associate with them; the weak with the weak, the strong with the strong, rich with rich, poor with poor, the cultured with the cultured, the uncultured with the uncultured, the wise together with the wise, and the ignorant with the ignorant.

We not only do this, but with a still lower aim and motive we like to talk with those who think as we do and who applaud our knowledge. We read the books that meet our tastes or justify our opinions and confirm our ideas and conceptions. We go to hear the preachers who echo our own notions and the tenor of whose words is to confirm us in our self-satisfaction. We resent those who stand over in contrast to us and again and again we assume the contemptuous attitude of faithless Scribes, "These people that know not the law which I know are accursed."

Thus we fall into a dwarfing egoism. We become, in our self-satisfaction, very near to the classic man who talked to himself, as he said, first because he liked to talk to a sensible man, and second because he liked to hear a sensible man talk. Our little narrow world reflects our little narrow self, or at best the class in which we have been disposed.

We have thus destroyed the family idea of nature and have substituted for it a well-ordered set of classes with the poor dullards to keep misery company, while the brilliant shine in their mutually reflected splendor and become, unknown to themselves, a society for mutual admiration. The result is that life has fallen largely into the order of the

survival of the fittest; to him that hath is given, from him that hath not is taken away; the weak become weaker and the strong stronger.

The great commotion in the social order of our day and generation is the effort to change this current which, in national life, takes the form of a self-deceptive patriotism, into the splendid order of democracy. In Europe, the main division is by nations; in America, by classes.

Each of these nations is fighting, in *others,* the very sins which it has itself committed. Each is fighting now a foe without, because each failed to fight her foe within. The seeds of this sin have been nurtured many years.

More than one nation had by newspaper and by its literature, contemplated this holocaust, sometimes with criminal levity. Each was unwilling it should come, but not enough unwilling. Even now it is talked of by more than one, with appalling complacency, as a more or less permanent event.

All have, in varying degree, either talked or acted an imperialism, and each has constantly increased the suspicions of the other. Men of all these nations had helped it to come by perpetually reminding themselves and the others that it was "bound to come." The national snobs were not of one nation alone. And in the final judgment, while the guilt for certain immediate acts may rest more heavily on one or two, they will all admit their share of guilt, and on no other assumption can we hope for justice at that judgment. And one thing had been absolutely neglected by each and all, although if anything stands out as the clear verdict of history, it is that no nation was ever killed by guns and powder, but that all who have gone down have died of injuries internal. Our statesmen, some of them, are telling us that Europe's war is America's warning; that we must get ready and that our readiness must be very much like that of Europe's nations; that we must do the very things that they for thirty years have done. They tell us that our chiefest need and our most permanent defense and our lasting security is a battle-

ship, which costs millions of dollars and takes years to build. but which can be blown to the four winds with a little torpedo that can be made in a day or two and costs a few dollars. But I want to approach it from another viewpoint, and put the warning in a different light. They say that we must get more guns and ships and shells. I want to point out a different kind of armament. They are dealing with one set of forces. I will try to deal with another. And one thing I admit, we must have either theirs or mine. Our nation must have forces either material or moral, and the only question is—which shall they be? It is either God or mammon, for no nation can serve two masters.

The duty of the hour for us is to understand the deeper meaning of the hour's deeds, to discover how they may be the means of ultimate regeneration, to seek how we may build the new Jerusalem, the holy city, upon the ashes of the old; and most of all to ask ourselves what should be our own state of mind and condition of heart at this moment, when the world has lost its way, and the civilization of centuries seems to be under the very curse of God. Our first duty is not to condemn the world, but to find out how it may come again to life and have it more abundantly than before.

For let us forget it not, far above this, another battle is being fought, one of whose armies may with right and truth appeal to God. Let us rise out of this conflict into the higher one, which is not against flesh and blood, but against the spiritual hosts of wickedness within the heavenly places of our own souls, the battle of eternal and ultimate realities and ideals.

Our President's call for prayer on the fourth of last October is said to have made the deepest moral impression in Europe of anything that has occurred during these past weary months. Had he, however, contented himself with upbraiding the nations of Europe, or had he reproached them for their folly, it would probably have had the opposite effect. Perhaps the moral power of his utterance was in that portion in which he besought us to humble ourselves and confess our

sins, for the great part to be played by the United States of America in the near future would be impossible were we to take a patronizing attitude toward our brethren across the sea, or to express our satisfaction with ourselves. It will, therefore, be wise and well, instead of lamenting the national misdeeds of others, to make this the solemn occasion when we turn our eyes inward and seek in an inviolable solitude of our national personality to stand face to face with the divine reality, and having judged our brothers, if we so must, proceed then to judge ourselves.

We read the utterances of Europe's university professors, and especially those of representative religious leaders, with unspeakable sadness, because they are filled with bitterness and scorn, with reproach and contempt for those who only a few short weeks ago were their brethren beloved. It shocks our moral sense and we lose, for the moment, our faith in human nature. But we must not forget that these brethren are not expressing themselves to us at this moment. We do not see their real hearts. Their utterances must not be taken at anywhere near their face value. They bespeak little more than nerves overwrought and minds illusioned. And who can tell; might not we ourselves be like them were our situation such as theirs? The best thing for us to do is to make this primarily a day of national introspection.

The blame is universal. We have all assented to a so-called balance of power, equipoised upon a sword, with bullets in the scale for weights. We have all agreed to secret alliances other than for reason and justice. We all share the peril of the sword because we have taken the sword. The differences are in degree and not in principle and kind.

It is becoming clear to us that with the piling up of armaments which invite conflict, and in which we have shared as well as others, the civilized world to-day has two alternatives. It is either all war or no war at all. The Atlantic and the Pacific have become very narrow, and we are by no means immune from this alternative.

The conflict in Europe was no mere accident. The ultimate causes of her woe are selfish ambitions, material competition, unfair advantages, suspicions, the doctrine that might makes the only right, the confusion of moral with physical power, the ruthless law of the survival of the fittest; in all which the militarists have been ably supported by the intellectuals and the aristocrats of the old world. It all goes back into history; its causes are remote and ultimate. It arises out of a false philosophy of human life, a false conception of racial relationships, and a false view of human progress.

Are we free from the danger of these ultimate causes? Is our inward social order, which corresponds so largely to that of Europe, as a whole permeated by an elevating philosophy of human life? Have we yet solved, by moral processes, the problem of racial relationships? Is our moral progress altogether according to the preaching of Jesus and the prophets? Are we, in our social life, seeking to save life by losing it? Are we dominated by the higher law of the survival of the fittest for the sake of the unfit? Do we throb with the pulses of what Baroness von Suttner has so beautifully called the international heart?

Even suppose we grant that, because of our newer and fairer opportunity, we are approaching nearer to it than the other nations; let us not forget that the nations of Europe are suffering, not only because of their immediate sins, but because of their past records. Admit, even that some one of these nations is primarily at fault, how about the past conquests of the others? But let us pursue the historical method further. How about our method of the past? All human progress must be construed and interpreted in relative terms, and with our larger opportunity, our more favored conditions, if we were not infinitely better than the other nations we should be infinitely worse.

The shadow at least of a world conflict is yet upon us. It was only a little far back that we were on the verge of a contest that might perhaps have become an Armageddon.

Have we, as a nation, been free from responsibility for the exploitation of the poor people of Mexico? Have we cause to wonder because they do not trust us and have little confidence in our good intentions? The peoples of the Far East have had occasion to exercise great patience with us, and they have been very forbearing. We have sent others to them than our missionaries. Our present treatment of Japan is irritating to her national sense of honor, and our inadequate methods for the protection of the aliens who are in our midst, and who have as much right in our midst as did our own fathers, are things to give us pause and cause the native hue of a self-glorying satisfaction to become sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought.

Are the militarists of America, at least relatively speaking, very much better than any other militarists? Ask our President to tell you of the war lobby at his office doors a few short months ago clamoring for an attitude to Mexico that might have wrought incalculable ruin. And would not more than one of them, in the same environment, be readily transformed into a Bernhardi, and are not some of our intellectuals little better than a Treitschke or a Delbruck?

Let us turn our eyes inward and deal with ourselves. We have the sad story of that same militarism, only in another form, in Colorado, whose violation of law and order bears sad resemblance to the breaking of international law and order across the sea and which is due to the same inherent cause.

We are by no means free from a false and boasting patriotism. Our people have by no means caught the splendid spirit of Mazzini's eighteenth century appeal from the "rights of man" to the "duties of humanity." What would our people do were the occasions great? God only knows.

But, above all, witness the resemblance of our internal class consciousness and conceit and contrast it, if it can be really contrasted, with the setting over against each other of race and nation across the Atlantic. Does ours not bear sad witness to the philosophy of a Friedrich Nietzsche?

Our hearts sink at the failure of one great philosopher

and teacher of the old world to apply the splendid idealism which he has set before us on the printed page and because he now tells us that the relations between races can only be adjusted by conflict and subjugation, which is another way of telling us that his own idealism was a foolish dream. But have we not any scholars who under the same stress and strain would go astray and would readily limit their idealism within national bounds?

We are amazed at the recklessness and the mad presumption witnessed in the violation of neutral protection, and yet one of our own states is at this moment in danger of seeking the same narrow, false self-interest so that our Federal government, as our Secretary of State regretfully admits, is powerless to insure the inviolability of its own sacred treaties, and that state and its people say they will not wait, because the issue is self-preservation.

Our saddest thought has been that *Christians* should be at war, and that they should support so false a patriotism. Is not this animated by the same individual experiences as those of our own Christians selfishly living within their own class limits, expressing their own class consciousness, giving vent, if not to class hatred, at least to class contempt? Have our Christians in the United States of America ever witnessed clearly Peter's vision that God is no respecter of persons? It is sad indeed to witness in Europe race antagonism and race contempt crushing out Christian sympathy and love, but have we within our borders a brotherhood and sisterhood which constitutes a divine democracy? I think it was a German philosopher who once uttered the beautiful thought that religion was reverence for inferior beings. Have we attained that height of thought in our estimate of other states and races?

We clearly recognize that no peace can come to Europe unless it be the peace that comes from justice, but yet within our own land thousands upon thousands of our people live in a continuously armed truce and we have here a social and industrial order still awaiting the peace of justice.

Just as the mills and factories of Europe are turning out weapons of hatred and destruction, so our mills are manufacturing hatred in human hearts and our mines hide deep in the earth, an injustice which is being transformed into ill-suppressed violence. What I am trying to remind myself is this—that the same malevolent forces, the same ultimate causes, the same specious philosophies, the same insane expedients are at work with us as those which on a larger scale are wrecking Europe.

Perhaps the chief of all causes of every kind of warfare is the desire for mastery, the lust for domination. We have that same thing except that it exists between classes instead of between nations. Across the sea there has been for many years a process of unification of nations with its intensification of prejudice which have now set nation over against nation in deadly array. We have the same phenomenon between classes in our midst, and the bombs beneath the seats of our judges are premonitions of a greater danger to us than any that may await us from without.

Another cause of the world conflict is the rise of submerged peoples, and we have here submerged peoples by thousands struggling for air and light and freedom of opportunity. If you think this is not so, read a few of the papers and magazines published by our organizations of labor, not to mention some others, and then read the magazines published by our industrial manufacturers.

We have the sad spectacle of the nations of Europe calling upon their tribal gods, each nation trying to think of itself in relation to its god. We are not far from that same individualistic class creation of deities. Great masses of our people are looking for their uplifting toward a revolution, and it is largely caused by the way in which our rich flaunt their riches in the face of the poor and emphasize the wide gulf between Dives at his table and Lazarus at the gate.

The real prophets in Europe have been for many years warning the nations of their mad materialism. We have the same insidious foe of social progress among us, and it exists

not only in high places but also among the lowly, for to worship the Mammon that other men possess is no better than to worship that which we possess ourselves.

The conflicting, or seemingly conflicting interests over there have engendered and nurtured these hatreds. We have the same supposititious conflict intensifying the same hatreds. Read, if you will, the recent address of the president of the National Manufacturers' Association, or the report just from the press of the president of the great mining company, and then read with them, at the same time, the record of the same events by those who are arrayed in conflict against them. Remember that these are not isolated instances, that these men are the mouthpieces of great classes and masses of mankind upon whose mutual relations our national life depends.

The over-sea pronouncements about nations crushing each other sound very much as though they might have been made at a dinner of a great association of manufacturers held recently, or at a gathering in some dingy hall of their open foes in the world of industry.

We have built up deliberate and powerful organizations, legitimate when limited to the purposes for which they primarily exist, but in fact devoted to the destruction of other movements and bodies of men, equally to be sanctioned in their original intent, upon a class basis, and a class hatred as clear cut as the shameful breach between the striving nations; and then as the issue of this, other great bodies of men and women, so frantic in their sense of despair that they become industrial premillennialists and are agreed that the whole social structure must be destroyed by dynamite and arson.

These warring classes are as ignorant of each other and each other's inmost thought as any nations divided by a great wall of China.

It is said that one nation over there is attempting to convey its culture by force, but these utterances, whether or not they represent that nation, do not sound unlike some of those giving expression to our superimposed philanthropy

as a substitute for human freedom and divine justice. It is said that one of these nations proclaims itself as the divine custodian of God's blessings for the world, and this sounds very much like the familiar phrases of some of our leaders of industry who go farther than to talk about what they call their own business and talk about a benevolent, paternalistic feudalism which denies the democracy of the Hebrew prophet and the Christian Messiah; and I suppose if any of the preachers in Europe had interposed they would have been told to keep close to their own business of preaching the Gospel. Just as the militarists of Europe declare the pacifists to be mild but dangerous fanatics, so again and again before our face our prophets of God's new social order are put to shame.

It seems to me that the same principalities, the same powers, the same rulers of the darkness of this world are at work in one continent as in the other, in one between its nations, in the other between its classes.

The poor people of Europe have been betrayed, both by their lords and by their own social leaders just as, under the same haggard philosophy, our working men, misguided by feudal protectors, or by their own false leaders, are often, like Jesus, crucified between two thieves. And I am not sure but what the waste and want by war is under the same specious philosophy as the waste of strike and lock-out which are now almost daily occurrences with us. And we have the discouraging attempt of aspiring but misguided creatures, seeking to destroy the social plague by burning down their own houses, because we have not shown them any better way of doing.

It is clear to men of vision that the old international order of Europe is absolutely broken down, and that a new order must take its place, but this is no clearer than that the governing powers of our internal social life have failed and that a new order must surely be brought about either by the transforming power of a great gospel or else must rise from out the ashes of the old.

And the new order must come, both here and there, by the same great spiritual transformation, the appeal of a higher imaginative pity, the conservation of human heritages, the unwillingness that even one of these little ones should perish and above all by diverting all that is high and holy in the fighting spirit of man by setting before the eyes of men the great moral equivalents of war, so that mankind's scarlet sins themselves may be as white as snow and their now crimson conflicts shall be as white as wool, as they shall, instead of fighting each other, fight for each other, the moral battles of our humanity against disease, injustice, inhumanity, and every subtle foe of our common human progress. For we have not yet even tested, except in a very timid way, what this newer humanitarianism may do to bring forth heroism, courage and endurance, and the very wrath of man may yet be made by God to praise him; for even now, down in their hearts, as Ruskin declared, men worship the soldier, not because he goes forth to slay, but to be slain.

We wonder at the powerlessness of the Christian institutions of Europe, with the helpless Pope and the Protestant church caught up in the maelstrom of a false patriotism, and yet within these past few months, in Colorado and in Michigan, in the cities of Lawrence and Paterson, we have had witness of the same helpless church and synagogue. Just as the church in Europe is futile because it is bound to the state which determines its social institutions, so the church in the United States is fettered to a false and passing social status. As the church in Europe is divided by its racial hatreds, so the church in the United States has as yet failed to demonstrate the reality of any racial brotherhood. As the church in Europe is divided among itself, so in our own land, with our disintegrated religious forces, problems of social justice have been looking to us with beseeching voice, and we have found ourselves obliged to face them, or worse still, to shun them with shame upon our faces and with a bewildered consciousness, our spiritual authority not equal to our human sympathy, because it is so sadly divided.

Remember that I am given the restricted task of presenting only one side of the picture. Thank God there are great forces for social righteousness; we have the beginnings of a great revival of the church and of religion in new and splendid terms, and the church will dare, so I profoundly believe, to appear as a leader and to express her spiritual authority in our midst.

But let us not fail to remember that we are to reckon with the same demoniac forces as those which have ruined Europe. Let us profit by the sad example and learn as a nation not to ask God to be on our side, but to pray with Lincoln that we may be found upon the side of God. Let us not forget that we as a nation must purge ourselves in order that we may be ready to take the great part to which God and our age are about to call us. Our age and generation call for a solemn, searching, fearless utterance of solemn, searching, and fearful truths.

The prophet is to proclaim the full fatherhood of God, a God who rules His household with the unwavering hand of justice and with a heart of love. Thus the invocation of the Heavens for divine justice and the cry of an Infinite affection meet and mingle with every human cry that rises upward for human justice or of human suffering. A true father will not let his children hurt each other either by malice or neglect, and he does not love the strong child better than he does the weak.

We need a deeper and more tormenting sense of sin, a profounder consciousness of the eternal truth, that a sin, whether of indifference or intent, against our brother or our sister is an offense against an outraged and righteously indignant God, that social morals and personal religion are one and inseparable, now and forever, that God is not a seller of indulgences at any price.

The third article of our message is the absolute certitude of judgment. Shall not God avenge those whose cries come up to Him, day and night? Yea, speedily He will avenge them.

The final message is redemption, the redemption of the individual in the world, and through Him of the world itself, and there is no redemption of either without the redemption of the other.

The Gospel is emasculated, the pulpit is superfluous, the church of the living God goes out of existence, when the truths of the Gospel, the vocabulary of the preacher, and the constitution of the church no longer contain the words *God, Sin, Judgment and Redemption,* and they are gigantic and capacious words, belonging to a vocabulary that can interpret the whole universe of right and wrong, both individual and social. They are applicable to every problem in God's world. The greatest prophet of the Old Testament, without one hesitating utterance or deviating line, declared that the protection and peace of Israel, in her international relations, were to be secured only when within her own borders oppression ceased and justice found its way to the abode of her children, and not until then could the sword be beaten into the ploughshare.

Oh, if the nations of Europe had only thought less about their foes without and more about their foes within. We blame them because they are not democratic either in form or in fact, but perhaps there is still greater danger to the nation that has the form without the fact; that raises hopes before its people which it does not enable them to realize, and ideals before the world, which it sadly fails to demonstrate within itself.

Perhaps it is worse, if with our confessions and our creeds of national brotherhood, denying class and repudiating distinctions of race and color and previous condition, declaring that there be no potentate and no serf, disclaiming rank and title, we content ourselves with form without the living fact. Ours is as yet a bewildered and confused democracy.

The nations are still suspicious of us. Japan has an attitude of watchful waiting as to whether or not we are a just people. China has her alternate hope and doubt, and is mercurial in her temper toward us. The little nations to the

south are not quite sure of us, and the most hopeful sign of this day and generation was that three of them did try us once and did not find us wanting.

We need to arm ourselves against them; yes, but we shall do it best by disarming them of their doubts and their lingering suspicions. Confidence, as every man of business will tell us in the relations of our trade and commerce, is the only ultimate security of the relations between nations. The unselfish return of China's indemnity was worth at least one battleship to this nation.

Justice is our noblest armor, but our only pledge for the nations of our justice to them is that of our internal justice between our own peoples.

The new patriotism will begin to transform the world when one nation makes her own people see that to love one people truly is to love all peoples, and that the loss of a nation's honor is infinitely worse than the loss of land, and that her service to other nations is the measure of her greatness.

Mexico is really waiting to see if we shall disclaim and repudiate, and perhaps bring her exploiters to the mind of Zaccheus, and whether we shall send into her midst the messengers of light. And now the eyes of the whole world are on us. It does not yet know whether our democracy is real or specious, and whether the whited sepulchres without are inwardly filled with dead men's bones. The eyes of God are on us. At this moment the vineyard is in our possession and it is ours to say whether or not, in us, the parable shall be fulfilled. But if our own house only can be set in order, we shall, under the hand of God, become the world's messiah. By self-discipline alone is moral domination won and the surest way to protect ourselves without is to purify ourselves within. And the Hebrew Scriptures had a word for the saving remnant, the Servant of Jehovah, who were to save Israel and through whom Israel was to save the world, and it was a word which implied humility and meekness.

The world has not yet fully tested the power of emula-

tion, and when it has, it has been the emulation of armaments and battleships, the creative powers of death rather than of life. It has been tried a little. Japan has shown at least the possibilities of the response of a nation to examples of moral as well as economic progress.

And now, when all else has broken down and the darkness about them is so dense that the light cannot be mistaken, let the nations see in us a national greatness that rests on the power of our ideals, whose domination is that of moral power, which can weld together divergent powers and peoples in her midst by mutual interest and affection, whose people have equal rights and justice because the strong help the weak, whose patriotism is that of duty and service rather than of rights and privilege, a nation that will rather suffer wrong than do a wrong, and they will see the power of moral conquest, then shall they see that they have "spent their strength for nought and vanity," that they have been "sold for nought," but may be "redeemed without money."

Thus shall the Lord "make bare his holy arm in the eyes of all the nations and all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of our God." Thus shall we enlarge, stretching forth the curtains of our habitations, lengthen our cords and strengthen our stakes, spread abroad on the right hand and on the left, our seed shall possess the nations and make the desolate cities to be inhabited. The nations shall come to our light and kings to the brightness of our rising.

During these latter days I have been accused of holding a flimsy faltering patriotism and have received some letters full of satire and of scorn. But is it so, is the patriot who wants to love his country because she is the protector of the weak as well as the possessor of her own strength, a home for the oppressed, guardian of the others' liberties, as well as the protector of her own, is he a weakling or a traitor?

And so

"The tumult and the shouting dies,
The captains and the kings depart;
Still stands thine ancient sacrifice;
An humble and a contrite heart."

But

"If drunk with sight of power, we loose
Wild tongues that have not Thee in awe;
Such boasting as the Gentiles use,
Or lesser breeds without the Law;
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget."

Thus may we fulfill the prophecy of the Quaker poet:

"Thy great world-lesson all shall learn,
The nations in thy school shall sit,
Earth's farthest mountain tops shall burn
With watch-fires from thy own uplit."

Dear friends, let us think well of all our misguided brethren over the sea, led as lambs to the slaughter, for even though we may deem them stricken; smitten and afflicted of God, let us not forget—that they bear our griefs and carry our sorrows, that they are wounded for our transgressions, are bruised for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace is upon them; and that by their stripes we may be healed.

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The Church
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THE CHURCH PEACE UNION

V

The Way to Disarm: A Practical Proposal

by

Hamilton Holt

THE CHURCH PEACE UNION

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can govern human beings are reason and force—law and war. If we do not have the one we must have the other.

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

At present international law has reached the same state of development that private law reached in the tenth century. Professor T. J. Lawrence (in his essay The Evolution of Peace) distinguishes four stages in the evolution of private law:

1. Kinship is the sole bond; revenge and retaliation are unchecked, there being no authority whatever.

2. Organization is found an advantage and tribes under a chief subdue undisciplined hordes. The right of private vengeance within the tribe is regulated but not forbidden.

3. Courts of justice exist side by side with a limited right of vengeance.

4. Private war is abolished, all disputes being settled by the courts.

It is evident that in international relations we are entering into the third stage, because the nations have already

created an international tribunal which exists side by side with the right of self-redress or war.

LIKE THE AMERICAN CONFEDERATION

Furthermore, a careful study of the formation of the thirteen American colonies from separate states into our present compact Union discloses the fact that the nations to-day are in the same stage of development that the American colonies were about the time of their first confederation. As the United States came into existence by the establishment of the Articles of Confederation and the Continental Congress, so the "United Nations" came into existence by the establishment of The Hague Court and the recurring Hague Conferences; The Hague Court being the promise of the Supreme Court of the world and The Hague Conferences being the prophecy of the parliament of man. We may look with confidence, therefore, to a future in which the world will have an established court with jurisdiction over all questions, self-governing conferences with power to legislate on all affairs of common concern, and an executive power of some form to carry on the decrees of both. To deny this is to ignore all the analogies of private law and the whole trend of the world's political history since the Declaration of Independence. As Secretary of State Knox said not long ago:

"We have reached a point when it is evident that the future holds in store a time when war shall cease, when the nations of the world shall realize a federation as real and vital as that now subsisting between the component parts of a single state."

It would be difficult to recall a more far-visioned statement than this emanating from the chancellery of a great state. It means nothing less than that the age-long dreams of the poets, the prophets and the philosophers have at last entered the realms of practical statesmanship.

But now the Great War has come upon us. "When the storm is spent and the desolation is complete; when the flower of the manhood of Europe has past into eternal night; when

famine and pestilence have taken their tithe of childhood and age," will then the exhausted and beggared that live on be able to undertake the task of establishing that World Government which the historian Freeman has called "the most finished and the most artificial production of political ingenuity"?

THE HAGUE OR THE LEAGUE OF PEACE

If it can be done at all it can only be done in one of two ways.

First. By building on the foundations already laid at The Hague, the Federation of the World.

Second. By establishing a great Confederation or League of Peace, composed of those few nations who through political evolution or the suffering of war have at last seen the light and are ready here and now to disarm.

It is obvious that the time is scarcely ripe for voluntary and universal disarmament by joint agreement. There are too many medieval-minded nations still in existence. The Federation of the World must still be a dream for many years to come.

The immediate establishment of a League of Peace, however, would in fact constitute a first step toward world federation and does not offer insuperable difficulties. The idea of a League of Peace is not novel. All federal governments and confederations of governments, both ancient and modern, are essentially leagues of peace, even though they may have functions to perform which often lead directly to war.

The ancient Achaian League of Greece, the Confederation of Swiss Cantons, the United Provinces of The Netherlands, the United States of America, and the Commonwealth of Australia are the most nearly perfect systems of federated governments known to history. Less significant, but none the less interesting to students of government, are the Latin League of thirty cities, the Hanseatic League, the Holy Alliance, and in modern times, the German Confederation. Even the recent Concert of Europe was a more or less inchoate

League of Peace. The ancient leagues, as well as the modern confederations, have generally been unions of offense and defense. They stood ready, if they did not actually propose, to use their common forces to compel outside states to obey their will. Thus they were as frequently leagues of oppression as leagues of peace.

THE PROBLEM OF FORCE

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

As is usual in cases of this kind the shield has two sides. The confusion has arisen from a failure to recognize the threefold function of force:

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

Police force is almost wholly good.

Offense is almost wholly bad.

Defense is a necessary evil, and exists simply to neutralize force employed for aggression.

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

The chief problem then of a League of Peace is this: Shall the members of the League "not only keep the peace themselves, but prevent by force if necessary its being broken by others," as ex-President Roosevelt suggested in his Nobel Peace Address delivered at Christiania, May 5, 1910? Or

shall its force be exercised only within its membership and thus be on the side of law and order and never on the side of arbitrary will or tyranny? Or shall it never be used at all? Whichever one of these conceptions finally prevails the Great War has conclusively demonstrated that as long as War Lords exist defensive force must be maintained. Hence the League must be prepared to use force against any nations which will not forswear force. Nevertheless a formula must be devised for disarmament. For unless it is a law of nature that war is to consume all the fruits of progress disarmament some how and some way must take place. How then can the maintenance of a force for defense and police power be reconciled with the theory of disarmament?

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE LEAGUE

In this way: Let the League of Peace be formed on the following five principles:

First. The nations of the League shall mutually agree to respect and guarantee the territory and sovereignty of each other.

Second. All questions that cannot be settled by diplomacy shall be arbitrated.

Third. The nations of the League shall provide a periodical assembly to make all rules to become law unless vetoed by a nation within a stated period.

Fourth. The nations shall disarm to the point where the combined forces of the League shall be a certain per cent higher than those of the most heavily armed nation or alliance outside of the League. Detailed rules for this pro rata disarmament shall be formulated by the Assembly.

Fifth. Any member of the League shall have the right to withdraw on due notice, or may be expelled by the unanimous vote of the others.

The advantages that a nation would gain in becoming a member of such a league are manifest. The risk of war would be eliminated within the League. Obviously the only things that are vital to a nation are its land and its independ-

ence. Since each nation in the League will have pledged itself to respect and guarantee the territory and the sovereignty of every other, a refusal to do so will logically lead to compulsion by the other members of the League or expulsion from the League. Thus every vital question will be automatically reserved from both war and arbitration while good faith lasts. All other questions are of secondary importance and can readily be arbitrated.

By the establishment of a periodical assembly a method would be devised whereby the members of the League could develop their common intercourse and interests as far and as fast as they could unanimously agree upon ways and means. As any law could be vetoed by a single nation, no nation could have any fear that it would be coerced against its will by a majority vote of the other nations. By such an assembly the League might in time agree to reduce tariffs and postal rates and in a thousand other ways promote commerce and comity among its members.

As a final safeguard against coercion by the other members of the League, each member will have the right of secession on due notice. This would prevent civil war within the League. The right of expulsion by the majority will prevent one nation by its veto power indefinitely blocking all progress of the League.

THE SCRAP OF PAPER

But it will be said that all these agreements will have no binding effect in a crisis. A covenant is a mere "scrap of paper" whose provisions will be violated by the first nation which fancies it is its interest to do so. In order to show that their faith is backed up by deeds, however, the nations on entering the League agree to disarm to a little above the danger point. This is the real proof of their conversion to the peace idea.

It will be noticed that no attempt is made to define how the force of the League shall be exerted. This is left for the decision of the Assembly of the League. The suggestion that

"the nation shall disarm to the point where the combined forces of the League shall be a certain per cent higher than those of the most heavily armed nation or alliance outside the League," implies that the forces of the League shall be used for the neutralization of the aggressive force of nations outside the League—that is, for defense. But shall not the force of the League be also used as police power, that is, aggressively to maintain international law and order? A League with power to exert its will without any constitutional limitations might easily become a League of Oppression. It would have the right to be judge and sheriff in its own cause, a violation of the first principles of justice.

It would not be over-sanguine to expect that the Assembly of the League would vote that the armaments of the League should be brought into regular and concerted action for compelling obedience to the judicial decisions of the Court of the League both among members of the League and those outside who have agreed to this method of settling their disputes. It may even be anticipated that the force of the League will be used to assist one of the members of the League in a controversy with a nation outside the League that has not previously agreed to resort to arbitration and that refuses so to agree upon request. Such an agreement would tend to enthrone law and suppress arbitrary action. Entering a League with such a policy would not subject the United States to the necessity of waging war thru the erroneous action of its allies in an "entangling alliance," but only to extend the reign of law. This is the fundamental purpose of our Government and perhaps the United States is now ready to go thus far.

Thus the nations which join the League will enjoy all the economic and political advantages which come from mutual co-operation and the extension of international friendship and at the same time will be protected by an adequate force against the aggressive force of the greatest nation or alliance outside the League. The League therefore reconciles the demand of the pacifists for the limitation of armaments and eventual dis-

armament and the demand of the militarists for the protection that armament affords. Above all the establishment of such a league will give the liberal parties in the nations outside the League an issue on which they can attack their governments so as sooner or later to force them to apply to the League for membership. As each one enters there will be another pro rata reduction of the military forces of the League down to the armament of the next most powerful nation or alliance outside it; until finally the whole world is federated in a brotherhood of universal peace and armies and navies are reduced to an international police force.

This is the plan for a League of Peace. Is the hour about to strike when it can be realized? If only the United States, France and England would lead in its formation, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Argentina, Brazil, Chile and others might perhaps join. Even if Russia and Germany and Japan and Italy stayed out, the League would still be powerful and large enough to begin with every auspicious hope of success.

THE DESTINY OF THE UNITED STATES

It would seem to be the manifest destiny of the United States to lead in the establishment of such a league. The United States is the world in miniature. The United States is the greatest league of peace known to history. The United States is a demonstration to the world that all the races and peoples of the earth can live in peace under one form of government, and its chief value to civilization is a demonstration of what this form of government is.

Prior to the formation "of a more perfect union" our original thirteen states were united in a confederacy strikingly similar to that now proposed on an international scale. They were obliged by the articles of this confederacy to respect each other's territory and sovereignty, to arbitrate all questions among themselves, to assist each other against any foreign foe, not to engage in war unless called upon by the confederation to do so or actually invaded by a foreign foe,

and not to maintain armed forces in excess of the strength fixed for each state by all the states in congress assembled.

It is notable that security against aggression from states inside or outside the American Union accompanied the agreement to limit armaments. Thus danger of war and size of armaments were decreased contemporaneously.

It is also notable that from the birth of the Republic to this hour every President of the United States has advocated peace through justice. From the first great Virginian to the last great Virginian, all have abhorred what Thomas Jefferson called "the greatest scourge of mankind."

When the Great War is over and the United States is called upon to lead the nations in reconstructing a new order of civilization, why might not Woodrow Wilson do on a world scale something similar to what George Washington did on a continental scale?

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

A FEW COMMENTS ON MR. HOLT'S PROPOSAL

JOHN BASSETT MOORE

Formerly Councillor of the Department of State

The utmost space that could be allotted to a mere comment on your editorial, "The Way to Disarm: A Practical Proposal," would not suffice for the expression of a full and reasoned opinion upon that very interesting and able paper. The tendency and general objective are altogether commendable; the principle is sound. It is possible, however, that some of the passages in your argument may be interpreted more broadly than perhaps was intended.

You remark:

"Peace follows justice, justice follows law, law follows political organization .... The world has already achieved peace thru justice, law and political organization in hamlets, towns, cities, states and even in the forty-six sovereign civilized nations of the world. .... The peace problem, then, is nothing but the problem of finding ways and means of doing *between* the nations what has already been done *within* the nations."

If this means that political organization and the regular administration of justice have, by creating legal peace within the state, diminished the use of violence and tended to prevent war, we all must concur; but, if we are asked to go farther, and to assume that the imposition upon nations of a central authority or their entrance into a league will, besides creating legal peace, efficaciously assure the maintenance of actual peace, we ought, before answering, to reckon with certain obvious facts. Altho municipal law furnishes within the state the most ample safeguards of organization, conditions not of legal but of actual warfare, such as the killing of men, the destruction of property and the prostration of legal administration, now and then disturb our hamlets, towns, cities and states. In reality, when we come to consider war and

peace, we are brought face to face with the sober fact that the tendency of large masses of men (as lately illustrated, shall we say, in the progressive community of Colorado and the ancient community of Ulster?) to oppose the law, whether because they believe it to be unjust, because they reject its official interpretation, or because they wish to effect some quick or radical change, is a human element of fundamental importance, which has caused civil wars to occur during the past century with remarkable frequency. Of these perhaps the most serious is that which befell our own "League of Peace"—a conflict generally believed to have been accelerated by a judicial decision and unquestionably precipitated at a moment when we had substantially neither army nor navy. Only last year we recognized with many congratulatory phrases the Republic of China, in whose origin and maintenance, just as in the case of many other revolutions, military force has been an appreciable factor. The same tendency or impulse of large masses of men to gain their ends by force likewise produces international wars.

No doubt one of the best assurances against the indulgence of this propensity is a regulated governmental control, and for this reason I applaud your advocacy of a practical step toward international federation for the attainment of that end, without intending, however, to countenance the supposition that we may slumber upon any contrivance, parliamentary, judicial or otherwise, municipal or international, as an all-sufficient safeguard against outbreaks of violence. In a small volume which I published two years ago I exprest my profound conviction, which reflection and subsequent events have served only to confirm, that questions of war and of peace must continue chiefly to depend "upon the cultivation of the spirit and habit of justice, of self-control, of reciprocal recognition of rights and of forbearence," and that "outside the state, just as within the state, peace will be permanently preserved only by carrying into our dealings one with another the sentiment of fraternity and the spirit of conciliation."

New York City.

David Starr Jordan

Chancellor of Leland Stanford Jr. University

I have read with great interest and sympathy Mr. Holt's proposition of a League of Peace against war and against armament. No one can tell what the future will bring, but it is not impossible that some such scheme will come within the range of practicable politics.

The people of the civilized world have been roughly divided into two classes, the Imperialists and the Democrats—those who believe that force is the foundation of government, and those who belive that the government should be a form of co-operation of the people concerned. Both classes are represented in every civilized nation, with a large residuum of a third class, those who take what comes and ask no questions, becoming thereby the allies or the tools of the first of these groups.

In the movement of history, the second class has grown steadily at the expense of the third, for popular education means democracy. The voice of the people is potent in the nations of western Europe, and it is supprest only for a time in the others.

In the imperial nations the man is, in theory, the chattel of the state. The existence and the righteousness of privilege is taken as a matter of course, for authority which does not spring from the people must arise thru privilege. If government rests on force as the expression of imperial will, this force must be measured in terms of armies. If armies are the foundations of government, they must be inherently righteous and their activities a necessary function of the state. The only function of an army is war. Hence a state founded on imperial will must be at war, active or passive, all the time.

Passive war is the threat of active war. By such threat, the will of the imperial state is enforced on all other states, which thru weakness, prudence or fear, may fail to assert themselves. And as the essential features of the imperial state is the absence of the checks and limitations, the con-

dition of war may be reached suddenly, almost automatically, if unexpected resistance should arise.

The philosophy of the imperial state has been in recent years brilliantly expounded by the historian, von Treitschke, and by his many recent echoes and dilutions. The resultant action finds recently cold-blooded exposition in General Von Bernhardi, and in hundreds of his colleagues in the propaganda of Pan-Germanism. The events of the last two months, from the attempted seizure of Servia to the desecration of Rheims, are all part of a program pre-arranged on the theory of the right of imperial overlordship, and of the expansion of Germanic culture thru the force of German military efficiency.

In the democratic nation, the government exists for the needs of the people concerned. The people possess the government and whatever machinery, temporary or permanent, the government may find necessary for its own continuation of security. A democracy cannot consistently make war, either active or passive war, except in self-defense, against the menace of uncontrolled neighbors. It cannot exult in war for war's sake, nor can it cringe before a special military caste, privileged above other citizens.

It is conceivable that, out of the havoc of the present war, there may arise conditions favorable for the establishment of a League of Peace. This hopeful possibility has been admirably stated by Mr. Holt. It is the duty of every friend of democracy to work for all movements which favor permanent peace.

There are many side currents in the present war, for no war was ever free—even at its inception—from selfish influences. But in its essence it has become a revolt against the rule of force, a rebellion against all divine right of kings or of armies, of all devices designed to uphold privilege against freedom and of personal will over law.

It was once said that our "Union could not endure half slave, half free." In like fashion, Europe could not exist half democracy, half autocracy; the divine rights of kings and

of armies, alongside of the diviner "right of man, the million trained to be free."

It is natural for the people who do not want war, neither active war nor passive war, to combine against those who do. Their formal union for peace may mark the beginning of the federation of Europe, for the benefit of Europe's own people. In such a federation Germany should be an honored member whenever the time shall come for the German people to take charge of the administration of Germany.

Stanford University

THEODORE MARBURG

Formerly United States Minister to Belgium

The world will be especially ripe for Mr. Holt's suggestion of a League of Peace after the present disastrous war. Unfortunately it seems that each generation must learn anew its lesson of war. After the present struggle so many lands will have had that bitter experience that we may naturally look for a long era of peace such as followed the protracted and widespread Napoleonic wars. But it is while the picture of this cataclysm is still throbbing in the minds of men that action should be had on the subject of setting up institutions which promise to make wars more difficult. Mr. Holt has aptly pointed out that "Peace follows justice, justice follows law and law follows political organization." It is therefore organization of various kinds for which the world should strive when this awful contest is stilled. His suggestion of a group of nations organized for peace might prove fruitful if the group in question should represent a combined power sufficient to overawe the lawlessly inclined.

When, after blocking in various ways the movement for the better organization of the society of nations, Germany disdainfully brushed aside Mr. Churchill's proposal for a "naval holiday," a suggestion which brought forth a resolution of hearty approval from the Congress of the United States and with which other powers sympathized, some of us began to

feel that perhaps the only way to stop militarism and the armament craze was for the rest of the world to combine against Germany and if necessary overthrow the system by overthrowing the bureaucracy and the military class of Germany. It is this task of putting down the law-breaker which England and her allies have now set themselves.

England saved Belgium in 1870 by notifying both France and Germany that she would take up arms against the country that violated Belgium's neutrality. When, in response to England's inquiry at the beginning of the present struggle, France declared her intention to respect that neutrality and Germany declined to do so, England declared war on Germany. Where would English honor be and where the chivalry of the world if Germany had been suffered to trample Belgium to death without a protest?

If we could secure a promise now from the allies, Great Britain, France, Russia, Japan, Belgium and Servia, to join a League of Peace, formed somewhat on the lines indicated by Mr. Holt, as a condition precedent to our doing what we ought to do anyway, namely, vent our righteous indignation at the way in which Germany has outraged Belgium and has trampled under foot the law of nations and the moral law alike, we should be accomplishing the double object of helping to crush militarism and of setting up an institution which might bring about a marked decline of war.

Are we not again at a turning point in history? and will it not be for good or accentuated evil accordingly as the right-minded nations see their duty?

Baltimore, Maryland

RICHARD OLNEY

Formerly Secretary of State

The disarmament required of the members of the suggested League of Peace must, I think, be a condition of the League's becoming operative at all. The parties to it will be nations armed and equipped for war against all enemies. Their

good faith as Leaguers should be evidenced by their simultaneous disarming as required by the provisions of the League. They can do so by disposing of all excessive armament, either to the League itself or in some other proper and effective method. They will do so, of course, only if first satisfied that their action will not imperil national safety.

By what process will they reach a conclusion on that point? They will no doubt give due effect to logic and theoretical reasoning. But the governing influence, I think, will be the practical results shown by the operation of that international League of Peace which in its nature and scope comes nearest to the proposed League. That League is found in the Constitution of the United States, a League universally deemed to be the best devised and the most important and successful of all similar leagues. It has been in operation for a century and a quarter. What is its record as a preventive of war? It did not prevent the war of secession, the longest and bloodiest of civil wars. On the other hand, but for the Constitution the history of this country since 1789 would probably have been a continuous chronicle of incessant wars.

But a Constitution, or international League of Peace, which, during 125 years has caused the parties to it to be at peace with one another with a single exception, has a right, even tho that exception be a momentous one, to be deemed a most powerful conservator of international peace. On the whole, therefore, the merit of your proposal is affirmed by the experience of the people of the United States under their national Constitution—not as being a certain preventive of war but as clearly tending in that direction. As compared with the League of Peace established by our national Constitution, a League embracing all the great powers of the world presents enormous difficulties. But enormous difficulties are not necessarily insuperable, and it is an additional merit of your proposal that, leaving the realm of mere aspirations and dreams, it presents something definite and tangible as a goal which the peace-lovers of all countries may unite in seeking to reach.

Boston, Massachusetts

JAMES GROVER MCDONALD

Assistant Professor of European History

May I express to you my complete agreement with your recent article, "The Way to Disarm"? The world should be made to see that the four steps in the evolution of private law, which have been so well pointed out by Professor Lawrence, have in a rudimentary manner been exactly paralleled in the development of international law. With this parallel in mind, public opinion will understand that international peace is not a hopeless ideal, but rather the natural result of a long development. With this understanding as a basis, pacifists should, following your lead, boldly advocate the creation of governmental machinery which will make possible the enforcement of peace among nations. Too much has been said and written about the horrors of war, too little has been done toward the working out of definite and tangible international institutions. Your suggestion for a League of Peace is an admirable example of the kind of constructive and positive suggestion which is so badly needed.

Indiana University.

PARK BENJAMIN

Author of "The History of the U. S. Naval Academy"

Mr. Holt's thesis seems to be that the time has gone by when any individual member of the family of nations should wield a military power equal to the aggregate military powers of at least any two other members, and that such preponderating power should hereafter be lodged in all the members unitedly or in a collection of as many of them as can be got to unite. In other words—to use current Wall Street slang—he wants to "syndicate the proposition." This is certainly constructive and should be the approved plan until somebody can suggest something better. From a military viewpoint, the syndicate scheme would be the most economical of all, since it would save the multiplication of enormously expensive ex-

periments, repeated over and over again by individual nations, and concentrate all into a series of crucial tests worked out to the end. Things like the present battleship, which are not true evolutionary products and which continue only by a sort of inertia, would very speedily be improved out of existence; and it would not be necessary, as now, to wait for a war to find out what is an effective weapon and what is not.

New York City.

CASPAR C. GOODRICH

Rear Admiral United States Navy, Retired

Some years ago, in *The Nineteenth Century and After,* I advocated in International Police, since back of all court judgments must be the strong arm of the state, something now lacking at The Hague. Your League of Peace offers a possible solution of the problem of how to raise and maintain such an International Police. I think you will find, in this case, that "Ce n'est que le premier pas qui coûte." Let three, say, of the greater powers become charter members and other powers, great and small, will hasten to join. Can you secure those three? There is the crux of the matter. I hope you can, for if you do, the trick will be turned.

Pomfret, Conn.

GEORGE A. PLIMPTON

President of Ginn & Company

The League of Peace seems to me an excellent suggestion. We must follow the trend of evolution. The fact that peace has been secured within individual countries warrants the belief that the next step will be peace between these countries, and the methods that have brought this internal peace must be adopted to obtain international peace. I do not think you exaggerate the importance of the part which the United States will play in the final solution of the problem. Our efforts will surely be disinterested.

New York City.

WILLIAM I. HULL

Author of "The Two Hague Conferences"

Mr. Holt's article renders two signal services to the discussion of the great problem of international peace. First—it emphasizes the fact of fundamental importance that it is primarily a *political* problem, namely, the organization of a world federation and the substitution of law for force. Second—it emphasizes the competitive increase of armaments as one of the prime causes of the present war, and proposes a concrete method of reducing national armaments to a minimum.

As to practical carrying out of the plan suggested by him, I would urge that the League shall be agreed upon by *all* of the nations of the third Hague Conference and shall go into effect when ratified by three-fourths of the governments represented at that conference. This amendment would be in line with the precedent set in the adoption of the United States Constitution, and would have the great advantage of being based upon the twentieth century principle of a world-wide agreement and not upon the principle of partial alliances which has caused so much trouble in the past and which is the other prime cause (together with the competitive increase in armaments) of the present war.

Swarthmore, Penn.

SAMUEL BOWLES

Editor of the Springfield Republican

I have read with interest, sympathy and approval your plan for an international League of Peace.

Springfield, Mass.

WILLIAM H. SHORT

Secretary of the New York Peace Society

I believe that your article will attract widespread and favorable attention. In those far off times before the begin-

ning of the Great War in August, 1914—far off as measured by the movement of thought on international affairs—we were told by those best acquainted with the governing classes of Europe, that such things as your article contains must not be said. We were assured that the nations of Europe were controlled by governing castes which did not want to hand over any of their perogatives to an international government. We were asked to draw a veil over the eyes of our seers and to curb the enthusiasm of our orators. We were assured that the unwillingness of Europe to have a meeting of the third Hague Peace Conference take place was due to the fact that they had been offended and had taken fright at the rash suggestions which had come to them from America looking toward the establishment of a world federation for peace. The diplomats were, no doubt, right at that time. A new situation, however, now exists, or will exist before the end of this awful war, in which projects hitherto impossible of accomplishment may prove to be within the realm of practical politics. We are, therefore, permitted to hope that at no distant day the nations may be ready to adopt the simple, practical and altogether desirable plan you propose for guaranteeing the possessions and the right of the justice-loving nations by means of a non-burdensome, non-militaristic, international police.

New York City.

JOHN L. HARRIS

President of the Board of Education

The able and timely editorial, "The Way to Disarm," has given new vigor to the peace movement and has again aroused to action many discouraged peace advocates.

Kelso, Wash.

Topeka State Journal

The proposal made by Mr. Holt is a distinctive and definite one, where generalities have been the order before, and one that merits the careful consideration of the peace protagonists. He has done a valuable service in its presentation.

New York Evening Post

That the world should go on, after the appalling experiences which it is now undergoing, upon the old basis of mere blind competition in preparedness for general destruction, is a prospect to which no thinking mind can reconcile itself. When the bloodshed and devastation come to an end, the best thought in every nation must be centered upon the possibilities of remedy. And it is not improbable that it will be along some such lines as those indicated by Mr. Holt that the remedy will be sought.

Christian Science Monitor

No doubt, like the federation of the colonies that shaped the first compact under which the United States began national existence, the looseness of such a league would in time force action that would insure a more closely knit world-state pledged to peace. The point to be noted now is that, as a result of the present war, statesmen and publicists in all countries begin to talk about the end of militarism and about making a peace for peace's sake, and on a basis that will make another great martial conflict impossible. An alliance to conserve world stability, commercial prosperity and national fraternity comes to be talked of as the successor of recent triple alliances and ententes. Mr. Holt is using his liberty as a thinker to get his plan before the public; and for his enterprise and zeal deserves praise.

St. Joseph News

In the Independent, Hamilton Holt has a suggestion for establishing permanent peace after the present European war shall have been ended.

One is reminded of Tennyson's dream in Locksley Hall of

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

However, it is of dreams that all progress comes and who can say that the "League of Peace" may not come to pass

some day. That it may, and soon, is the prayer of all Americans.

Pittsburgh Post

In The Independent, Hamilton Holt has a suggestion for Holt has an article entitled, "How to Disarm." It is worth serious attention now, and the time may arrive, after this war's grand settlement day, when the nations will be eager to accept in principle the ideas he advances.

Kansas City Star

Doubtless Mr. Holt's suggestion will be dismissed as "impractical" by many European statesmen—perhaps by most of them. But is there anything less "practical" than the work of the "practical" statesmen which has resulted in the catastrophe of the present war?

Syracuse Herald

If Mr. Holt's imaginary League of Peace had existed three months ago, and had embraced in its membership all the European powers, or the powers outside of the Triple Alliance, the war would have been an impossibility.

Wilmington Every Evening

Mr. Hamilton Holt, the able editor of The Independent, offers to the public a proposition of disarmament, as a prelude to abandonment of wars between nations .

Why not? It is evident from the bloody experiences that Europe has undergone during the past few years and is still groaning under, that modern war is a great slaughter, a tremendous destruction of property. It is admitted, also, that nations may, if they will, get along without resort to the arbitrament of cruel war.

Milwaukee Journal

When Mr. Holt or any other man proposes a plan for insuring world peace, he takes it out of the realm of visions

for the future and puts it up to us now as our responsibility. And history shows us that once such a question is really raised it does not down until it is settled and settled rightly.

Army and Navy Journal

Proceeding from certain false premises Mr. Holt naturally reaches mistaken conclusions and his scheme seems to us to go to the very limit of impracticability.

The Church Peace Union

(Founded by Andrew Carnegie)

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The Church
and
International Peace

A Series of Papers by the Trustees of

THE CHURCH PEACE UNION

VI

The Church's Mission as to War and Peace

by

Junius B. Remensnyder, D.D., LL.D.

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The Church's Mission as to War and Peace

JUNIUS B. REMENSNYDER, D.D., LL.D.

Church and State, with the Family, are held by sociological writers to be the pillars of society. Upon these rest all our social institutions. Each has indeed a distinct sphere. But their co-relations and interdependences are of the closest character. They mutually support one another. And when either one fails in its duty, violates its obligation to the other, then society is injured, deteriorates, and civilization comes to a standstill, or relapses toward barbarism.

It results therefore that Church and State, if not formally connected, as in Europe, still have *a vital organic relation.* The sphere of the Church is spiritual. Yet, in the discharge of this spiritual fashioning of the motives, aims and work of the souls entrusted to her care, it is the distinct duty of the Church to make good citizens, to inculcate a loyal support of the State. The Church has a responsibility to see to it that there be a *Christian* State. While she must avoid politics as such, yet her voice should be heard upon the moral aspect of public questions. And her testimony should ring out sharp and clear against policies which injure the public welfare, and trample upon the essential principles and maxims of morality and religion.

It is on these grounds that the Church has a special mission with respect to *war.* War is a resort to physical force to adjust the differences between nations. This method, as between individuals, the Church by its infusion of Christian ethics, has banished, as belonging to the sphere of barbarism. And none the less does the Church place war (as between nations) in the same category.

Now, at the present juncture, we find ourselves confronted by two ideals, in direct opposition. One is that of what we

may call the *the world-empire spirit.* The several races of men, separated partially by blood, by language, historical traditions and national boundaries, look upon each other as rivals, and seek the leadership, to one another's hurt, with a great ambition to wield the sceptre over the world. This aspiration and effort are held to develop the virile virtues of the race, and to call forth those energies which form the noblest type of manhood.

This ideal is set forth in the famous book of Treitschke, for many years the most popular of professors in Germany, instilling his theories into the youth of that country. And no less distinctly has it been urged in England by the distinguished Professor Cramb. To get a vivid conception of it I quote from the brilliant book of the latter:

"I have described the attitude of the youth of Germany, soldiers, students, professors, politicians, writers of books. Their position is clear. 'Are we to acquiesce,' they ask, 'in England's possession of one-fifth of the globe, with no title deeds, no claim except priority in robbery? Our greatest teachers so describe it.' With what thoughts are they to read the history and the literature of their country? If, from love of peace or dread of war, Germany submits, it would seem as if her great soldiers had fought in vain, as if the long roll of her battles had passed like an empty sound, as if the Great Elector and Frederick, Stein and Scharnhorst and Bismarck had schemed in vain, as if her thinkers had thought their thoughts and her poets had dreamed their dreams not less in vain. But if, on the other hand, Germany has not declined from her ancient valor the issue is certain, and a speedy issue.

"It is war.

"And if the dire event of a war with Germany—if it *is* a dire event—should ever occur, there shall be seen upon this earth of ours a conflict which, beyond all others, will recall that description of the great Greek wars:

> "'Heroes in battle with heroes,
> And above them the wrathful gods.'

And one can imagine the ancient, mighty deity of all the Teutonic kindred, throned above the clouds, looking serenely down upon that conflict, upon his favorite children, the English and the Germans, locked in a death struggle, smiling upon the heroism of that struggle, the heroism of the childern of Odin the War God!"

When such thoughts, so in harmony with that spirit of ambition, rivalry, and yearning for glory, inspiring the natural man—a reminiscence of the brute instinct—are inculcated in

such stirring phrases, shall we wonder that the slightest spark leads to a world-wide conflagration!

Opposed to this ideal, so largely ruling the State in all history, and unexpectedly coming to the front at present, as dominant in Europe, is the *Christian ideal*—that of the Church. The Church takes for its standard of moral authority the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. Here it finds the holy and perfect will of God, as expressed in precepts, statutes and ordinances. And here it finds that God "hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell upon the earth," that He is their "Father," and that as His children, they are to be brothers; that the dominant law of their mutual conduct is to be that of love; that selfishness is the bane of social life, and that it is to be resisted and overcome. And the great Teacher and Master, when He saw His disciples in a contention as to which should be the greatest in His kingdom, set them an example of humility by washing their feet, and then gave them this precept: "Let him that is chief among you, be as he that doth serve." So, in the Old Testament it is said of the Almighty One, as He looks down upon strife and confusion in the world: "He maketh *wars to cease* unto the end of the earth"; and, when the new Christian era is inaugurated, it is with the angelic song, "On earth, PEACE, good will to men."

Now it is clear as the light of the sun that there can be no agreement between these two ideals. They are as far apart, and as direct opposites, as the poles. One means Selfishness, the other Charity. One means Love, the other Hate. One means Peace, the other War. War is antagonistic to Christianity for many reasons, but chiefly on account of the ugly passions it excites, and the untold misery it inflicts, and that upon those almost wholly if not altogether innocent of bringing it about.

Imagination can easily enough conceive of the terrors of the field of battle. But having enlisted at his country's call, while a young student at college—to which he afterward returned—the writer would, to show how immeasurably

reality transcends imagination, give here a description of his personal experience and observation in one of the bloodiest fields of our civil war, viz. : Fredericksburg. It depicts a phase not often described, i. e., the field during the lull in a yet undecided battle.

Crossing the Rappahannock River, which lay between the town and the fortified Confederate lines, on a narrow, frail pontoon, it was a harrowing sight to see one's comrades torn from his side by the bursting shells from the enemy's heavy guns. Having ascended the river bank, we were on a level plain immediately in front of the rifle pits and earth-works, from which poured so deadly a hail of bullets that we could only escape death by falling flat on our faces, and as we lay there for hours, the air screamed with the hiss of millions of bullets so close to our heads, that to raise them a few inches meant certain death. At last the sun, which seemed to hang for an eternity a lurid red ball on the edge of the horizon, sank, and under cover of darkness we retired from the field. Utterly exhausted with marching, with intense excitement and hunger, we lay down to sleep.

And then it was that our senses awakened to such a sound as we never before had dreamed of, and as altogether beggared description. This came from the cries and shrieks of the wounded and dying on the field we had just left. It seemed to arise from a hundred thousand throats from one end of the field to the other. And infinitely awful it was! It was a concourse of all manner of horrible cries. Screams of agony that rent the very skies; appeals to God for pity and help; occasional shrieks, as if from pent-up, unbearable pain, rising louder than all the rest; and deep, bawling moans from those evidently made insane by suffering. Yet, discordant as were these wails and shrieks, their number and incessant continuity made them seem to blend into one great symphony of agonized sound—one mighty Niagara of woe and despair!

It was absolutely appalling. One might conjure up all the cruelities he had ever heard practiced by barbarous races,

or all that he had ever heard of the horrors of a physical hell, but this pandemonium of tortured cries surpassed them as reality exceeds imagination, as fact pales fiction.

And such are the pitiless rules of the undecided battle, that all these calls for help must be utterly disregarded. During the long winter night this wretched multitude must lie on the field with no tender hand to ease the aching head, no medical skill to staunch the life-blood's flow, no anaesthetic to relieve the intolerable pain, not even a drop of water to moisten the parched tongue or glazed throat.

As the writer lay there that weary, awful night, sleep banished from his eyes, with the consciousness that on the morrow the same fate might be his, these sounds and that scene were burned into the core of his memory like a hideous nightmare whose spectre will not down life-long.

And then and there he learned *a lesson as to war.* He was a Christian, and those deliberately inflicting upon one another these awful mutilations were men of a civilized land, fellow Americans, confessors of a religion whose basal tenet was brotherhood, disciples of a Master Whose maxim to His followers was: "Forgive your enemies," "Love one another," "Peace I leave with you."

And he received a lasting conviction that war between Christian peoples was utterly indefensible. And that, could statesmen and clergymen witness such a holocaust of horror, they would hesitate before making flaming call to arms, and would find terms of amicable and honorable adjustment.

But there are other horrors of war beside the actual sufferings of the field. These were vividly depicted by the trenchant pen of good old Dr. Samuel Johnson thus: "War has means of destruction more formidable than the cannon and sword. Of the thousands, tens and hundreds of thousands that perish, very small part ever feel the stroke of the enemy, the rest languish in tents and ships, amidst damps and putrefaction; pale, torpid, spiritless and helpless—gasping and groaning, unpitied among men, made obdurate by long continuance of hopeless misery; and are at last whelmed in pits,

or heaved into the ocean, without notice and without remembrance. By incommodious encampments and unwholesome stations, where courage is useless and enterprise impracticable, fleets are silently dispeopled, and armies sluggishly melted away."

And then there is the *Aftermath* of War, widows and orphans mourning for the non-returning husband and father, homes once bright and happy, now saddened and desolate, and burdened with crushing and grinding poverty. Then, the demoralization of young men, and the brutalizing influences in a bloody strife, which almost makes necessary all sorts of heartlessness and cruelty. What a derangement, too, and setback of religious work, missionary enterprise, and all forms of spiritual activity! Then Schiller's line sums up the result as to the deterioration of the quality of the male sex: "Always war devours the best." The very flower of the youth and those of middle-age go into the war at the beginning, and of these a large part die before the end. "This," as says Chancellor Jordan of Stanford University, in his late book on the Effects of War, "produces a change in the balance of society by reducing the percentage of the better types without a corresponding reduction of the less desirable types; a condition which is projected into the next generation because the inferiors live to have progeny and the others do not." After each war comes the paucity of genius, the failure of personal initiative, a great decadence in literature. War also costs millions for each day that it is carried on. This the present peoples are quite unable to pay. And so the burden is placed upon coming generations, who are so bowed down under oppressive taxes that they are practically slaves for centuries. The war debts of Europe now amount to the inconceivable amount of $30,000,000,000, and as long as war continues, go on increasing at the rate of $300,000,000 a month.

When war is thus considered in its manifold aspects of evil, misery, bitter passions and tragedies, can there be doubt as to where *the Church,* bearing the Gospel, and preaching

the spirit and imitation of her Lord, *should stand with regard to it?* The only question, then, is not as to her uncompromising attitude, but as to *how* she shall most effectually oppose, limit the destructive sphere, and cause the final overthrow of, this monster of barbarism.

First, by always and everywhere *bearing witness against it.* The Church is not true to her divine mission and message when she justifies the war conducted by her own country, while only condemning that of others. In the great European war we have the spectacle of each church declaring that her own nation is perfectly right in resorting to the barbaric method of war. The respective churches of England and Germany, for example, are supporting and issuing prayers for the bloody work of their armies, as if they could expect the blessing of the "very God of Peace" to rest upon them. The position of the Church should be, "Your cause may be absolutely just, but Christianity demands that you submit it to the arbitrament of the International Court of the Hague, and not seek to settle it by the brutal and unjust tribunal of force." If the churches of all the great warring nations united and stood firmly upon this basis, we feel sure that, seconded by the peoples themselves, who are bearing the awful results in personal and financial losses, the various rulers would shortly be compelled to establish peace.

The Church, further, will contribute most effectively to peace when she *exposes the real cause of war,* when she diagnoses truly the root of the disease. One of the most encouraging signs of the present, as indicating an advance in the influence of Christianity, is the appeal of the warring nations to Christendom for a favorable verdict. Each feels that it is a terrible crime in the esteem of civilization for the one who bears the responsibility of inciting the war. But the Church would make a fatal mistake if she adjudged one of the parties the prime aggressor, and ascribed all the blame to that individual nation alone. We rather agree with the explanation given by a distinguished statesman: "There is no ethical justification of this war from any standpoint. There

is only an explanation of the war from an economic standpoint. Let us thrust aside in these dark moments of peril and horror all subterfuge." That is, the true explanation of this war is to be traced to misgovernment, internal dissatisfaction, national rivalry, commercial jealousy, and the tempting vision of world-empire. That this general, selfish, worldly, non-Christian spirit, *common, more or less, to all the powers,* and not the specific aggressive act of one, is *the real cause of this horrid strife,* is shown by the fact that all these powers have been looking for it, have held it to be inevitable, have felt that the fire was rankling underneath the crust of European civilization, and that it was an altogether secondary matter, as to what would be the incidental occasion.

It is then this world-spirit, this carnal human heart, this generic selfishness and unbrotherly race antagonism, which is the cause of prejudice, bitterness and strife, culminating in war, at which the Church must direct her opposition. Only by exorcising it, and banishing it from the world's theatre, can there be peace.

And this can be done alone by the Church *preaching the Gospel.* Nothing more than the present unprecedented strife, with horrors more appalling than ever witnessed before, shows the mistake of diplomats, social philosophers, mere ethicists and rationalistic ministers, who think that this age has progressed beyond the teachings of Christianity. The historic Church has ever held with Paul that the human heart is "deceitful and desperately wicked," and that it needs to be radically changed into another personality before it can be truly Christian. The special mission of the Church is to effect this spiritual regeneration. Men speak of the present war as an evidence of the failure of Christianity. Quite the contrary, it only demonstrates that men are *not Christianized enough.* What they want is more of Christianity. Only when they put the Gospel to practice in their hearts and lives by becoming "new creatures in Christ Jesus," will they "learn war no more."

As writes a recent Biblical critic: "I was at first staggered by the recent events in Europe, but I quickly recovered myself as I thought that this barbaric display has been the result of a partially accepted Christianity. Then I turned to these volumes by Dr. MacLaren, and was reminded most impressively that, if we are to get rid forever of bloody militarism in Europe and merciless commercialism in America, it can only be by a careful, thought-out presentation of the Christian message which appeals at once to the conscience, the intellect, the emotions, and the will."

Finally, the Church, by not allowing her sacred mission to be embroiled with political and partisan views, can exercise a potent and most beneficent influence *for a righteous adjustment when there comes the framing of peace.* In this crisis, when each party is seeking the advantage, and when the conquering power is disposed to act in the spirit of selfish injustice, the danger is greatest. And as only that peace can be lasting which is equitable to all, then it is that the churches can be the agents of greatest usefulness.

Mr. Roosevelt is engaged in writing a series of articles in which he reproaches the advocates of peace in these words: "The weaklings who raise their shrill piping for a peace that shall consecrate successful wrong occupy a position quite as immoral as, and infinitely more contemptible than the position of the wrongdoers themselves." We believe that truer and broader-minded is the attitude of Mr. Carnegie, when in his late *Independent* article he said that the foundation for a world-peace court had been laid when, on September 5th, Great Britain, France and Russia had mutually agreed not to make peace separately and added:

"After the present belligerents agree upon peaceful settlement, Germany and Austria should be the first invited by the Allies to join in forming a league of peace."

It is just the present agitators for peace, and the churches who are preaching the Christian spirit of forbearance and brotherly love, who, when the terms of final adjustment are being discussed, will stand to the last for, and will be

the most potent factors of, a peace which will not be arbitrary, but just, not the voice of force, but that of righteousness, and therefore a durable one.

Such should be the attitude of the Christian Church toward the barbaric demon of war, and such the agencies which she employes to circumvent his overthrow. It is evident that all other agencies, political, ethical, social, cultural and commercial, have failed and ever will fail. War, in the past, has always driven men to the Church, and more than ever can the Church now, by fidelity to the Gospel, by energetically pressing her holy mission, win the confidence of mankind, and gather all nations under the banner of a world-wide brotherhood of peace, when we may say with Whittier:

"Lend, once again, that holy song a tongue
Which the glad angels of the Advent sung,
Their cradle-anthem for the Saviour's birth,
'Glory to God, and Peace unto the Earth.'
Through the mad discord send that calming word
Which wind and wave on wild Gennesareth heard,
Lift in Christ's name His CROSS against the SWORD."

The Church Peace Union

(*Founded by Andrew Carnegie*)

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The Peace Palace at The Hague: A Prophecy

By Rev. Frederick Lynch, D.D.

There it stands, majestic and beautiful, but its marble halls are silent and deserted. It was built to be the home of the nations, but the nations pass by its ever open doors. It fulfilled the hope of the centuries but that hope seems shattered to the dust. To its dedication all the nations came with their offerings, as of old they came to the birth of the Prince of Peace, bringing gold and precious woods and stones, and now they have deserted it. Its walls bear exquisite paintings of the reign of law, whereas all around it reigns fiercest, most savage war. From it was to have gone forth the law, but law has been silenced by the din of lawless strife. There it stands, sublime hall of justice, home of lasting peace, capital of the new world—while justice is forgotten, the angel of peace is trodden under foot, and the nations have turned their faces from that new world which only a few months ago seemed dawning.

There the Palace stands—waiting, but no one comes. All over the world men are asking, was it a delusion, a vain dream, an idle hope? Was it not simply a munificent testimony to an unfounded optimism, a fantastic vision, an impossible faith, an impracticable ideal, in the heart of its great donor? This is what many are telling us to-day. From England, Germany and America have recently come three books, one from each land, deriding all those beautiful hopes of which the Palace is eloquent symbol. Not only are the dreams of peace vain, but the ways of peace are undesirable, they say. In all countries the Palace has been the subject of the cartoonist. A favorite picture has been that of the building fallen into ruins, and he who conceived it and reared it, sitting despondent among its broken pillars. "A palace of impossible faith and shattered dreams" men are calling it, "a temple to an ideal too high for man." "I hope Mr. Carnegie is considering some *practical* disposition of his Peace Palace," said an army officer to us in Europe the other day.

To all of which we answer *wait*. To be sure its marble halls are empty, to be sure the nations now rush by its open doors heedless of its call. But its doors are open and we believe that sooner than men now dare dream the tired and weary nations will seek its waiting halls. We believe, that, instead of its being the irony of history, as some have said, that it should have been dedicated just before the world repudiated all for which it stands, it is the great providence of history that it should have been finished just when it was. There it stands not only as a silent protest to all this folly of the nations, but as the only refuge left them when all else has failed. They are even now beginning to realize that all else has failed and soon they will say in their exhaustion: To whom else shall we go? *Thou only hast the words of eternal peace.*

We believe that the nations will some day, perhaps sooner than we think, run to its portals as a tired and perverse child runs home. For what are the things for which the palace stands? *It stands for the establishment of civilization upon justice rather than brute force.* But all Europe is learning with awful swiftness that civilizations based on force, fear, terror, subjugation, tyranny, might, power crumble into dust at the throwing of a bomb by a fanatic boy. All the might, all the invincible powers of Europe instead of making peace could bring forth nothing better than this awful chaos of primeval worlds. It is being fast discredited forever even by those who have been its defenders. Every day of Europe is causing thousands to say: The old ways have failed, it is now time to try the new. Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts. The old civilization, based on force, has collapsed, the world is learning. It will some day be ready to try the new foundations of *justice, righteousness, international good-will,* disillusioned of force forever. To the palace of justice will the nations come gladly.

The Palace stands *for the character of nations, their fair-dealings with other nations, their friendly disposition, their desire to do justly by all peoples as the best defense and the surety of lasting peace.* Europe for the last fifty years has said armament is the only defense of nations, armament is the only guarantee of peace, armament the only means of securing national stability or growth. So we have seen a civilization grow up fairly based on militarism. The nations have become armed camps. The soldier has been chief among men. All the

borders are lined with fortresses which bristle with guns. On the streets and on the ocean guns are everywhere in existence. Guns have been more in evidence than either churches or schools. Every boy has been reared to shoot to kill. All have been taught that by guns must the country be defended, must its advance be won, must the peace of Europe be maintained. And just when all this is at its highest, when Europe has become a powder magazine, a boy throws in a match and it all explodes. So has the fallacy that armament makes for peace exploded, and the world is seeing it. It is the nemesis of armament. Armament as a means of defense has failed absolutely. No sane man can ever again say, "The way to get peace is to prepare for war." Surely Europe has learned this lesson as well as has America. Surely great hosts of people in Europe will be ready to say: "The old way has failed; let us try the new way, the way of The Hague." The Hague idea is that the character of a nation, its reputation for justice and fair dealing, its desire to render help to all other nations is the best defense that it can have, the safest protection with which it can arm itself against attack. To this idea the nations will soon be ready to listen. Indeed it looks as if they might be ready to try any *new* way since the old way has so miserably and utterly failed. To The Hague all nations that *sincerely desire peace* will be willing to go at the close of this war.

The Hague Palace stands for the *substitution of law for war in the settlement of international disputes.* It proclaims *arbitration* as better than *battleships* in securing national rights. It offers to the world *a supreme court of nations* as a surer means of justice than strife with guns. If the nations are ever going to learn anything out of the terrible experience through which they are now passing it is that war never settles anything except which nation is mightiest in brute force, or which has the better guns, or which has the greater power of endurance. War gives *victories* but it never gives *justice.* After the most appalling loss of life, most overwhelming cost in money and devastated lands, after the set back of industry and civilization a half a century the present conflicting nations will emerge with nothing settled except a temporary predominance. All the old problems, the old rancors (intensified) will be left. Even the victorious ones will be impoverished. A serious conference of the nations for a month, costing a few dollars, would have given infinitely better results. The case between Austria and Servia, had it been sent to The Hague, would probably have been settled to the satisfaction of everybody two months ago and all this unnecessary upheaval of Europe prevented. Force can never settle a question of right or wrong. We believe Europe is learning this lesson in this war, and after the conflict is over the nations will see the foolishness of all this thing as well as the wickedness of it, and turn to The Hague with its court of arbitral justice, with its treaties of arbitration, with its foundation principle, "Law for War," saying: "Why did we not come here in the beginning? Let us be done with these old, outworn futile ways forever, and make this court of justice the field on which all disputes are settled."

The Palace of The Hague stands for internationalism as over against an excessive and exaggerated nationalism. It says to the nations: "Your interests are common and so wrapped up together that each nation serves its own interest best which seeks the interest of all." Twice the nations have come together at The Hague and discussed the welfare common to them all. It was a new thing in the world. It promised a new era for humanity. In the Palace is a beautiful chamber for these future meetings of the world. Here the idea of a co-operative world was growing, here a new patriotism was being born—a world patriotism, a love of humanity as well as love of country. The present war has many of its roots in a narrow patriotism and an exaggerated emphasis of nationality. Each nation has felt that its only hope of a voice in the world was in emphasis of its own individuality. Its patriotism has half consisted of contempt for other peoples. A book has recently been published with quotations from French and German school text-books. When one sees what French boys are taught about Germans, and German boys about the French he wonders that war between France and Germany is not perennial. In each nation the advance of that nation to a place in the world is emphasized a hundred times more than the general welfare of humanity. Each nation thinks its only development commercially must be at the expense of other nations. Each nation thinks of its own interests as separated entirely from the rest of the world. But the nations are learning through awful lessons that no nation can live to itself alone any more than can any man. The nations have learned that a quarrel between *two* nations means that ten have to pass through purgatory. They are learning that the welfare of one is not through the blind pursuance of a *national* ideal or

the seeking of *national* rights. After this war is over they have got to come together—a group of maimed, crippled, impoverished nations—and sit around a table and settle *together* what *each* shall gain or lose.* How much better it would have been if they had held this meeting before the war! They would have accomplished all and even more than they now can gain individually at one millionth the cost. We believe they will see this. We believe that The Hague Conferences will go on, not only as before, but with greatly broadened scope. For we believe that the world is learning that an isolated and excessive nationalism is unworkable and impossible, and that it is also learning that the world is one.

In the same way The Hague Palace stands for mutual *frankness* and *openness* among nations. It calls them to come together in trust and confidence to openly discuss the common problems of the nations. Everybody has felt that one of the sources of the present war is the mutual distrusts and jealousies among the various European countries. Germany has been suspicious of Russia. France and England have been suspicious of Germany. Germany has distrusted England and England has been suspicious of German motives. Russia has been suspicious of Austrian designs on the Balkans, and so the eternal round of suspicion has gone on. The declarations of any one country have not been believed by the others. No disavowal of flagrant designs has been more than half believed. This suspicion, this fear of attack, this seeing of sinister motive in every word and act, has bred a state of panic and largely led to vast armaments. It is an atmosphere that breeds war—always will breed it. We believe that the nations will some day see the folly of it, and will say, "The Hague idea is better. Let us meet in frequent conferences. Let us be perfectly frank and open in our conversations. Let the ideals of every nation be frankly discussed at these meetings. Let us learn to trust each other as decent men trust each other." Indeed a frequent conference of nations at The Hague would make underhanded projects impossible. They would rise to the surface. But as a matter of fact half of the suspicions are ungrounded. Frequent conferences will make this manifest. We believe that the world will see that The Hague ideal is best, and will accept it.

Finally, *The Hague stands for federation of the nations, some form of world organization and a League of Peace.* A federation of the world lies as yet far off. World organization must be a gradual process. But we believe that some form of a League of Peace as originally suggested by Mr. Carnegie at St. Andrew's in 1905 would receive serious consideration by the nations at the close of this war. Each nation declares that it did not desire war. Each nation says that it was dragged into the war. Innocent nations have suffered from the war. A League of Peace would protect all of these protesting nations and perhaps now that they have seen that none of the present forms of diplomacy, none of the existing agencies, not even vast armaments, can protect them or save them from the war, they will turn to the League of Peace idea where the great nations—as many as will—can league themselves together to keep the peace, can all disarm to that point where a minimum extent of armament only is necessary as a police force, and have headquarters, a central bureau at the Peace Palace at The Hague. We believe the nations of Europe will be so sick of war forever that they will readily accept an invitation to gather at the Palace to consider this first step in the federation of the world for peace.

No, do not worry over the fate of the Peace Palace. It is a great thing that it is there. It will yet be the home of the nations. Far back in the middle ages great hordes from the north overran Italy. On one of the hills near Orvieto stood a great monastery. The story goes that the armies swept down upon the monastery and demolished its walls and drove its inhabitants far and wide. Only the altar was left standing, and at night after the armies had gone on their way, one solitary monk who had concealed himself among the rocks, one who loved the place and had great faith, crept forth, and poured oil into the lamp before the altar which had not gone out. Day after day, year after year, he found his way up to the ruined temple and filled the lamp. In after years the monks came back. The chapel rose again in beauty around the altar. The lamp had never once gone out. Year after year it waited burning. Around its eternal fire the new structure rose. The light of The Hague is there, burning. To it the scattered nations will come back and around it rear the new temple of the nations.

*The meeting of the nations to discuss the terms of peace in the Peace Palace at The Hague is a possibility worthy of careful consideration.

THE CHURCH PEACE UNION
70 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

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A GROUP OF LETTERS FROM WOMEN OF THE WARRING NATIONS

Reprinted by the

WOMAN'S PEACE PARTY

National Headquarters

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TRADES UNION COUNCIL 84

A CHRISTMAS LETTER.

From the Women of England to the Women of Germany and Austria.

The following open letter, signed by the leading women of England, was sent to the women of Germany and Austria at Christmas time, five months after the beginning of the war:

Sisters: Some of us wish to send you a word at this sad Christmastide, though we can but speak through the press. The Christmas message sounds like mockery to a world at war, but those of us who wished, and still wish, for peace may surely offer a solemn greeting to such of you who feel as we do. Do not let us forget that our very anguish unites us, that we are passing together through the same experiences of pain and grief.

Caught in the grip of terrible circumstance, what can we do? Tossed on this turbulent sea of human conflict, we can but moor ourselves to those calm shores whereon stand, like rocks, the eternal verities—Love, Peace, Brotherhood.

We pray you to believe that, come what may, we hold to our faith in peace and goodwill between nations; while technically at enmity in obedience to our rulers, we own allegiance to that higher law which bids us live at peace with all men.

Though our sons are sent to slay each other, and our hearts are torn by the cruelty of this fate, yet through pain supreme we will be true to our common womanhood. We will let no bitterness enter into this tragedy, made sacred by the life-blood of our best, nor mar with hate the heroism of their sacrifice. Though much has been done on all sides you will, as deeply as ourselves, deplore—shall we not steadily refuse to give credence to those false tales so freely told us, each of the other?

We hope it may lessen your anxiety to learn we are doing our utmost to soften the lot of your civilians and war prisoners within our shores, even as we rely on your goodness of heart to do the same for ours in Germany and Austria.

Do you not feel, with us, that the vast slaughter in our opposing armies is a stain on civilization and Christianity, and that still deeper horror is aroused at the thought of those innocent victims, the countless women, children, babes, old and sick, pursued by famine, disease, and death in the devastated areas, both east and west?

As we saw in South Africa and the Balkan States, the brunt of modern war falls upon non-combatants, and the conscience of the world cannot bear the sight.

Is it not our mission to preserve life? Do not humanity and common sense alike prompt us to join hands with the women of neutral countries, and urge our rulers to stay further bloodshed?

Relief, however colossal, can reach but few. Can we sit still and let the helpless die in their thousands, as die they must—unless we rouse ourselves in the name of humanity to save them? There is but one way to do this. We must all urge that peace be made with appeal to Wisdom and Reason. Since in the last resort it is these which must decide the issues, can they begin too soon, if it is to save the womanhood and childhood, as well as the manhood of Europe? Even through the clash of arms we treasure our poet's vision, and already seem to hear.

> A hundred nations swear that there shall be
> Pity and Peace and Love among the good and free.

May Christmas hasten that day. Peace on earth is gone, but by renewal of our faith that it still reigns at the heart of things, Christmas should strengthen both you and us and all womanhood to strive for its return. We are yours in this sisterhood of sorrow.

An Open Letter in Reply to the Open Christmas Letter From English Women to German and Austrian Women

To our English sisters, sisters of the same race, we express in the name of many German women our warm and heartfelt thanks for their Christmas geetings, which we only heard of lately.

This message was a confirmation of what we foresaw — namely, that women of the belligerent countries, with all faithfulness, devotion and love to their country, can go beyond it and maintain true solidarity with the women of other belligerent nations, and that really civilized women never lose their humanity.

If English women alleviated misery and distress at this time, relieved anxiety, and gave help irrespective of nationality, let them accept the warmest thanks of German women and the true assurance that they are and were prepared to do likewise. In war time we are united by the same unspeakable suffering of all nations taking part in the war. Women of all nations have the same love of justice, civilization and beauty, which are all destroyed by war. Women of all nations have the same hatred for barbarity, cruelty and destruction, which accompany every war.

Women, creators and guardians of life, must loathe war, which destroys life. Through the smoke of battle and thunder of cannon of hostile peoples, through death, terror, destruction, and unending pain and anxiety, there glows like the dawn of a coming better day the deep community of feeling of many women of all nations.

May this feeling lay the immovable foundations for the building up of German, English and international relations, which must finally lead to a strong international law of the peoples, so that the peoples of Europe may never again be visited with such wars as these.

Warm sisterly greetings to Englishwomen who share these feelings!

Lida Gustava Heymann, Anita Augspurg, Margarete Freifrau von Egloffstein, Kathinka Verstl, Stora Max, Wally Metz, Konstanze Hallgarten, R. O. Labermeier, Marie Lange, Laura Keller, E. Wackerbauer, Therese Gschwendt, Luise Hoffmann, Hildegard Heinzel, Else Knipping, Emilie Kitzing, Hörhammer, G. Normann, I. Oppermann, A. Feuerherd, Maria Rabel, Alice Schmidt, Anna Friess, Karola von Leveling-Reitzenstein, Fanny Weiss, Anna Reber, Helene Deye, Klara Deye, Josefine Bauer, Chr. Hofmüller, C. Krieg, Betty Asch, Lore Marie Arnold, Emma Brie, Minna Cauer, Alma Dzialoszynski, Dr. Adofine Dincklaken-Petersen, Emma Finck, Rosa Feist, Käte Francke, Thea Graziella, Elisabet Graul, Esther Goldschmidt, Henriette Hollander, Anna Hauptmann, Ottilie Hofmann, Ida Jens, Frances Kramer, Hanna Liebenow, Helene Lewison, Anna Meyer-Liepmann, Charlotte Neubauer, Selma Reichenbach, Maria Rubner, Margarete Lenoré Selenka, Emilie Steiner, Henny Schlichthaar, Erna Schmitt, Elisabet Schulze, Adele Schmitz, Karin Schumilow-Knutson, Hedwig Stein, Dr. Phil. Helene Stöcker, Helene Schiess, Maria Schiess, Christine Thiess.

An Open Letter in Reply to the Open Christmas Letter From English Women to German and Austrian Women—Continued

AUSTRIA.

Eugenie Bayer-Deixler, Elsa Beer-Angerer, Ilse Bernheimer, Hermine Bernheimer, Margarete Braun, Anna Czemy, Rosa Dietrichstein, Marie Dominkus, Elvira Dolinar-Sittig (Laibach), Margarete Eckarett, Ernestine Ernst, Berta Egré, Hermine Fabri, Else Federn (Verein Settlement), Ernestine Federn, Marianne E. Fickert, Josefine Ernst-Friedlaender, Anna Friedrich, Ernestine v. Fürth (Vorsitzende d. Oesterreich, Stimmrechtskomitees), Alice Fuchs-Rolziegel, Adele Gerber (Vizepräs. d. Allgem. österreich, Frauenvereins), Hermine Gerber (Präs. d. Kaiser-Franz-Josef-Jubiläums-Frauenvereins), Elizabeth v. Goldberg-Buder, Berta Graf, Helene Gross, Anna Grossfield, Marie Habel, Regine Hahn, Viktorine Hand, Mathilde Hanzel, Yella Hertcka, Henriette Herzfelder, Anna Hirsch, Emma Hängsberg, Eugenie Hoffmann, Irene Hueber, Freiin Kreibner v. Thatenburg, Marie Janda, Hertha Jäger, Ella Kraan, Regine Kantor, Alice Kanitz, Maria L. Klausberger, Emilie Kassowitz, Dr. Julie Kassowitz-Gschall, Hermine Kraus, Leopoldine Kulka, Gisela Löffler, Jenny Löwy, Elizabeth Luzzato, Regine Maler, Rosa Mayreder, Elsa Migerka, Helene Migerka, Daisy Minor, Olga Misar, Annette Müller, Hermine Nagler, Caroline Nahowska, Marie Nauheimer, Marie Poschacher, Aurora Pollak, Mathilde Prager-Holm, Olga Prager, Marya Pycha, Henriette Rabel, Hilda Reach, Sofie Regen, Marie Rosental, Alice Schalek, Leonora Sinaiberger, Olly Schwarz, Rudolfine Sperber, Adele Strach, Helene Scheu-Riesz, Gertrud Schiff, Ada Thomas, Dr. Christine Foucillon, Aurelie Tritter v. Kittfeld, Wilhelmine v. Troll, Marie Turnheim, Gisela Urban, Dora Urban, Julie Urbauer, Albine Weber, Bertha Weisz, Mela Weltsch, Marie Wessely, Dr. Phil. Marianne Zycha.

TO WOMEN THROUGHOUT EUROPE.

From an English Woman.

Fellow Women, The war is crushing helpless millions. These are mostly women and children. In Galicia, Serbia, Poland, Belgium, East Prussia, France, and elsewhere the *people* are perishing.

Relief, however colossal, can but touch the fringe of that want.

If the war continues, die they must.

We ask: Must it continue? Can any good come by further bloodshed to weigh against such evil which could not be better attained by agreement and goodwill.

A hundred years ago men proclaimed they fought, as each country asserts it is fighting today, "to secure the rights, the freedom, and the independence of all nations."

War failed to secure these objects then; can we reasonably suppose it will do so now?

For militarism cannot kill militarism, nor war end war. Higher power is needed, spiritual forces, which uniting the world in brotherhood, will render weapons as needless among nations as they are already obsolete among clans, tribes, and provinces that have learnt to dwell at peace.

Therefore, to what end do we still fight?

And daily the cry of perishing Childhood comes from the frozen marshes of Poland, the snow-bound Carpathians, the wastes of Belguim, France and Serbia—a cry that pierces even the censored Press, the cry of the famine-stricken.

Where is the Roll of Honour that will blazon the names of the women and children who have died, and must yet die in this struggle?

Fellow women, can the mother-hearts of Europe turn heedless from this cry? Will not her womanhood join in noble resolve, and though in diverse tongues, yet with but one Voice—the Voice of pure human love and pity, pray—nay, demand that warfare cease and the children delivered from the pains of death.

We ask nothing strange; only that which Christianity, civilization, and motherhood dictate.

The well-being of children touches all. On that common ground the opposing nations could meet, and crown their courage, shown in arms, by laying them aside at the call of a higher humanity.

I saw the children die in their thousands in the South African War—a pitiful sight.

Therefore I plead for these of many lands, who must perish in tens and scores of thousands, unless hostilities cease.

Shall not England be foremost to show the higher courage and lead the way?

Will you not plead on their behalf ere it be too late?

"For of such is the Kingdom of Heaven."

—Emily Hobhouse.

AN APPEAL TO WOMEN

From a German Woman.

WOMEN OF EUROPE, WHEN WILL YOUR CALL RING OUT?

Summer's glory was shattered by the lightning of the most frightful of all wars, and all Europe was set on fire.

Women of all the belligerent States, with head high and courageous heart, gave their husbands to protect the Fatherland. Mothers and maidens unfalteringly let their sons and sweethearts go forth to death and destruction.

At home women laboured and strove without pause or rest to provide against the spiritual, physicial, and economic distress resulting from the crisis. Summer passed, autumn came and went, we are now in mid-winter.

Millions of men have been left on the battlefield. They will never see home again. Others have returned, broken and sick in body and soul. Towns of the highest civilization, homes of simple human happiness, are destroyed; Europe's soil reeks of human blood. The flesh and blood of men will fertilize the soil of the waving cornfields of the future on German, French, Belgian, and Russian ground.

Millions of women's hearts blaze up in anguish. No human speech is rich enough to express such depths of suffering.

Shall this war of extermination go on?

Women of Europe, where is your voice?

Are you only great in patience and suffering?

The earth reeking of human blood, the millions of wrecked bodies and souls of your husbands, sweethearts and sons, the outrages inflicted on your sex. Can these things not rouse you to blazing protest?

In South Europe men have come together to exchange words of peace.

In the North of Europe men have met to work for peace.

Women of Europe, where is your voice, that should be sowing seeds of peace? Do not let yourselves be deterred by those who accuse you of weakness because you wish for peace, who say you cannot hold back the bloody march of history by your protest.

Strive at least to put a spoke in the bloody wheel of Time, with strength, courage, and humanity worthy of your sex.

Come together in the North or South of Europe, protest with all your might against this war, which is murdering the nations, and make preparations for peace; return to your own country and perform your duty as wives and mothers, as protectors of true civilization and humanity.

—Lida Gustava Heymann, Munich.

(Translated from the German.)

A GERMAN SOLDIER'S APPEAL TO WOMEN.

A German soldier serving on the Eastern battlefields writes: "When one is in the midst of it one feels and understands the full horror of war. I have several times wondered why women do not demand peace. In my opinion it is the business of the woman's movement of all nations to see to it that the ground is cleared for a mutual understanding, to put a stop to the bitterness of national hatred, and for women to say to each other: 'We will save our men; further bloodshed of the nations is senseless.' Such a cry from women would fall on ready soil, for from the point of view of civilization, such a universal war is a monstrosity." —From the Frauenbewegung.

PROTEST.

Protest! Protest! Die Stimmen hoch und laut!
Ihr Frauen auf, soweit dies Elend graut!

Die Menschheit blutet! Es ist EUER Blut!
Man schlagt das Leben tot. Und es ist EUER Gut!

Ihr habt's gegeben und Ihr habt's bewacht,
Protest! Protest! Bei Eurer Liebe Macht!

Dresden, November, 1914. —Marie Engelmann.

LETTER FROM A FRENCH MOTHER OF SOLDIERS.

November 1, 1914.

The humblest cry can sometimes be heard joined to many others, and surely public opinion cannot approve of this butchery going on all through the winter.

My two sons are in the trenches since the end of September, and have never slept in a bed since. It would be nothing if the cold had not set in so dreadfully, but it is to be feared not many will survive, as they have nothing to protect them in the night. AND THINK WHAT IT MUST BE IN RUSSIA!

Will there be no truce even during the coldest winter months? And will the civilized world quietly contemplate the miserable end of hundreds of thousands of fine young men condemned to die of cold in the trenches or drag on a wretched life like those we saw in 1870—helpless cripples, their frozen limbs amputated?

It is very well for gentlemen banqueting at Guildhall to rejoice at being able to assemble so comfortably during the greatest war in history, thanks to the valour of the British Navy, which defends the coast; but they should think of those who are exposing their lives not only to the bullets, but to the dreadful winter which threatens to destroy them.

If you cannot make peace at present, at least make a truce and save thousands and thousands of human lives, and receive the blessings of thousands of wives and mothers. —Côtes du Nord, France.

AN APPEAL TO WOMEN

Make Way for Peace.

From a German Socialist.

Comrades, Sisters! Week by week, both in the countries at war and in the neutral lands, the voice of women is heard more clearly.

The War has taken into its service the best physical, spiritual, and moral powers of the people; their economic resources, the most complete form of co-operative organization, precious discoveries of science, and miracles of technical skill. It is raising piles of ruins, and heaps of dead and wounded such as history has never seen, great as are the streams of blood and tears that flow through its pages. It tramples under foot the prosperity and happiness of millions, tears asunder the agreements of international law, philosophises with the sword over customs and ideas which have become sacred, and bids the peoples pray to that which yesterday they abhorred, and abhor that to which yesterday they prayed. It besmirches all the ideals to which unnumbered generations of all nations and races have attained through human joy and sorrow, in their evolution from savagery to the kingdom of true human freedom. Where are the commandments of the Christian God—"Thou shall not kill" and "Love your enemies?" Where are the cosmopolitan sentiments and ideals which the greatest and noblest spirits of all modern civilized nations had inscribed upon their shields? Where is the International, the Socialist fraternity of the proletariat of all lands, of which we proudly dreamed and spoke?

The longer this war lasts, the weaker and less potent become those delusive forms of speech and trains of thought which were to cloak its capitalistic nature before the eyes of the peoples. The masks, the finely broidered veils which have deceived so many are falling away. The war is revealed in all its naked hideousness and as a capitalistic struggle for conquest and world power.

We Socialist women call upon the women of all nations to set themselves against the further continuance of this insanity of world strife. Our cry must ring forth irresistible from millions of voices, "Enough of slaughter, enough of devastation!" The peoples must not be drained of life, they must not bleed to death! Peace, lasting peace! And therewith, *no violation of the independence or dignity of any nation! No annexation, no humiliating conditions of peace!* For such are no assurance of safety for neighbors, but rather bring temptations of a burdensome competition or armaments, and new world-horrors. Make room for peaceful work! Leave the way free for the fraternity of the peoples, and for their co-operation in bringing to flower the culture of international civilization!

It is true that in nearly all countries we women have few political rights, yet we are not powerless in society.

Let us use every spark of power we have. We know our labours for peace do more for our native lands than insulting other nations or rattling the sword of war.

If men kell, it is for women to fight for the preservation of life. If men are silent, it is our duty to raise our voices on behalf of our ideals.

Stuttgart. Klara Zetkin, International Secretary of Socialist Women.

Translated from the German.

AN APPEAL TO WOMEN

From Russian Social Democrats.

Sisters:

When the demon of war has taken possession of the world, when the atmosphere is burdened with the cries of the unfortunate victims of militarism, when the groans of our wounded brothers pierce our hearts, do you not think it is our duty, the duty of class-conscious Socialist women, to throw into the teeth of capitalism our indignant protest, our reproach and our menace, demanding unanimously:

Fight the War! No more blood must be shed for the benefit of capitalists — no more victims sacrificed to the Moloch of Imperialism. We, women Socialists of the world, demand peace!

Why is it that the kings and rulers of the earth always have a passion for the freedom of other nations, not for their own?

We also hear that our native country is threatened! In vain do the governing classes try to excite our hatred against the women of opposing nations. We, mothers, cannot be misled. Behind the figure of the soldier in the firing line we see crouching the figure of a sorrowing mother, and when our own son kills a soldier of the enemy, we know that with the thrust of his bayonet he stabs at the same time the heart of a mother.

We, the Socialist women, do not fear the struggle. We do not blanch before the necessity for sacrifice. We, the mothers of the workers, we are ready to give up the lives of our children when social duty demands it from us. But we desire that the greatest sacrifice a mother can give may be given alone for the greatest cause—THE EMANCIPATION OF THE WORKING CLASS.

We, Socialist women, will not step back from the deadly breach which the struggle for peace involves. We will not listen to the voices of "Patriots" appealing to us to think of national interests; we will demand with all our force and power that peace be concluded between the nations. We will stand for peace now, without delay, not waiting for the moment when hunger, disease and death will help one exhausted nation to conquer another still more exhausted nation and so help national capitalism to its benefits.

We want to stop the war NOW, so as to save, while it is not too late, the vital force of the workers for their emancipation—the spirit of Internationalism.

We demand peace, but not the kind of peace which the crowned kings and the capitalists would like to see. The peace we want is the peace concluded by the proletariats, and not by the makers of this war. Over the heads of the battling armies let us stretch out our hands, comrades and sisters, and let our demand be heard throughout the world.

(Reprinted, with permission from the "Labour Women.")

AN APPEAL TO WOMEN.

From an Irish Woman.

"WOMEN OF EUROPE, WHEN WILL YOUR CALL RING OUT?"

The appeal to the women of Europe from Lida Gustave Heymann, of Munich, published in the February issue of Jus Suffragii, must have stirred many women to serious thought on the great problem now before them as regards their duty in this war. All these past months the women of Europe have devoted themselves with splendid patience and enthusiasm to the remedial work that has fallen to their lot. The mother heart of woman has agonized in silence. But more and more the doubt presses in upon us. Are we right to tolerate in silence this modern warfare, with all its cruelty and waste? And more and more the conviction grows that it is full time that women rose up and demanded with no uncertain voice a truce for reflection, for debate upon the questions: What are we fighting for that slaughter can win for us? Can any gain for the victors compensate for the losses—human, moral, social, spiritual and material?

If we could secure a truce for such reflection, it is very doubtful if the people themselves would consent to return to the "insensate deviltry" of this war, whatever the wish of their Government might be. For were the nations of Europe to learn in any fulness the details of the happenings on the European battlefields, then surely a great cry of shame and horror would rise from every country, and men and women would join in calling upon their Governments to find other means of guarding national rights.

And if we women, to whom even a partial knowledge of these happenings has come, remain silent now and fail to unite in an effort to arrest them, then we are blood-guilty; we are more than blood-guilty, for we must be numbered with those who "will even dare the murder of a soul."

For let us not blind ourselves with talk of the glories and heroisms of war. We thank God for the many deeds of heroism which keep alive our faith in Him at this hour. But we dare not ignore the moral and spiritual wreckage that remain unchronicled. We have to think of men brutalized and driven to hideous deeds by their experiences; of men with reason destroyed and nerves shattered; of men disgraced for lack of the cold courage that can face the horrors; of men with faith in good slain, their outlook on life eternally embittered.

Nor do such losses fall upon men only. What of the women for whom the French Government has to devise legislation to deter them from infanticide? What of the children begotten under such conditions?

Thoughts of these things are too hard for many of us. Yet we must be honest and face fact, if we would learn what is our special message to the world in this crisis.

Women of Europe, where is your voice, that should be sowing seeds of peace?

There are many women in Europe, many women throughout the world, who are longing for a grand heroic opportunity to bring peace to the world; many women are ready to make any sacrifice for such an end. That desired opportunity may come. Yet it may be that the work of women at this moment is patiently and quietly to *create the will* for peace. No heroic sacrifice can make peace in the world until the Will for it has been created. Within women that Will is fed by an intensity of feeling only those can know who suffer with tied hands. Therefore upon women especially falls the duty of disseminating the will for peace. Each woman in her own place can begin that work now. She can dedicate herself to the cause of peace, pray for it, *think* for it, influence others to join with her in a league whose motive force shall be the will for peace. A nucleus of women here, there, everywhere, thinking and working thus, will eventually permeate the public mind with their desire.

And since it is essential that there should be in this work co-operation amongst the women of all nations, belligerent and neutral, can we not arrange for means of communication with one another, and finally meet, as Lida Gustave Heymann suggests, in the North or South of Europe, "protest with all our might against this war which is murdering the nations," agree on some common plan for arresting it, and return to our countries prepared to inspire our own people with the burning will to end this war and all wars.

—Louie Bennett, Dublin.

AN APFEAL TO WOMEN

From an English Woman.

Dear Friends,

I urge that we lay the emphasis of our efforts on stopping the war. It feels to me as though some "Pied Piper were alluring the youth of the world with heroic and patriotic music to destruction, and that it is little use for us to seek to hold them back until we ourselves have done our very utmost to try to stop the music.

In every land the peoples are crying against this war, and they find no helper. Is this because we, His witnesses—left here for the special purpose of having compassion on the multitudes—have not effectively witnessed? Shall we not arise and submit to our own rulers our deep concern that the continuation of this war, without even the formulation of the reasons for fighting, is a crime, and a blunder, which can never be wholly made good? "The time is not yet!" "Let us have patience" has been urged on us for months. Yet the months have deluged the ground with blood in which the dragons's teeth have been unsparingly sown. "Wherefore cry ye unto Me! Say to the Children of Israel that they go forward!" So Jehovah remonstrated with His Despairing servant. The Egyptians were behind, the Red Sea in front. The Red Sea did not part until the forward march began.

Kendal, January 23rd, 1915. Theodora Wilson Wilson.

(Reprinted by permission of the writer.)

AN APPEAL TO WOMEN

From a Danish Woman.

In these days, when the entire civilized world is shaken by events so terrible that human understanding is incapable of comprehending them, the following question demands an answer: Are human will and reason completely impotent in face of the brutal instincts and the primitive desire of taking the law into one's own hands?

It is quite incomprehensible that mankind has reached no higher standard of culture altruism in the twentieth century than that a comparatively unimportant quarrel between a small State and one of the Great Powers is sufficient to set the world afire. Involuntarily one asks: Where was the common sense in July, 1914? Where were the peace societies and the Socialists? And last, Where were the women? And the reply will be that common sense, peace societies, Socialists and women were never asked. The majority did not have the least suspicion of what was going on until Europe was one burning flame, too vigorous to be extinguished. A world-fire like this cannot be extinguished until all inflammable material in the warfaring lands has been destroyed, not until the Castle of Civilization is ruined, and only the soiled and naked walls left.

During the first days of the war an old man said to me, sad and indignant: "To me it is quite unintelligible that citizens of the twentieth century willingly consent to be driven like sheep to the shambles." And, as a matter of fact, only a fraction of those now involved in the campaign did intend the war. To them, as to us—the spectators—it was a surprise which will repeat itself in the history of the world as long as war is declared without the consent of the people, as long as a declaration of war depends on secret notes and treaties.

But just because the whole war seems so utterly absurd and the future of the peace endeavors looks so hopelessly dark to us, this question involuntarily arises: Where can mankind find a better means of preventing a recurrence of these terrors? And in connection with this, many people find some hope in the growing influence of women in social life.

Do women have better chances for succeeding where men have recently failed so miserably? Do women possess better faculties than men in that line? * * * *

They have better opportunities than anybody else of creating public opinion—not the opinion of the hour, but that public opinion which grows stronger with the coming race. Women give the next generation its first impressions through their own thoughts and words.

The mother must try to give her children another ideal than the armed warrior. Let her show them how unworthy it is of the citizen of the twentieth century to be used—body and blood, without will or resistance—as food for cannon. Let her teach them—boys and girls—to demand influence on future declarations of war in the name of their right as citizens.

Is it not possible that this would give the best guarantee for peace in the future?

—Johanne Rambusch, President of Landsforbundet for Kvinders Valgret.

Aalborg, Denmark, January, 1915.

AN APPEAL TO WOMEN

From Austrian Socialist Women.

Dear Comrades:

In our hearts, and I think I have the right to speak in the name of all Socialist working women of Austria, the longing is alive to see the end of this terrible war.

The blood of our relatives, friends, and comrades is being shed on the battlefields, and we do not call only the workers of Austria and Germany our own. The workers of Britain, Belgium, France, Russia and Servia are just as dear to us, and we know they have, just as our slaughtered workers have, mothers, wives and children who weep for them. Nothing can separate us from the working class of other nations but the frontiers. We are conscious, even if we speak in different tongues, that we must take joint action, because the working class of all countries have to suffer from the same fate. It appears to us that one of the most terrible consequences of the war is the fact that the communications between the working men and women of all countries have been cut off. But, nevertheless, we cannot despair! We are conscious that the fraternization of the peoples is a historical need and that it is even more necessitated by the miseries of daily life.

We cannot doubt that the Socialist International will be restored, and we are convinced that those Socialists who defend their country with rifle and sword are longing like us for the time when they will again be able to press the hands of the "enemy"!

We women, although we are not at war, daily witness the terrible consequences of the war, and when we look at our returning soldiers we consider it our duty to work hard in order to prevent estrangement and national hatred hindering the future action of the working class International. The command of Christ, "Thou shalt love," has been taken over by the Socialists. We are proud that feelings of international sympathy and friendship have so strongly taken root, and we consider it the duty of all Socialists to do all in their power to see that these feelings are not extinguished. And, therefore, I am glad to have the opportunity to speak to the comrades of Britain and to tell them that the Socialist women of Austria have not a moment forgotten their ideals.

We are deeply longing for the end of this war! We have no greater wish than to be able to co-operate again in fastening strongly and indestructibly the tie which unites all peoples.

Adelheid Popp, Leader of Socialist Women of Austria.

Vienna, January, 1915.

(Reprinted from the "Labour Leader.")

Battle Cry of the Mothers

BY

ANGELA MORGAN

Bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh,
Fruit of our age-long mother pain,
They have caught your life in the nations' mesh,
They have bargained you out for their paltry gain
And they build their hope on the shattered breast
Of the child we sang to rest.
On the shattered breast and the wounded cheek—
O, God! If the mothers could only speak!—
Blossom of centuries trampled down
For the moment's red renown.

Pulse of our pulse, breath of our breath,
Hope of the pang that brought to birth,
They have flung you forth to the fiends of death,
They have cast your flesh to the cruel earth,
Field upon field, tier upon tier
Till the darkness writhes in fear.
And they plan to marshal you more and more—
Oh, our minds are numb and our hearts are sore!—
They are killing the thing we cherish most,
They are driving you forth in a blinding host,
They are storming the world with your eager strength—
But the judgment comes at length.

Emperors! Kings! On your heedless throne,
Do you hear the cry that the mothers make?
The blood you shed is our own, our own,
You shall answer, for our sake.
When you pierce his side, you have pierced our side—
O, mothers! The ages we have cried!—
And the shell that sunders his flesh apart
Enters our bleeding heart.

While our sons are slaughtered and torn?
Bravely through centuries we have borne
And suffered and wept in our secret place,
But now our silence and shame are past,
The reckoning day has come at last—
We must rise! We must plead for the race!
You who behold the mothers' plight,
Will you join our battle cry with might,
Will you fight the mothers' fight?
We who have given the soldiers birth,
Let us fling our cry to the ends of earth,
To the ends of Time let our voice be hurled
Till it waken the sleeping world.
Flesh of our flesh, bone of our bone,
Toil of the centuries come to speech,
As far as the human voice can reach
We will shout, we will plead for our own!

Warriors! Counsellors! Men at arms!
You who have gloried in war's alarms,
When the great rebellion comes
You shall hear the beat
Of our marching feet
And the sound of our million drums.
You shall know that the world is at last awake—
You shall hear the cry that the mothers make—
You shall yield—for the mothers' sake!

'Tis over our bodies you shout your way,
Our bodies that nourished him, day by day
In the long dim hours of our sacred bliss,
Fated to end in this!

Governors! Ministers! You who prate
That war and ravage and wreck must be
To save the nation, avenge the state,
To right men's wrongs and set them free—
You who have said
Blood must be shed
Nor reckoned the cost of our agony—
Answer us now! Down the ages long
Who has righted the mother's wrong?
You have bargained our milk, you have bargained our blood,
Nor counted us more than the forest brutes;
By the shameful traffic of motherhood
Have you settled the world's disputes.
Did you think to barter the perfect bloom,
Bodies shaped in our patient womb
And never to face the judgment day
When you and your kind should pay?

Flesh of our flesh, bone of our bone,
Hope of the pang we bore alone,
Sinew and strength of the midnight hour
When our dream had come to flower.

O, women! You who are spared our woe,
You who have felt the mother throe
Yet cannot know the stark despair
Of coffins you shall never bear—
Are you asleep that you do not care,
Afraid, that you do not dare?
Will you dumbly stand
In your own safe land

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